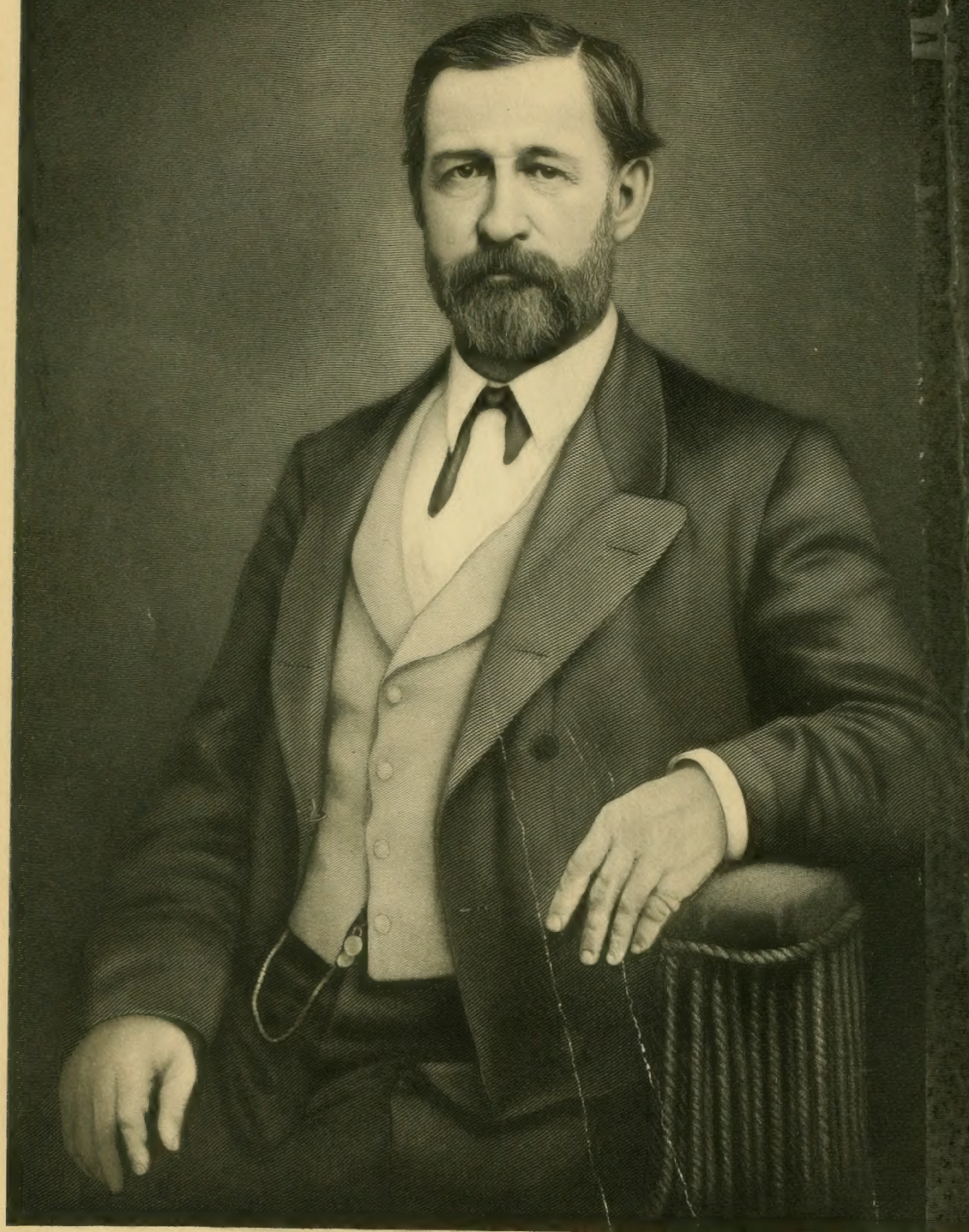


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NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

GIVING A DESCRIPTION OF THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES, NATURAL HISTORY IN REGARD TO THE FLORA AND BIRDS, SETTLEMENT, INDIANS, CREOLES, MUNICIPAL AND MILITARY HISTORY, MERCANTILE AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS, BANKING, TRANSPORTATION, STRUGGLES AGAINST HIGH WATER, THE PRESS, EDUCATIONAL, LITERATURE AND ART, THE CHURCHES, OLD BURYING GROUNDS, BENCH AND BAR, MEDICAL, PUBLIC AND CHARIT- ABLE INSTITUTIONS, THE CARNIVAL, AMUSEMENTS, CLUBS, SOCIETIES. ASSOCIATIONS, ETC

EDITED BY

HENRY RIGHTOR

THE LEWIS PUBLISHING COMPANY

CHICAGO

1900

INDEXED

STANDARD HISTORY

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

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PREFACE.

IT is the aim of the present volume to supply a work which shall deal with the history of New Orleans not alone in its broadest sense of civic development, but as well in respect of those somewhat more intimate and, in a sense, personal details which, though not properly a part of the history of the municipality, possess an ever-widening bearing upon that history and entitle them to the perpetuity of print. If there be deficiencies in the volume, they are to be attributed to this very ambition, for the minutiae referred to is endless, and it is inevitable that the proper estimate should not always have been placed upon the multiplicity of detail confronting the writers. The book will, nevertheless, contribute its mite, and if it enrich the history-literature of the State only to the extent of providing an accurate and reliable volume with sources of information accessible by means of a carefully prepared index, the labor expended upon it shall not have been lost. It is hoped that what the value may lack in uniformity and symmetry, by reason of the number of writers engaged upon it, with the resultant diversity of views, may be compensated by the earnestness which has inspired the composition of the various chapters. Original records have been consulted wherever accessible and every writer has given a personal attention to the revision of proof-sheets. The chapters upon sugar and rice have been added because these industries have been of exceptional importance in the city's commercial history.

The writers and the editor are indebted, for invaluable assistance and advice in directing to sources of information, to Mr. William Beer, Librarian of the Howard and of the Fisk Free and Public Libraries.

THE EDITOR.

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STANDARD HISTORY OF NEW ORLEANS.

CHAPTER I.

COLONIAL TIMES.

THE FRENCH AND SPANISH DOMINATIONS. BY ALCÉE FORTIER, D. LIT., PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN TULANE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA, PRESIDENT OF THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS.

LA SALLE, IBERVILLE, AND BIENVILLE.

THE history of Louisiana begins in reality with the expedition of Robert Cavelier de La Salle down the Mississippi River in 1682. That heroic man was born at Rouen in Normandy, and formed the project of exploring to its mouth the great river discovered by Hernando de Soto in 1541, and rediscovered in 1673 by Father Marquette and Louis Joliet. La Salle went to Canada, saw Governor Frontenac, obtained his approval of his plans, and returned to France, where he secured privileges from King Louis XIV. He arrived at Quebec in 1678, and immediately made preparations for his undertaking. Henri de Tonty, the chivalric Italian, was La Salle's most trusted companion and the principal historian of the expedition.

Before 1682, La Salle had been unsuccessful in his efforts to reach the Mississippi, but had displayed wonderful constancy and courage. On February 6, 1682, he entered the mighty stream from the Illinois River, and on April 9, he reached the Gulf by three passes into which the river divided itself. La Salle erected on the shore a cross, and a column on which were inscribed the name and the coat of arms of the King. He named the country Louisiana, in honor of the French monarch, and took possession of the vast territory watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, in the name of Louis XIV.

La Salle returned to Canada, and from there went to France, where he was well received by the King, who gave him the means to undertake the colonization of Louisiana. He started from La Rochelle, on July 4, 1684, with a small fleet of four vessels, commanded by Beaujeu and containing 250 persons, besides the officers and the crew. After having stopped for a time at San Domingo the fleet, reduced to three vessels, arrived at a large river emptying into the Gulf of Mexico. It was thought to be the Mississippi, and Beaujeu returned to France leaving to La Salle the brig La Belle. The explorer built a fort, which he called St. Louis, on the bay of St. Bernard or Matagorda, and his brig having been wrecked in a storm, he resolved to return by land to Canada, in order to obtain help for his colony. He was accompanied by his brother, his nephew, and a few companions, among whom was Joutel, who has related the expedition. In 1687 the heroic La Salle was murdered by some of his own men, and the colony established in Texas was destroyed by the Indians.

After the failure of La Salle's expedition, France was not, for several years, in a condition to make another attempt to colonize Louisiana. By the Revolution of 1688 James II. was expelled from England, and Louis XIV. undertook to replace on his throne the Stuart monarch. There was a war which lasted for nearly ten years, and which ended in 1697, by the treaty of Ryswick. Then arose a favorable opportunity for plans of colonization, and the man who knew how to take advantage of the occasion was Iberville, a Canadian sailor who had greatly distinguished himself in the wars against the English. He offered to form a settlement in Louisiana, and the plan was favorably received by the King and his minister, Pontchartrain. Iberville started from Brest on October 24, 1698, with two frigates and two freight ships, and at San Domingo was joined by the Marquis de Chateamoran in command of a war vessel. On January 25 the fleet anchored before the island of St. Rosa, but the Spanish governor of Pensacola did not allow the French to enter the harbor. They set sail again and cast anchor before the Chandeleur Islands. Iberville landed on Ship Island, built some huts there and went with his brother Bienville to explore the coast of what is now Biloxi and Ocean Springs. He found the country beautiful and was well received by the Indians, and built, a little later, a fort on the eastern shore of the Bay of Biloxi.

Before building his fort, however, Iberville had started, on February 27, with his brother Bienville, to look for the mouth of the Mississippi, and had succeeded in discovering the *hidden river* on March 2, 1699. The two brothers

went up the Mississippi, as far as the country of the Houmas, near the mouth of Red River, and had no doubt about their being on La Salle's river, when they found, among the Bayougoulas, a letter from Tonty, who had gone down the Mississippi in search of La Salle, at the time of the last expedition of the great explorer. At the place where is now the town of Baton Rouge, Iberville saw a tall may-pole on which the Indians had hung offerings of fish and game, and he called the place *Bâton Rouge*. Near by was a small river or bayou named Manchac, and Iberville entered it and reached again his fleet at Ship Island, after having passed through two lakes and a bay, which he called, respectively, Maurepas, Pontchartrain, and St. Louis. Bienville returned by way of the Mississippi.

Iberville sailed for France in May, 1699, after having sown the seed from which Louisiana was to grow. He gave the command of the colony to Sauvole, a brave and capable young French officer, who has left an interesting account of the difficulties attending the establishment of the colony. The coast on the Mississippi Sound is beautiful, with its white sand and magnificent trees: oaks, magnolias, and pines, but the land is not fertile. The colonists, besides, for several years, paid little attention to tilling the ground and counted for subsistence on the provisions sent from France.

Iberville did not abandon his infant colony, but returned to it in the beginning of 1700. He again went up the Mississippi with Bienville, and with Tonty, who had come from Canada to meet the French. Iberville went as far as the Natchez country and ordered a fort which he called Rosalie to be built there. He built also a fort fifty-four miles from the mouth of the river and called it Maurepas. He gave the command of it to Bienville, who stayed there until the death of Sauvole in August, 1701, when he became governor of Louisiana at the early age of twenty-two.

Iberville returned once more to Louisiana at the end of 1701, and remained until March, 1702. He had the seat of the colony transferred to fort St. Louis de la Mobile. Iberville, the father of Louisiana, died in 1706 at Havana, whither he had gone to prepare an expedition against the English in the Carolinas. His death was a great blow to the colony, which was left with very little support from France. Bienville was obliged several times to scatter some of his men among the Indians, who treated them kindly. Pénicaut, the carpenter, has given a charming description of his stay among the Natchitoches. He tells us how he tried to teach French to two Indian maidens, and how one of his

companions, a violinist, taught the young people to dance the stately minuet of the court of Versailles.

In spite of Bienville's efforts to make the colony prosper, he was superseded in 1708, and a new governor, de Muys, was sent to Louisiana. The latter died on the way, and the new commissary general, Diron d'Artaguet, sent such a favorable report to the French government about Bienville that the young governor was kept at the head of the colony, which he had governed *ad interim*, after the death of de Muys.

France had been brought to great distress by the war of the Spanish succession undertaken by Louis XIV. to place his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, on the throne of Spain, which had been bequeathed to the latter by Charles II. Marlborough and Prince Eugene had defeated the armies of the French in several great battles, and the country was saved from a shameful peace only by the battle of Denain, won by Villars in 1712. It was no easy matter to maintain colonies when the kingdom was in danger, therefore, in 1712, Louis XIV. was glad to transfer Louisiana to a wealthy banker named Crozat, for a period of fifteen years. The colony, at that time, contained a population of about 380 persons, scattered, says Gayarré, over an immense territory and protected by five forts: at Mobile, at Biloxi, on the Mississippi, at Ship Island, and Dauphine or Massacre Island, near Mobile.

In 1710 Lamothe Cadillac had been named governor. He was the founder of Detroit and had given proof of ability and courage, but in his new position he failed completely. He seemed to have lacked tact in his dealings with the Indians, and the first Natchez war broke out in 1716. The Natchez were an intelligent race and had strange customs. They adored the sun and kept a fire burning perpetually in their temple. Their chief was called the Great Sun, and the succession was in the female line. In 1716 the Natchez rose against the French, and Bienville, who was second in command in the colony, was sent against them. As he had only a few men with him, he resorted to a stratagem which we could hardly approve at present and made the Indian chiefs fall into a snare. He put two of them to death and made terms with the others. He also built Fort Rosalie, of which the site had been chosen by Iberville.

In 1716 Lamothe Cadillac was recalled, and de l'Epiney named governor. In 1717, however, Crozat gave up his charter. He believed that he would have a prosperous trade with the Spaniards in Mexico, but had failed in this and had been restricted to an unprofitable trade with the Indians. The council of

marine decided to maintain the colony and declared: "That it is too considerable an enterprise to be confided to a single individual; that it does not suit the King to take charge of it himself, inasmuch as His Majesty cannot enter into all the details of commerce, which are inseparable from it; therefore, the best to be done is to choose a company strong enough to support this enterprise."

Louisiana was transferred, with a population of about 700 souls, to the Company of the West or of the Indies. The latter was to have almost absolute control over the colony for twenty-five years, enjoying a monopoly of trade, naming the governor and other officers, except the members of the Superior Council. The company obligated itself to send to Louisiana six thousand whites and three thousand blacks. The famous John Law, director general of the bank of France, was the president of the company.

At the end of Crozat's régime, Saint-Denis had laid the foundation of the town of Natchitoches and had gone to Mexico, where he had had a number of romantic adventures, and had married a beautiful Mexican girl.

II.—THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ORLEANS.

THE WESTERN COMPANY AND THE NATCHEZ WAR.

As soon as the organization of the Western Company was completed three ships were sent to Louisiana. They carried soldiers and sixty-nine colonists, and as Gayarré says, "caused the hope of better days to revive in the colony." Bien-ville was appointed governor for the second time, and in 1718 rendered to Louisiana the greatest service possible by laying the foundation of the present city of New Orleans.

The following extract from Father Charlevoix's Historical Journal is interesting, as it is probably the first letter written from New Orleans that has come down to us. It is addressed to the Duchess of Lesdiguières, and is taken from the "Historical Collections" of B. F. French.

"NEW ORLEANS, January 10, 1722.

"I am at length arrived in this famous city, which they have called *la Nouvelle-Orleans*. Those who have given it this name, thought that Orléans was of the feminine gender; but what signifies that? Custom has established it, and that is above the rules of grammar.

"This city is the first, which one of the greatest rivers in the world has seen raised on its banks. If the eight hundred fine houses and the five parishes, which the newspapers gave it some two years ago, are reduced at present to a

hundred barracks, placed in no very great order; to a great storehouse, built of wood; to two or three houses, which would be no ornament to a village of France; and to the half of a sorry storehouse, which they agreed to lend to the lord of the place, and which he had no sooner taken possession of, but they turned him out to dwell under a tent; what pleasure, on the other side, to see insensibly increasing this future capital of a fine and vast country, and to be able to say, not with a sigh, like the hero of Virgil, speaking of his dear native place consumed by the flames, and the fields where the city of Troy had been, but full of a well-grounded hope, this wild and desert place, which the reeds and trees do yet almost wholly cover, will be one day, and perhaps that day is not far off, an opulent city, and the metropolis of a great and rich colony.

“You will ask me, madam, on what I found this hope? I found it on the situation of this city, at thirty-three leagues from the sea, and on the side of a navigable river, that one may come up to this place in twenty-four hours; on the fruitfulness of the soil; on the mildness and goodness of its climate, in 30° north latitude; on the industry of its inhabitants; on the neighborhood of Mexico, to which we may go in fifteen days by sea; on that of the Havana, which is still nearer; and of the English colonies. Need there anything more to render a city flourishing? Rome and Paris had not such considerable beginnings, were not built under such happy auspices, and their founders did not find on the Seine and the Tiber the advantages which we have found on the Mississippi, in comparison of which those two rivers are but little brooks.”

Although New Orleans, in 1722, was composed only of “a hundred barracks,” and about 200 inhabitants, Bienville wisely foresaw its great future and tried, as early as 1719, to have the seat of government transferred to the town on the Mississippi. The Superior Council, however, did not share the views of the governor, and decided to transfer the seat of government from Mobile, near Dauphine Island, to Biloxi, which, having been burned by accident, was abandoned for New Biloxi, on the other side of the Bay.

In 1722 the news reached Louisiana of the failure of Law’s bank, due to an exaggerated emission of paper money based on no tangible security. The colonists feared that Law’s failure would interfere with the affairs of the Western Company and induce it to neglect Louisiana. Such was not the case, for there soon arrived in the colony three commissioners charged with the administration of the affairs of the company. The commissioners, in 1723, allowed Bienville to make New Orleans the capital of Louisiana. On January 25, 1723, Pauger, the engineer, made an important report concerning the mouth of the river, saying that “he found that ships drawing fourteen, fifteen feet of water, and even more, could pass there easily.”

Owing to the failure of Law's bank the financial affairs of the colony were in a wretched condition. The paper money was almost worthless and was ordered to be exchanged for cards, which were soon as worthless. Another result of Law's failure was the establishment on the Mississippi River, at a short distance from New Orleans, of about four hundred Germans, who had been sent to the Arkansas country, but had been compelled to go to New Orleans. From these settlers came the name of German Coast.

On February 16, 1724, Bienville was ordered to return to France to render an account of his conduct. From the foundation of the colony there had existed serious dissensions between the superior officers in command, and Bienville's enemies were once more successful, as they had been in 1708, in their intrigues against him. During his second administration Bienville had taken Pensacola in 1719 (returned to Spain in 1723), had undertaken a war against the Natchez and had defeated them, had issued the Black Code, and had entered into negotiations by which the Ursuline nuns were to come to Louisiana to instruct the girls in the colony.

I take the liberty to quote here from my "Louisiana Studies" the following extracts referring to education in colonial times in Louisiana: "The hundred huts mentioned by Father Charlevoix soon became spacious mansions, which, although rough looking and unwieldy, contained in their poorly furnished rooms and wide halls elegant gentlemen and ladies and charming children. The parents had been educated in France. Where were the little ones to be instructed? The wealthy inhabitants sent their sons to the colleges of the mother country, but could girls be separated from their mothers, and what was to be done with the sons of the poor? A worthy Capuchin monk, Father Cecil, opened a school for boys near his church, and was the first teacher in Louisiana. As for the teachers for girls, Bienville thought of the *soeurs grises* of his native Canada; but having failed in that direction, he consulted Father Beaubois, superior of the few Jesuits at that time in Louisiana, and was advised by him to procure the services of the Ursuline nuns. A treaty was signed on September 13, 1726, between the nuns and the company of the Indies, and Bienville, although he was no longer governor when the Ursulines arrived in Louisiana, is entitled to the honor of being the founder of the first girls' school and of the first hospital in the colony." The hospital was also to be under the charge of the Ursulines.

The nuns, twelve in number, left Lorient, on February 22, 1727, and

reached New Orleans on August 7, 1727. Their superior was Mother Tranchepain, and among the sisters was the talented Madeleine Hachard, to whom we owe a charming description of the journey of the nuns, and of New Orleans in 1727.

Governor Périer, Bienville's successor, went to meet the nuns on their arrival, and they were given as a residence Bienville's house, where they stayed until 1734. They moved then to their convent on Condé street, later Chartres street, now the palace of the archbishop of New Orleans.

The plan of the new town had been made by chief engineer de la Tour, about whom Dumont says in his *Memoir* (B. F. French, "Historical Memoirs") :

"The Sieur de la Tour was no sooner arrived at the place, then consisting only of some unimportant houses, scattered here and there, formed by voyageurs who had come down from Illinois, than he cleared a pretty long and wide strip along the river, to put in execution the plan he had projected. Then, with the help of some piqueurs, he traced on the ground the streets and quarters which were to form the new town, and notified all who wished building sites to present their petitions to the council. To each settler who appeared they gave a plot ten fathoms front by twenty deep, and as each square was fifty fathoms front, it gave twelve plots in each, the two middle ones being ten front by twenty-five deep. It was ordained that those who obtained these plots should be bound to enclose them with palisades, and leave all around a strip at least three feet wide, at the foot of which a ditch was to be dug, to serve as a drain for the river water in time of inundation. The Sieur de la Tour deemed these canals, communicating from square to square, not only absolutely necessary, but even, to preserve the city from inundation, raised in front, near a slight elevation, running to the river, a dike or levée of earth, at the foot of which he dug a similar drain."

Governor Périer arrived in New Orleans in 1725. During his administration a great war with the Indians took place. The Chickasaws had never been very friendly to the French, and the Natchez seemed restless. Bienville had asked for more troops, and Périer repeated the request when he became governor, but without success. The Indians were led to attack the French by the greed and injustice of the commandant at Fort Rosalie, Chepart. This vile man ordered the Natchez to abandon one of their finest villages, the White Apple, in order that he might establish a plantation there. The Indian chief succeeded in obtaining, or rather in buying, a delay from him, but the Natchez, henceforth,

thought that their safety lay in destroying the French at Fort Rosalie. On November 28, 1729, the savages surprised the fort, massacred 200 men and took prisoners a number of women, children, and negro slaves.

On hearing of this disaster Périer made active preparations to attack the Natchez. Lesueur induced the Choctaws to ally themselves with the French, and Périer sent Major Loubois with the main body of troops to co-operate with Lesueur. The savage auxiliaries of the latter, however, refused to wait for Loubois's detachment, and attacking the Natchez by surprise, killed a number of them and recovered 51 French women and children, two men, and one hundred and six slaves. The Choctaws then dispersed.

The Natchez intrenched themselves strongly and resisted for some time successfully the attacks of Loubois. Finally they offered to surrender their prisoners, more than two hundred in number, provided the siege were abandoned. These terms were accepted, but the Indians, not trusting the French, managed to escape, leaving their prisoners behind. Some of the Natchez sought refuge among the Chickasaws, while the greater part, led by the Great Sun, retired upon a mound on the Black River.

Governor Périer received some reinforcements from France, and on November 15, 1730, he departed with 650 soldiers, including the militia, and 350 Indian warriors, for the Black River. In this expedition he succeeded in bringing back to New Orleans, on February 5, 1731, 427 captives, including the Great Sun and several chiefs. These were sent to San Domingo by Périer and sold as slaves. He had previously allowed to be burned in New Orleans, as a warning, four men and two women.

The tribe of the Natchez, now reduced by one-half, was in the summer of 1731 nearly annihilated by the brave Saint-Denis, the commandant at Natchitoches. What remained of the tribe was adopted by the Chickasaws, and the Natchez lost their name. Such was the fate of these Indians, whom Le Page du Pratz praises highly, and who seem to have been far superior in intelligence to the other tribes in Louisiana.

The Natchez war had occasioned heavy expense to the Western Company and had delayed the growth of the colony, therefore the Company begged the King to allow them to surrender their charter. Their petition was granted, and Louisiana became again, in April, 1732, a royal province. It had prospered considerably during the fifteen years it had been under the control of the Western Company. The population in 1732 was 5,000 whites and 2,000

blacks, and trade and agriculture were flourishing. At this period of history ends the colonization of Louisiana. The seed sown by Iberville had fructified, and in spite of many vicissitudes, the colony planted at Biloxi in 1699, was to become the great State of Louisiana, and Bienville's town of one hundred huts was to become the metropolis of the Southern States of the American Union.

III.—THE CHICKASAW WAR, AND THE TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU.

VAUDREUIL AND KESLEREC.

Bienville was reappointed governor in 1732, and the colonists were delighted to see him again, but the last administration of that distinguished man was marked with great disasters in the wars with the Indians. The tribes seemed to have been somewhat dissatisfied with Périer, and the latter's successor had a hard task in his dealings with the Indians. We shall follow here Dumont's account of the war with the Chickasaws.

We have seen that the remnant of the Natchez tribe, after their defeat by Saint-Denis, were adopted by the Chickasaws. In 1734 Bienville asked for the surrender of the fugitives, but met with a refusal. He, therefore, prepared to attack the Chickasaws. This tribe was the most warlike in the colony, and had always manifested some hostility against the French. Bienville sent to the Illinois country a convoy of five boats, one loaded with powder and the others with goods, but the commander, Leblanc, left the powder in the Arkansas country, went to the Illinois, and sent for the powder. On the way back the powder was taken by the Indians, and all the Frenchmen in the boat were killed or taken prisoners. Leblanc transmitted the orders of the governor to the chevalier d'Artaguet, commandant of Fort Chartres, and younger brother of the commissary Diron d'Artaguet. The latter was again, at that time, in Louisiana, and was now on bad terms with the governor. The orders to d'Artaguet were to meet Bienville in the Chickasaw country, by May 10, with whatever troops he could gather.

Bienville started from Mobile, by the river, on April 1, 1736, and, on April 20, the army arrived at a place called Tombigby. There they were joined by the Choctaw auxiliaries. Having been detained by rains at Tombigby until

May 4th the expedition started again, and on May 25th reached a place distant seven leagues from the Chickasaw village. They found the Indians in a strongly fortified post, and, although Bienville's troops, both regulars and militia attacked the fort with great bravery, they were repulsed with heavy loss, as they had no material for a siege. Bienville ordered the army to retreat, and returned to New Orleans, where he heard of the sad fate of d'Artaguette.

The commandant at Fort Chartres had obeyed his chief's orders, and had marched into the country of the Chickasaws. Having arrived there before Bienville, and not being supported by the main army of the French, he was defeated by the Indians and forced to surrender. D'Artaguette, Vincennes, Father Senac, a Jesuit missionary, and a number of other Frenchmen were burned at the stake. The unhappy fate of young d'Artaguette struck the imagination of the colonists, and his name has become connected with a proverb in Louisiana. In speaking of something very old one says: "*Vieux comme du temps d'Artaguette*," "as old as the time of d'Artaguette."

Bienville was very anxious to avenge d'Artaguette's death and to regain his military renown. He did not believe, however, that he had sufficient troops to conquer the Chickasaws and he applied to France for reinforcements. The chevalier de Beauharnais, governor of Canada, was ordered to send troops to assist Bienville, and a body of marines arrived from France, commanded by the chevalier Louis d'Aymé de Noailles. The expedition was conveyed by the Mississippi, then called St. Louis River, to Fort St. Francis on the St. Francis River, and from there to the Margot River, now Wolf River. The army built a fort called Fort Assumption, near the present city of Memphis, and received at that place large reinforcements. The Sieur de la Buisonnière, successor to the unfortunate d'Artaguette at Fort Chartres, captain de Celoron, and lieutenant de St. Laurent, "followed," says Dumont, "by thirty cadets, sent by the governor of Canada, with a great number of Canada Indians."

"The army of Bienville," says Judge Martin, "numbered about 1200 white troops, and double that number of Indian and black troops." For some unaccountable reason the troops remained at Fort Assumption, at some distance from the Indians, from August, 1739, to March, 1740, without attacking the enemy. The provisions failed, sickness broke out in the camp, especially among the soldiers recently arrived from France, and Bienville resolved, instead of conquering the Chickasaws, to grant them peace, if they asked for it. He accordingly sent Celoron, with his thirty Canadian cadets and his Indian allies, to

advance against the Chickasaws. The latter, believing that the whole army of Bienville was marching to attack them, begged for peace and presented the calumet to Celoron. This commander promised peace, and Bienville ratified the treaty in April, 1740. He gave presents to his Indian allies and dismissed them. The army now returned to New Orleans, after destroying Forts Assumption and St. Francis. The Chickasaws were never conquered, and they and the Natchez fugitives continued to commit depredations. There was, however, no open war with them after Bienville's unsuccessful expedition.

We have given in detail the war with the Chickasaws, as it was the last expedition undertaken by Bienville. We feel great sorrow at the failure of his last two campaigns, and we cannot understand his apparent mismanagement of the war, as prior to 1736, he had been very successful in his dealings with the Indians. Mortified and grieved at his failure, Bienville asked to be relieved of his command, and on May 10, 1743, he returned to France. He was then sixty-two years old and had been about forty-four years in the colony. We shall see later the Father of New Orleans in Paris; trying, in his old age, to prevent the transfer of his cherished Louisiana to the rule of Spain.

Bienville's successor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, was a real *grand seigneur*, and he has always been remembered in Louisiana for his elegant manners and his sumptuous entertainments. One of his first acts was to keep up the enmity between the Chickasaws and the Choctaws. Red Shoe, a Choctaw chief, gave Vaudreuil great trouble by his restlessness and duplicity. He sided one day with the English, another day with the French, and was ever ready to receive money or provisions from either party. He was the cause of a civil war among the Choctaws, and was finally killed by the party friendly to the French. The different Indian tribes harassed the colonists considerably during Vaudreuil's administration, and among the persons killed by the savages in 1748 was the unfortunate dancing master, Baby, whose loss was deeply mourned in New Orleans.

Vaudreuil belonged to an influential family and obtained from the French government a large increase in the number of soldiers to serve in Louisiana. He undertook an expedition against the Chickasaws in 1752, but accomplished little besides burning and devastating their country. The marquis, however, remained in high favor at court and was promoted in 1753 to the governorship of Canada. There he displayed great ability and courage in the French wars with the English.

Bossu, a captain of marines, wrote from New Orleans, on July 1, 1751, that Governor Vaudreuil received most hospitably the troops which had come from France. He speaks of the inhabitants of Louisiana and says: "One calls Creoles those who are born of a Frenchman and a Frenchwoman or of a European woman. The Creoles, in general, are very brave, tall and well made; they have many dispositions for the arts and the sciences; but as they cannot cultivate them perfectly on account of the scarcity of good teachers, the rich and considerate do not fail to send their children to France, as to the first school in the world, in all things. As to the sex which has no other duty to perform but that of pleasing, it is born here with that advantage and has no need to go to Europe to seek the deceitful art."

As to New Orleans, Bossu says: "That town is situated on the banks of the Mississippi, one of the largest rivers in the world, since it waters more than eight hundred leagues of known countries. Its pure and delicious waters flow for forty leagues, in the midst of a number of plantations, which form a charming sight on its two banks, where one enjoys abundantly the pleasures of hunting, of fishing, and all the other delights of life."

Bossu regrets very much the departure of Vaudreuil, and mentions the latter's successor, Kerlerec, in no flattering terms, saying: "He has qualities of heart very different from those of his predecessor; but this new governor may give as an excuse that he did not come so far only for a change of air." It was during Kerlerec's administration that Villiers, an officer at Fort Chartres of the Illinois, avenged the death of his brother Jumonville, who was killed at the Great Meadows in April, 1754. Villiers attacked Colonel Washington at Fort Necessity and compelled him to surrender on July 4, 1754.

During the administration of Kerlerec there were violent disputes between him and his commissary *ordonnateur*, Rochemore, and the colony not only made no progress, but seemed to be retrograding. The unsuccessful wars of Louis XV. hardly allowed any help to be given Louisiana, and the unwise financial policy of the government caused great distress in the colony by the instability of the currency, whether copper coin, or note or card money. In June, 1761, Rochemore was replaced by Foucault, who was soon to play an important part in the history of Louisiana.

The Seven Years' War ended disastrously for France in Europe, Canada, and India, and the wretched and corrupt administration of Louis XV. caused France to lose all her colonies in America and nearly all in India. The loss of

Canada, as Gayarré expresses it so well, "caused a painful emotion in Louisiana, which was bound to it by so many ties, and which, for such a long time, had formed a dependency of Canada. A vague presentment made the colonists fear a change of domination. Indeed, on November 13, 1762, the King of Spain accepted, by a secret treaty, the gift which the King of France made to him of Louisiana."

Louis XV. ceded "by the pure effect of the generosity of his heart"
* * * "all the country known by the name of Louisiana as well as New Orleans, and the island in which that town is situated." The King of France was desirous to give to his cousin of Spain a proof of the great interest he took in his welfare, and was touched by the sacrifices made by his Catholic Majesty to bring about peace. This shameful treaty was signed at Fontainebleau by Grimaldi for Spain and Choiseul for France. It is a pity that the latter affixed his signature to such a disgraceful State paper. Choiseul was one of the few able ministers of Louis XV., and he had, by his "Family Compact," united all the different branches of the Bourbons, and made France powerful again in Europe, in spite of Rosbach and other defeats. When Madame Du Barry caused the fall of Choiseul in 1770, the doom of the monarchy was sealed, and Louis XV. could truly say: "After me the deluge."

IV.—THE REVOLUTION OF OCTOBER, 1768.

ULLOA, AUBRY, AND LAFRENIERE.

The treaty of Fontainebleau was kept secret, and, on February 10, 1763, the shameful treaty of Paris was signed. Louis XV. ceded to Great Britain, by article 7, the river and port of Mobile and all the possessions on the left bank of the Mississippi, with the exception of the town of New Orleans and the island in which it is situated. Spain, in its turn ceded to Great Britain Florida, called later West Florida, with the fort of St. Augustine and the bay of Pensacola, and all the country to the east and south-east of the Mississippi.

The King of France continued to act as possessor of Louisiana, as the treaty of Fontainebleau was still kept secret. On June 29, 1763, d'Abbadie arrived in New Orleans with the title of director general, and Kerlerec returned to France where he was thrown into the Bastille on his arrival in Paris. In

1764 d'Abbadie obtained for Braud an exclusive privilege to establish a printing press and to sell books in the colony. Braud's press was soon to be of great value to the colonists in their heroic struggle in 1768 against Spanish oppression.

In October, 1764, d'Abbadie received an official communication from the French court announcing the cession to Spain. Louisiana was to pass from the domination of Louis XV. to that of Charles III. If it had not been the fact of their being handed over like cattle by one master to another, the Louisianians should have felt relieved to be no longer the subjects of the infamous King who had been the cause of so many disasters to France. Charles III., of Spain, was a far better man and an abler ruler than the Bourbon at Versailles.

On February 4, 1765, d'Abbadie died, much regretted by every one in Louisiana, and Aubry succeeded him as commandant or governor. The name of the latter is unfortunately connected with the saddest event in our history. When the colonists heard in October, 1764, of the cession to Spain, they were thrown into consternation and despair. They were greatly attached to France, and a number of them had left the part of the province ceded to England, in order to remain Frenchmen. A meeting was held in New Orleans of delegates from every parish, and Lafrénière, the attorney general, made a speech in which he suggested that a petition be sent to the King begging him not to give them away to another nation. The colonists were not aware of the infamy of the King, and they hoped that he would be touched by their expressions of devotion and love. Jean Milhet, the wealthiest merchant in New Orleans, was sent to France as the representative of the Louisianians.

As soon as Milhet arrived in Paris he went to see Bienville, who was then eighty-four years old. This venerable and distinguished man called with Milhet on Choiseul, who received them kindly, but did not allow them to see the King. Milhet failed in his endeavors, and Bienville had the sorrow to see his beloved Louisiana become a Spanish province. Milhet announced his failure to his compatriots, but the latter had begun to hope that Spain would not take possession of the colony. On July 10, 1765, however, Don Antonio de Ulloa wrote from Havana to Aubry that he had been appointed governor of Louisiana, and he arrived in New Orleans on March 5, 1766.

The Spanish King had certainly not appeared very anxious to take possession of his new dominion. More than three years had elapsed, from the date of the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, by which France had ceded Louisiana to

Spain, before a Spanish official appeared in the colony, and when that official did arrive he came nearly alone and did not assume authority in a public manner. However, Aubry recognized him as the representative of the King of Spain, and issued orders in the latter's name. Ulloa had with him only two companies of infantry, composed of ninety men, and the French soldiers in Louisiana refused to enter the service of Spain, claiming that the time of their enlistment had expired. The Spanish governor, therefore, delayed taking possession officially until he should have more troops to sustain his authority.

The condition of affairs was very unfortunate; for Ulloa's orders, issued through Aubry, did not appear binding on the inhabitants, and merely irritated them. Such was the case, especially with an ordinance dated September 6, 1766, by which no merchants were allowed to sell their goods in the colony before they had submitted their prices to the inspection of "just and intelligent" persons, who would judge whether the prices asked were excessive or not. The merchants of New Orleans protested against this ordinance and begged the Superior Council not to allow it to be enforced before they could be heard on the subject. It is evident that the inhabitants were opposed to every act of Ulloa's and to the cession to Spain. The governor was a man of merit, a distinguished scientist, but lacked tact as a ruler of people opposed to a change of domination, and who should have been treated with the greatest gentleness. Ulloa treated the inhabitants with haughtiness and acted certainly in a strange manner, when he remained at the Balize, at the mouth of the Mississippi, for seven months, to await his Peruvian bride, and never went once in the mean time to New Orleans. The colonists were justified in not submitting to his rule and in asking for his withdrawal from the country.

Jean Milhet returned from France at about that time, and the narrative of his failure caused in the colony an excitement which brought about the great event known as the Revolution of 1768. Lafrénière was at the head of the movement, and chief among his lieutenants were Villeré, Marquis, Caresse, Noyan, Milhet, Doucet, Mazent, Petit and Boisblanc. At a meeting held in New Orleans Lafrénière made a magnificent speech, of which our historian, Gayarré, says: "There is a passage in Lafrénière's address of which Louisiana may well be proud, and of which she can boast, as spoken by one of her children, in 1768, before the voice of 1776 was heard. In proportion, said he, to the extent both of commerce and population, is the solidity of thrones: both are fed by liberty and competition, which are the nursing mothers of the State,

of which the spirit of monopoly is the tyrant and stepmother. Without liberty there are but few virtues. Despotism breeds pusillanimity, and deepens the abyss of vices. Man is considered as sinning before God only because he retains his free will."

After hearing Lafrénière's bold and eloquent words, 560 of the most influential inhabitants signed a petition asking the Superior Council to expel Ulloa from the colony. Immediately all the inhabitants took up arms. The Germans were led by Villeré and the Acadians by Marquis, and from all the parishes brave and resolute men assembled in New Orleans. The Superior Council, on October 29, 1768, ordered Ulloa to show his powers or to leave the colony of which he pretended to be governor. He withdrew on board a ship at anchor in the river, but at daybreak some young men who were returning from a wedding, cut the cables of the vessel on which was Ulloa. The Spaniard was thus expelled and a revolution had taken place.

Braud, the King's printer, printed a long memoir of the planters and merchants of Louisiana, about the event of October, 1768. It is one of the most important and interesting documents in our history. The colonists do not prove their case fully against Ulloa, but one sees in their memoir their bitter opposition to the rule of Spain, to the rule of the foreigner. Their spirit was patriotic, and the Louisianians of to-day should admire their feelings and be proud of their heroism. Foucault and Aubry played an unenviable part in these events and may be considered informers, although the commissary Foucault was one of the participants in the revolution.

On December 14, 1768, the inhabitants petitioned the Council to order the expulsion of the Spanish frigate, which had remained in the river, and the frigate finally left the country on April 20, 1769. The colonists had been most persistent in their opposition to everything Spanish. Aubry, the representative of the French King, protested against these acts of violence, but the Louisianians still hoped to induce Louis XV. to remain their sovereign. They sent again to France as delegates St. Lette and Le Sassier, who were not more successful than Milhet had been formerly. It was now known that Louis had disowned forever his subjects in Louisiana, and the latter thought of proclaiming a republic on the banks of the Mississippi. "There is no doubt," says Gayarré, "but that the colonists would have eagerly adopted this form of government, had it been possible at the time, for it must be recollected that from the earliest existence of the colony, almost all its governors had uniformly complained of the

republican spirit which they had observed in the inhabitants." Our ancestors were evidently mistaken in their noble efforts, and their plans were but a dream, for how were they to resist the power of the King of Spain, with a population of 12,000 souls, of whom half were slaves? "But," says Gayarré again, "they nevertheless bequeathed to their posterity the right of claiming for Louisiana the merit of having been the first European colony that entertained the design of proclaiming her independence."

When the news of the event of October, 1768, was known in Spain, it was decided to leave the country, decided to remain. On August 18, 1769, the was to be maintained and that troops would be sent to subdue the rebels. Don Alejandro O'Reilly was appointed governor and captain-general of the province of Louisiana, and he arrived at the Balize, on July 23, 1769, on a frigate, accompanied by twenty-eight transports, having 4,500 soldiers on board. The news of O'Reilly's arrival was carried to New Orleans by Don Francisco Bouligny and was received with great consternation. "Resistance," says Martin, "was spoken of." The inhabitants decided to send three representatives to O'Reilly in order to tell him that they had decided to abandon the colony and wished no other favor from him, but to be allowed two years in which to prepare for their departure. The Spanish governor received very politely the delegates, who were Lafrénière, Marquis, and Milhet, and assured them, says Martin, "that all past transactions would be buried in oblivion, and all who had offended should be forgiven." The delegates reported O'Reilly's word to their countrymen, and all were quieted. Those who had already taken up arms and gone to New Orleans returned to their homes, and a number of persons who had decided by the council of the King that the authority of His Catholic Majesty Spanish troops landed on the levee at New Orleans, and the same afternoon the French flag was lowered from a mast in the Place d'Armes, and the Spanish flag took its place. O'Reilly attended a Te Deum in the cathedral, and Spain took thus formal possession of Louisiana.

V.—THE RULE OF SPAIN.

O'REILLY, UNZAGA, AND GALVEZ.

General O'Reilly asked of Aubry a narrative of what had taken place in October, 1768, and the French governor had the weakness or the cowardice to act as informer against his own countrymen. Nothing required that he should

give any information to O'Reilly. As soon as the latter had taken possession of the province, in the name of Spain, Aubry's duties as governor ceased, and he should have tried to protect men whose sole crime was that they had made earnest efforts to remain Frenchmen. Posterity must certainly judge Aubry severely for his conduct in 1768 and until his departure from Louisiana in 1770. O'Reilly seemed unwilling for several days to take any action with regard to the events leading to Ulloa's expulsion, when suddenly, at the end of August, 1769, he caused to be arrested, Lafrénière, Foucault, Noyan, and Boisblanc, members of the Superior Council, and Braud, the printer, while these gentlemen were at his own house attending his levee. Shortly afterwards, Marquis, an officer in the troops, Doucet, a lawyer, Petit and Mazant, planters, Jean and Joseph Milhet, Caresse, and Poupet, merchants, were arrested.

Joseph Villeré, whom O'Reilly wished also to arrest, was on his plantation on the German Coast, and was about to go to the English possessions when he received a letter from Aubry saying that he had nothing to fear from O'Reilly and that he could come to New Orleans in perfect safety. Bossu, who was a contemporary of Villeré, relates the latter's death in the following manner: "M. de Villeré, confiding in his assurance (Aubry's), descended the river to go to New Orleans. What was his surprise, when on presenting himself at the barriers, he saw himself arrested! Sensitive to this outrage, he could not moderate his indignation. In a first transport, he struck the Spanish officer who commanded the post. The latter's soldiers threw themselves upon him and pierced him with bayonets. He was carried on board a frigate, which was at the port, and died a few days afterwards." Judge Martin gives a different account of Villeré's death, but Bossu's narrative is more likely the true one. Champagny, also a contemporary of Villeré, gives about the same account as Bossu and praises highly the patriotic Louisianian.

Let us now see what was the fate of Villeré's companions. Foucault claimed that as he was acting as an officer of the King of France he was accountable only to that monarch for his actions. He was sent to France, where he was at first thrown into the Bastille, but afterwards released and given an office in the East Indies. Braud claimed that, being the official printer, he was bound to print whatever Foucault, the commissary, ordered him to print. He was discharged. The other prisoners denied the jurisdiction of O'Reilly's court and argued that they had committed no act of insubordination against Spain, as Ulloa had never exhibited his powers. The tribunal, however, condemned

Petit to imprisonment for life, Mazant and Doucet to imprisonment for ten years, Boisblanc, Jean Milhet and Poupet to imprisonment for six years. They were all transported to Havana and imprisoned in Moro Castle. Lafrénière, Noyan, his son-in-law, and a nephew of Bienville, Caresse, Marquis and Joseph Milhet were condemned to death and ordered to be hanged. As, however, no one could be found to act as hangman, the five heroic men were shot by Spanish soldiers on October 25, 1769.

The following lines from Judge Martin's "History of Louisiana" are very important when we consider the judicial and impartial mind of the author: "Posterity, the judge of men in power, will doom this act to public execration. No necessity demanded, no policy justified it. Ulloa's conduct had provoked the measures to which the inhabitants had resorted. During nearly two years he had haunted the province as a phantom of dubious authority. The efforts of the colonists, to prevent the transfer of their natal soil to a foreign prince, originated in their attachment to their own, and the Catholic King ought to have beheld in their conduct a pledge of their future devotion to himself. They had but lately seen their country severed, and a part of it added to the dominion of Great Britain; they had bewailed their separation from their friends and kindred; and were afterwards to be alienated, without their consent, and subjected to a foreign yoke. If the indiscretion of a few needed an apology, the common misfortune afforded it."

Judge Martin is right. Nothing can excuse O'Reilly's cruelty. Spain was powerful enough to be generous, and Charles III. would have pardoned those men, whose sole crime was to have loved liberty and France, the country which had placed the Spanish crown upon the brow of Philip V., the father of Charles III.

O'Reilly abolished the Superior Council and substituted to it a Cabildo, composed of six perpetual regidores, two ordinary alcades, an attorney-general-syndic, and a clerk. The Cabildo was presided over by the governor in person. The laws of Spain were also substituted to those of France, and O'Reilly issued a number of ordinances on subjects concerning the province of Louisiana and the city of New Orleans. He returned to Spain in the summer of 1770, leaving a name which has been handed down to posterity for execration. Aubry, who may be called O'Reilly's accomplice, perished in 1770 by shipwreck in the Gironde River.

Don Luis de Unzaga succeeded O'Reilly as governor, and his administra-

tion was mild and paternal, as well as that of every Spanish governor after him, to the end of the Spanish Domination. The winter of 1772 was extremely severe, and in the summer following there arose a hurricane which did great havoc on the sea coast. During Unzaga's administration the War of the American Revolution began, and the governor of Louisiana gave help to the colonists in their struggle for independence by conniving at the purchase in New Orleans of arms and ammunition for the Americans. Unzaga acted also with great wisdom in not applying too strictly the regulations by which the trade of the inhabitants of Louisiana were confined to a few Spanish ports. He tacitly allowed some trade with the English colonists. He was a man of liberal ideas and acted with tact and moderation at the time of the celebrated quarrel between the French and Spanish Capuchins, which Gayarré has related in such an interesting manner in his *History of Louisiana*, where we learn to love good Father Dagobert.

On February 1, 1777, Don Bernardo de Galvez entered on his duties as governor, and his heroism and admirable character rendered the Spanish Domination popular. Galvez was about twenty-one years old and belonged to an influential family. His father was Viceroy of Mexico and his uncle President of the Council of the Indies. At the beginning of his administration more freedom was allowed the colonists in their commerce with Spain and other countries, and aid was openly given the American Revolutionists. Their agent, Oliver Pollock, received from Galvez about seventy thousand dollars to buy arms and ammunition. Spain declared war against Great Britain on May 8, 1779, and on July 8, 1779, the American subjects of Charles III. were authorized to take part in the war. Galvez resolved immediately to capture Baton Rouge. On August 27 he left New Orleans on his expedition. He had a small fleet, composed of one schooner and three gunboats, and an army of 1,430 men, including veterans, militiamen, eighty free men of color, recruits and 160 Indians. Galvez captured Fort Manchac on the way and arrived at Baton Rouge on September 7. His army was anxious to take the fort by storm, but the Spanish governor would not risk the lives of his men uselessly and resolved to open trenches and besiege the place. On September 21, 1779, the English commander surrendered the fort at Baton Rouge and also Fort Panmure at Natchez. During the whole campaign the creoles behaved with distinguished gallantry. The expedition of Galvez against Baton Rouge inspired Julien Poydras, who wrote an epic poem on the exploits of the heroic young governor. Poydras's poem is the earliest

work in the French literature of Louisiana, and on that account it is very interesting. The author, however, is better known in our history as a statesman and a philanthropist than as a poet.

After the capture of Baton Rouge in 1779, Galvez left New Orleans in January, 1780, to undertake the conquest of Mobile. He sailed from the Balize on February 5, with an army of 2,000 men, and in spite of a terrific storm which greatly hampered and delayed him, he landed his army on the eastern point of Mobile River. General Campbell, the English commander at Pensacola, might have destroyed the Spanish army had he attacked them with a large force in their disorganized condition. He allowed Galvez, however, to erect six batteries and to capture Fort Charlotte before the English army appeared. The fall of Fort Charlotte, on March 14, 1780, gave Mobile to the Spanish, and Pensacola was now the only important town in the possession of the British in Florida.

Galvez determined to capture Pensacola, and went to Havana to obtain reinforcements. He sailed from Havana on October 16, 1780, but lost some of his transports in a storm, and returned to Havana on November 16. He sailed again on February 28, 1781, says Judge Martin, "with a man-of-war, two frigates and several transports, on board of which were fourteen hundred and fifteen soldiers, a competent train of artillery and abundance of ammunition. The fleet was commanded by Don Joseph Cabro de Jrazabal."

The troops were landed on March 9 on the Island of St. Rosa, and Galvez asked Jrazabal to cross the bar with his fleet. This the commodore was unwilling to do, as his own ship had got aground on attempting to cross the bar. Galvez, therefore, resolved to cross the bar with the small fleet under his immediate command: the brig *Galvezton*, commanded by Rousseau, from New Orleans; a schooner commanded by Riano, and two gunboats. The governor went on board the brig, and his small fleet crossed the bar, in spite of a brisk firing from the English. Jrazabal allowed then his fleet to cross, and this was done with success, Galvez remaining in a boat in the midst of the firing until the last vessel had anchored in safety.

Fort George, which protected Pensacola, was attacked by the fleet and by the land troops from Mobile and from New Orleans. Owing to an accident, the blowing up of a magazine in one of the redoubts, a passage was opened in the fort, and the English commander capitulated on May 9, 1781. By this capitulation the province of West Florida was acquired by Spain. The wars of Galvez

had been most brilliant, and did great honor to him and to the troops from Louisiana. The latter, by defeating the British at Baton Rouge, at Mobile and at Pensacola, aided the Americans and really took part in the glorious war waged for American independence.

While Galvez was distinguishing himself at Pensacola and was conquering a province for Spain, the inhabitants near Natchez raised the British standard, besieged Fort Panmure and captured it. They had counted on the defeat of Galvez at Pensacola, but when they heard of his success they feared the fate of O'Reilly's victims, and determined to emigrate to Georgia. They started with their wives and children, and after great sufferings some of them succeeded in reaching Savannah. In August, 1780, Louisiana was visited by a dreadful hurricane, and disastrous inundations took place. The inhabitants suffered also from the loss of the trade carried on by the British traders on the Mississippi, and Galvez obtained from the Spanish government important privileges for the commerce of the province. The governor, says Gayarré, "had recommended that Louisiana be granted the privilege of free trade with all the ports of Europe and America. But neither the Court of Madrid, nor the spirit of the age, was disposed to go so far."

The following extract from Judge Martin's "History of Louisiana," quoted also by Gayarré, is highly important:

"The preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France and Spain were signed at Paris on the twentieth of January, 1783.

"The definitive treaties between Great Britain, the United States and Spain were signed at Paris on the third day of September.

"By the first, the King of Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, and recognized as their southern boundary a line to be drawn due east from a point in the river Mississippi, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees, north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Cataouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic Ocean.

"The description of this line is important, as it became the dividing one between the possessions of Spain and the United States."

"By the eighth article it was expressly provided that the navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the gulf, should forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States. By the sec-

ond, Great Britain warranted the province of West Florida, and ceded that of East Florida to Spain."

The winter of 1784 was extremely severe; so much so, that on February 13, 1784, "the whole bed of the river, in front of New Orleans, was filled up with fragments of ice, the size of most of which was from twelve to thirty feet, with a thickness of two to three. This mass of ice was so compact that it formed a field of four hundred yards in width, so that all communication was interrupted for five days between the two banks of the Mississippi."

The conduct of Galvez, in the war against the British, was so highly appreciated in Spain that he was made lieutenant-general, and in 1785 captain-general of the Island of Cuba, of the province of Louisiana and of the two Floridas. The same year he succeeded his father as viceroy of Mexico, where he died in 1794, aged thirty-eight. Like his predecessor, Unzaga, he had married a creole lady, a native of Louisiana, of French origin. Galvez is certainly one of the most romantic and chivalric characters to be seen in the history of colonial Louisiana.

VI.—THE RULE OF SPAIN.

MIRO, CARONDELET, AND GAYOSO DE LEMOS.

By a census taken in 1785, we see that the population of New Orleans was 4,980 souls, and that of the whole province, 32,114. In 1785 Don Estevan Miro succeeded Galvez as provisional governor, and in 1786 he received his commission of governor, civil and military, of Louisiana and West Florida. He issued then his *bando de buen gobierno*, which was a proclamation equivalent to the inaugural address of our American governors. He had, in 1785, received the commission of *Juez de Residencia*, or Judge of Residence, to inquire into the acts of Governor Unzaga. In the jurisprudence of Spain *residence* designates an inquiry into the official conduct of a functionary who is no longer in office, whether by death or otherwise.

In 1785 a number of Acadian families came to Louisiana and settled chiefly among the other Acadians who had arrived in 1765 and had established themselves on the Mississippi, on Bayou Lafourche, and in the Attakapas country. Some of the Arcadians went to Terre-aux-Boeufs, where were the *Islenos*, or Canary Islanders, whom Galvez had brought over in 1779.

During Miro's administration the growing power of the United States began to alarm Spain, and Navarro, the intendant, suggested that the dismemberment of the West be attempted, and Judge Martin says that there existed in the western country no less than five parties, with the following views:

"The first was for independence of the United States, and the formation of a new republic, unconnected with them, which was to enter into a treaty with Spain.

"Another party was willing that the country should become a part of the province of Louisiana, and submit to the admission of the laws of Spain.

"A third desired a war with Spain, and the seizure of New Orleans.

"A fourth plan was to prevail on Congress, by a show of preparation for war, to extort from the cabinet of Madrid what it persisted in refusing.

"The last, as unnatural as the second, was to solicit France to procure a retrocession of Louisiana, and extend her protection to Kentucky."

All these plans gave rise to a number of intrigues, to the end of the Spanish Domination in Louisiana, and Governor Miro and his successors were busily engaged in planning a policy which might check the encroachments of the already powerful Americans. The Spanish governors were wise and able statesmen, but in spite of all their efforts the Mississippi river was soon to become an American stream, from its source to its mouth.

The progress of New Orleans was checked, on March 21, 1788, by a terrible conflagration which destroyed nearly nine hundred buildings, among which were the cathedral, the convent of the Capuchins, the arsenal and the public prison. A census taken in 1788 showed a considerable increase in population in three years. New Orleans was found to have 5,388 inhabitants, and the whole province, 42,611. In 1789 the foundation of a new cathedral was laid. The church was built by the munificence of Don Andres Almonester, who was soon afterwards buried there, near the principal altar. The cathedral of 1789 was pulled down in 1850, and a new edifice was erected.

Charles III. died on December 14, 1788, and was succeeded by Charles IV., a weak and incompetent king. Soon after his accession Father Antonio de Sedella was sent by his spiritual superiors to Louisiana as a representative of the Inquisition, with the purpose of introducing this tribunal. Governor Miro, however, had the commissary of the Inquisition arrested at night, put on board a vessel and taken to Spain. Father Antonio de Sedella returned later to Louisiana and became a great favorite with all. "Père Antoine," as he was fondly called, will long be remembered in New Orleans.

In 1791 an insurrection of the negroes broke out at San Domingo, and many excellent people took refuge in Louisiana. Some opened schools, and a troupe of comedians from Cape François opened a theatre in New Orleans. French was almost entirely the language of the inhabitants of the colony, and the Spanish language, Miro reported, was hardly used except in courts of justice in New Orleans. In the Spanish school there were only a few children, while in the French schools there were four hundred students. Miro's administration ended in 1791; he returned to Spain, where he became *mariscal de campo*, or lieutenant-general. He was not as brilliant as Galvez, but he was firm and gentle and highly honorable. He followed the example of Unzaga and Galvez, and married a native of Louisiana. Many of the Spanish officials were likewise conquered by the charming creole girls.

The Baron de Carondelet succeeded Miro on December 30, 1791, and was also an able official. His administration was marked by a number of internal improvements, among which may be mentioned the lighting of New Orleans and the employment of watchmen. To meet these charges, "a tax of one dollar and twelve and a half cents," says Martin, "was laid on every chimney." The new governor continued Miro's policy with regard to allowing trade between Philadelphia and New Orleans, in spite of contrary instructions from Spain. The Spanish government finally approved this measure.

The great events of the French Revolution exerted an influence in Louisiana, and the colony was thrown into considerable agitation by the news of the execution of Louis XVI. on January 21, 1793. The republican spirit of the Louisianians was aroused, and sympathy with the French republic was openly manifested. Carondelet had six individuals arrested and sent to Havana, where they were imprisoned for twelve months.

In order to guard against any insurrection or any foreign attack, the governor had new fortifications erected around New Orleans. Forts, redoubts, batteries and palisades were erected, and deep ditches were dug. The friendship of the Indians was also secured by an offensive and defensive treaty made with the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Talapouches, the Cherokees and the Alibamons, and twenty thousand Indians, it was thought, could be opposed, if needed, to the Americans.

On December 8, 1794, another conflagration did immense harm in New Orleans, but fortunately the new cathedral, built by Don Andres Almonester, was not destroyed. In the year 1794 "*Le Moniteur de la Louisiane*" was pub-

lished; it was the first newspaper in Louisiana, and its appearance indicated that new ideas were penetrating the colony. Indeed, French Jacobins, in Philadelphia, circulated in Louisiana an address in which the colonists were urged to establish an independent government. At the same time the French minister to the United States, Genet, endeavored to prepare an expedition in the West against the Spanish possessions. His principal agent in Kentucky was Auguste de la Chaise, a native of Louisiana, and a man of great intrepidity and energy. Genet's schemes, however, were frustrated by Washington, and Carondelet began again to intrigue for the separation of the West from the United States.

The year 1794 was marked by the cultivation of the sugar cane by Etienne de Boré, whose plantation was about six miles above New Orleans. The sugar cane was introduced by the Jesuits in 1751, and Mendez and Solis, of Terre-aux-Boeufs, were the first to cultivate it on a large scale. They made syrup from the juice and a liquor called taffia. The indigo plant was attacked by an insect, and the chief crop of the colonists failed. Etienne de Boré resolved to undertake to cultivate the cane and to manufacture sugar. His friends and relatives attempted to dissuade him from his enterprise, but he persevered, and in 1795 he made a crop of sugar which brought twelve thousand dollars. Boré's success was a great event, and the sugar cane was afterwards cultivated extensively in Louisiana.

The Baron de Carondelet conceived the plan of digging a navigable canal in the rear of the city, communicating with Bayou St. John, and with the help of the inhabitants the canal was completed in 1796. The Cabildo named it "Canal Carondelet," in honor of the energetic governor.

On October 20, 1795, a treaty was signed between the United States and Spain, and Monette mentions the most important articles in his "History of the Valley of the Mississippi" as follows:

"The second article stipulates that the future boundary between the United States and the Floridas shall be the thirty-first parallel of north latitude, from the Mississippi eastward to the Chattahoochy river; thence along a line running due east, from the mouth of Flint river to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down the middle of that river to the Atlantic Ocean. The fourth article stipulates that the middle of the Mississippi river shall be the western boundary of the United States from its source to the intersection of the said line of demarcation. The King of Spain also stipulates that the whole width of said river, from its source to the sea, shall be free to the people of the United States."

On October 13, 1795, there happened a curious incident in Louisiana: a French privateer, "La Parisienne," captured the Balize and held it until October 21, 1795. In the year 1796 Carondelet succeeded in having the city of New Orleans lighted and patrolled. He had eighty lamps placed in the streets and formed a police force of thirteen *serenos* or watchmen. It seems that his project mentioned above had not yet been realized.

In 1796 the French general, Collot, visited the colony, but Carondelet had him arrested. He treated him with great politeness in New Orleans, and sent him to the Balize, where the general was glad to embark for Philadelphia, after a stay of nearly two months at the mouth of the Mississippi.

In 1797 Carondelet was appointed president of the Royal Audience of Quito, and left Louisiana, which he had governed with great ability. During his administration in 1794, says Judge Martin, "the Pope divided the bishopric of Havana, and the provinces of Louisiana, East and West Florida were erected into a distinct one. Don Louis de Penalvert, provisor and vicar-general of the Bishop of Havana, was called to the new see, and established his cathedral in New Orleans."

The Baron de Carondelet was succeeded by Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos on August 1, 1797. In 1798 the Duke of Orleans visited New Orleans with his brothers, the Duke of Montpensier and the Count of Beaujolais. These princes were then in exile, and no one could have predicted that the Duke of Orleans, who was a fugitive from his country in 1798, would become King Louis Philippe in 1830.

Governor Gayoso de Lemos died on July 25, 1799. The military administration was assumed by Col. Francisco Bouligny, and the civil and political administration by Don Jose Maria Vidal. The Spanish governors of Louisiana, after Gayoso de Lemos, were Casa Calvo, from 1799 to 1801, and Salcedo, from 1801 to 1803. We shall now relate how France took back Louisiana from Spain, and how Napoleon sold the colony to the United States.

VII.—THE TREATY OF ST. ILDEPHONSO, AND THE CESSION TO THE UNITED STATES.

We have just said that Casa Calvo was governor of Louisiana in 1800. In that year a great event was preparing for the colony, and Bonaparte was the man who was to bring it about. After his glorious campaigns of 1796 and 1797 he

had gone to Egypt, and, in spite of the destruction of his fleet at Aboukir, he had won great victories, and had returned to France in 1799. On the 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799), he overthrew the Directory and established the Consulate. The first consul accomplished even greater exploits than General Bonaparte, and his campaign of 1800 is really wonderful. He collected a large army and threw it suddenly over the Alps into Italy, and at Marengo, on June 18, 1800, he crushed the Austrian army. Peace with Austria soon followed the battle of Marengo, and there was a fair prospect of making peace with England. The First Consul wished then to revive the colonial empire of France, and he thought of Louisiana, which had been ceded to Spain by Louis XV. On October 1, 1800, by the treaty of St. Ildephonso, the King of Spain, Charles IV., retroceded Louisiana to France on condition that the Duchy of Tuscany be given to the Duke of Parma, who would receive the title of King of Etruria. The duke was the son-in-law of Charles IV., and the Spanish Bourbon, for a selfish purpose, returned to France the gift made to Charles III. by the French Bourbon, Louis XV., the most selfish and corrupt of Kings. The treaty was kept secret, as peace had not yet been signed with England.

In June, 1801, Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo arrived in Louisiana to succeed Casa Calvo as governor. Preliminaries of peace were signed between France and England on October 1, 1801, and the treaty of cession of Louisiana to France became known in the United States. The news caused great excitement in the West and in the colony itself. Robert R. Livingston was sent as minister to France in 1801, and, together with Rufus King in London and Pinckney in Madrid, attended to the Louisiana matter. The French government gave no definite information about the subject, but when the peace of Amiens was signed between France and England on March 25, 1802, the First Consul began to prepare for the occupation and government of Louisiana. Livingston, however, continued his negotiations, and on September 1, 1802, he predicted, in a dispatch to Madison, then Secretary of State, that ultimately the United States would obtain possession of Louisiana. He had a conversation with Joseph Bonaparte, in which he suggested that Louisiana be returned to Spain, and the Floridas and New Orleans be given to the United States for the debt due by France. The First Consul did not send his expedition to Louisiana during the year 1802, and the agitation about the question became so intense that President Jefferson, in a message to Congress on December 15, 1802, called attention to the cession of Louisiana to France, and in January, 1803, James Monroe was sent to that

country as envoy-extraordinary. In Congress some of the members were in favor of violent measures; that is to say, they favored taking possession of New Orleans by force, as that port had lately been closed to the Americans.

In the meantime, Livingston continued urging on the French government the policy of selling to the United States New Orleans and the Floridas, and finally Tallyrand asked, "What we would give for the whole?" Negotiations with Tallyrand were not successful, and on April 13, 1803, Bonaparte sent Barbé Marbois, his Secretary of the Treasury, says Livingston, to refer again to the Louisiana matter. The First Consul, according to Marbois, was willing to give the whole country to the United States for one hundred millions of francs. The reason of this offer of Bonaparte's was that the treaty of Amiens was about to be broken, and the great general who ruled over France knew that he would not be able to retain Louisiana in case of war with England. He was, therefore, anxious to sell Louisiana, as he was in need of money for his coming war with Great Britain.

The treaty of cession to the United States was signed on April 30, 1803. The Americans were to pay eighty millions of francs, of which twenty millions were to be assigned to the payment of the debt due by France to the citizens of the United States. Article 3 of the treaty was prepared by Bonaparte himself, and the Louisianians should be grateful to him for having provided with so much foresight for their future happiness. The article is as follows: "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and the religion which they profess."

The first Consul added, says Marbois: "Let the Louisianians know that we part from them with regret; that we stipulate in their favor everything that they can desire, and let them, hereafter, happy in their independence, recollect that they were Frenchmen, and that France, in ceding them, has secured for them advantages which they could not have obtained from an European power, however paternal it might have been. Let them retain for us sentiments of affection, and may their common origin, descent, language and customs perpetuate the friendship." Bonaparte said also: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."

The sale of the province to the United States was communicated to the British government, and in reply, says Gayarré, Lord Hawkesbury said: "I have received His Majesty's commands to express to you the pleasure with which His Majesty has received this intelligence." England was satisfied, but Spain was not, and the Spanish minister protested against the transfer to the United States. Livingston and Monroe had done more than they had been asked to do when they agreed to buy from France the whole of Louisiana.

The question now came up whether the Floridas were included in the cession, and the American negotiators contended that Louisiana extended, at the time of the cession to France in 1800, to the Perdido river. The treaty with the United States stipulated as follows: "The colony or province of Louisiana is ceded by France to the United States, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired by the French Republic, by virtue of the third article of the treaty concluded with His Catholic Majesty on the 1st of October, 1800." There was an obscure point in the treaty, the Florida question, and the First Consul made the remark "that if an obscurity did not already exist, it would perhaps be good policy to put one there." President Jefferson informed Congress of the treaty on April 30, 1803, and after long discussions the treaty was ratified and a bill was passed for the government of the new territory.

While the events leading to the purchase of Louisiana were taking place in France, Laussat, the colonial prefect, arrived in New Orleans, on March 26, 1803. He announced the cession from Spain to France, and received, in answer to his proclamation, an address from a number of planters and one from the merchants of New Orleans. In those addresses the Louisianians expressed their joy on "resuming the glorious name of Frenchmen," but they paid a handsome tribute to the Spanish administration, which, from the departure of O'Reilly in 1770, had been most kind to the inhabitants of the colony. There was some anxiety felt on account of the supposed doctrines of the French Revolution, which might be introduced into the province, but there is no doubt that the great majority of the Louisianians, at that time, were delighted to become Frenchmen again.

On November 30, 1803, Laussat received in the Cabildo building from the Spanish commissioners, Salcedo and Casa Calvo, the keys of New Orleans, and was put in possession of the province. On the same day he abolished the Cabildo, and appointed a mayor, two adjuncts and a municipal council composed of ten members. It may be interesting to give the names of the men who

formed the first city council of New Orleans: Etienne de Boré, mayor; Pierre Derbigny, secretary; Destréhan, first adjunct; Sauvé, second adjunct; Livaudais, Petit Cavelier, Villeré, Johns, M. Fortier, Donaldson, Faurie, Allard, Tureaud and John Watkins, members of the council. Labatut was treasurer.

Laussat had already received notice of the cession of Louisiana to the United States, and was appointed a commissioner to deliver the province to the Americans. On Tuesday, December 20, 1803, Louisiana was formally transferred to the United States, and possession was taken in the name of the American Republic by General Wilkinson and W. C. C. Claiborne, the commissioners appointed by President Jefferson. The event took place on the balcony of the Cabildo, where is now the Supreme Court of Louisiana, and this building should forever be held sacred by all Louisianians as having been the cradle of free and American Louisiana.

"No authentic census of the inhabitants of the province," says Judge Martin, "since that of 1788 is extant, but one made for the Department of State, by the consul of the United States at New Orleans, from the best documents he could procure in 1803, presents the following result: In the City of New Orleans, 8,056; in the whole province, 49,473."

In the beginning of 1804 the Spanish ambassador at Washington made known to the United States government that the King of Spain renounced his protest against the cession of Louisiana to the United States. The act of transfer was thus officially recognized by Spain. The French and Spanish Dominations had passed forever, and the Louisianians were henceforth to be independent citizens of an independent country.

CHAPTER II.

THE INDIANS OF LOUISIANA.

FOR THE STANDARD HISTORY OF NEW ORLEANS. BY PROFESSOR JOHN R. FICKLEN, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN TULANE UNIVERSITY.

BEFORE beginning this short history of the Indians in Louisiana from early times down to the twentieth century, it may be well to remind the reader that during the period of exploration and settlement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the province of Louisiana had much wider boundaries than the present state of that name. It was generally understood to embrace the whole Mississippi Valley, from the Rockies to the Appalachian range, and from the Gulf to the borders of Canada. For the earlier period, therefore, in order not to exceed the limits of space imposed upon the writer, it will be necessary to confine ourselves to those Indian tribes that lived within what is now the State of Louisiana, or who, by their proximity to the present state, came into contact, or more often into conflict, with the early settlers on the lower Mississippi.

Of these tribes it is impossible to give a satisfactory ethnological grouping. Some of them, like the Chickasaws and the Choctaws, spoke practically the same language; but others, like the Natchez, though living not far away, spoke so strange a dialect that they are always classified apart from their friends and neighbors. Of late years much has been done in the investigation of the languages of the Southwestern Indians, and many old errors have been corrected; but at best language is not a sure test of race kinship, and the problem of settling the origin and the kinship of these Indians has reached no satisfactory solution.

From the time of the earliest voyages on the Mississippi, however, we have interesting accounts, more or less contradictory in detail, of the life and manners of these Indians, and are able to form a fairly clear idea of what advance towards civilization the various tribes had made. We know that they differed considerably, one from another, in language and habits. There may have been a comparatively wide gulf separating the man-eating Attakapas from the intelligent,

semi-civilized Natchez, with their cultivated fields, their temples sacred to the worship of the sun, and their altars ablaze with perpetual fires. Le Page du Pratz, the earliest historian of Louisiana, who lived among the Natchez in 1720, is never weary of praising their virtues, and says: "It is a great mistake to apply the name of savage to men who know how to make a very good use of their reasoning powers, who think justly, and whose conduct is marked by generosity, prudence, and good faith." Yet the Natchez themselves, though it has been claimed for them that they were as far superior to the tribes that dwelt around them as the Athenians were to the rest of the Greeks, followed many of the superstitious rites of savagery, and occupied a far lower grade in social evolution than the Aztecs that Cortez found in Mexico.

It is easy to exaggerate the virtues of these children of the forest; it has proved still easier to exalt the virtues of the early explorers by painting the Indian in the darkest colors. It is well to beware of such extremes. At first view the Southern Indians were disposed to regard the Europeans as demi-gods, and to bow down and worship them; but from the day that De Soto swept over a part of this continent, killing and enslaving with ruthless barbarity the natives he encountered, until finally he perished on the banks of the great river he had discovered, the Indians began to understand that their visitors with the pale faces could be guilty of gross injustice and oppression, and deserved more often their hatred than their worship. Indeed, the modern reader who follows the narrative of that wonderful march cannot escape the conviction that in many of the best qualities of human nature the red man was superior to the Spaniard of that day. It may be that the tradition of how the followers of De Soto fled down the Mississippi pursued by the vengeance of the Indians along its banks was handed down from father to son among the natives, and influenced the conduct of later generations when the French began to settle in Louisiana.

At first, however, the French found the Indians for the most part hospitable and disposed to welcome them to the land, especially when they were conciliated with a rich array of scarlet cloth, knives and trinkets. But before very long it was discovered that the Indian knew nothing of the total alienation of the land. The land belonged to the tribe, and their only conception of selling it was that it should be occupied in common by themselves and their white brethren. It was a very long time before the Indians of the United States grasped the idea of land possessed in fee simple; and when the full force of the idea dawned upon them, and when they realized that for a few blankets and glass beads, they had

bartered away their birthright in perpetuity, the more warlike tribes were disposed to expel both Englishman and Frenchman from the country. To this misunderstanding as a source may be traced many—though not all—of the early Indian wars and massacres. It is noteworthy that the Hudson Bay Company in Canada, though it was trading with the Indians for two hundred years, never had a war on its hands. The reason is easy to guess. It established trading posts over the country, but never tried to monopolize the land.*

It has often been remarked that if the early settlers had found the Indians united or capable of union in a great confederacy it would have been impossible for the infant colonies to survive. But the natives were not living in that ideal condition, which the philosophers once believed the state of nature to be, and to which they were anxious to restore mankind. The various tribes, like the old cities of Greece, were often at bitter enmity with one another, and by seeking the friendship of the Europeans to exterminate their enemies they opened the way for the advance of the white man. Tonti tells us that when he and La Salle first penetrated to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682 they came, not far above the Delta, to the village of the Tangibaos (Tangipahoas), but it had been utterly destroyed by a hostile tribe, and they beheld quantities of dead bodies piled one upon another. It was a spectacle, he says, which made them all shiver; but on their way up the river they stopped at the village of the Quinipissas, and here, the Indians proving treacherous, "We contented ourselves," he says, "with killing a few of them, and carrying off their scalps as a trophy. These we presented to the chief of the Natchez, who was not displeased to recognize the scalps of his inveterate enemies."

This incident shows how ready the early explorers were to adopt the ways of the natives. Doubtless a review of the relations of the French with the Indians would prove that they found the savages ready to requite good with good and evil with evil, and that neither by precept nor by example did they endeavor to raise the standard of conduct to the Christian ideal of returning good for evil. An exception must be made, however, in favor of the Catholic missionaries. From the time that Père Marquette made his voyage down the Mississippi, declaring that he was greatly pleased at the prospect of risking his life in order to carry the gospel of peace and good-will among the heathen savages, until the death of Abbé Rouquette in our own day, the Catholic missionaries labored nobly

*See Winsor's *America*, Vol. I.

to soften the manners and reform the lives of these wayward children of the forest; and it may be that their work was not without fruit. At first, however, the natives were so unprepared to receive the message that the teaching of the good fathers resulted in nothing more than a veneering of religion, which, taken on as a cloak of hypocrisy, made the latter condition of their disciples worse than the first. Father Davion, who taught among the Tunicas, was asked by Du Pratz what progress his zeal had made among the natives. With tears in his eyes, he replied that, notwithstanding the profound respect these people showed him, it was with the greatest difficulty that he had managed to baptize some infants who were at the point of death. The adults, he added, excused themselves from embracing his religion, saying that they were too old to accustom themselves to regulations so difficult to observe. The chief, however, since he had killed the Indian doctor who had attended his son in the sickness that caused the young man's death, had resolved to fast every Friday for the rest of his life, and even attended morning and evening prayer. The women and children, also, came regularly, but the braves did not come often, and took more delight in ringing the bell of the chapel.

What the missionaries must have had especially to struggle against was the *lex talionis* that the French adopted in their dealings with the natives. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, was the only rule that it was thought possible to observe. They often burned their Indian captives as the Indians burned theirs, thus giving full recognition to the custom among the savages. One is not astonished at the failure of Father Davion, when one reads in Du Pratz the following incident: During Perier's administration (about 1727) a party of these same Tunicas, who were at that time assisting the French against the Natchez, having captured a Natchez woman, brought her to New Orleans as a present to the governor. Perier, however, abandoned her to her captors, and, binding her to a frame, they put her to death by slow torture, "in order to show the French how they treated the enemies of their friends." The execution took place in front of the city, near the levee. No one interfered, but in spite of the suffering the woman underwent, in spite of the ingenious torture to which the Tunicas subjected her, she shed not a tear. With Indian stoicism she met her fate, and was content to prophesy the speedy destruction of her tormentors—a prophesy that was fulfilled a few days later, when the Natchez, under the guise of smoking the peace calumet with the Tunicas, approached their village and nearly annihilated them.

In reading of such horrors one cannot help reflecting that if the French had adopted the conciliatory methods that were so successful under Roger Williams in Rhode Island and William Penn in Pennsylvania the province would have had a very different history. Not only would the labors of the missionaries have been facilitated, but it would not perhaps have been necessary for the historian to record the Natchez massacre of 1729 and the disastrous wars waged against the Chickasaws. Peace, rather than the dread of Indian scalping parties, might have hovered over the early settlements in the colony.

Louisiana is dotted over with a great number of earth and shell mounds, which have proved of great interest to archæologists. The Museum of Tulane University, thanks to the energy and scientific zeal of Professor George E. Beyer, has an important collection of skulls, pottery, etc., gathered from the excavations of these mounds.

The shell mounds seem older than the earth mounds, but both belong to a prehistoric age, and it is much disputed whether they were constructed by the ancestors of our Indians or by a distinct race. The natives who were questioned by the early explorers on this subject were unable to say when, for what purpose, or through whose agency these mounds came into existence. Professor Beyer, who has explored both the shell and the earth mounds, believes that the latter were used as dwellings, and were originally constructed as a place of refuge in case of high water. Incidentally, however, they were used for sacrificial and burial purposes. An examination of the skulls and pottery that have been brought to light forces on him the conclusion that the builders were a race distinct from our Indians and related to the Caribs of the Antilles. The shell mounds seem to be merely the heaps of débris or middens left by an ancient race that used to migrate for a season of each year to the shores of the sea and lakes to enjoy the shell fish with which they abounded.

Keeping ourselves, therefore, within historic limits, let us consider the principal tribes which, at the time that New Orleans was founded (1718), dwelt within the present State of Louisiana, or sufficiently near to have constant intercourse with the French. Fortunately for this period we have brief descriptions of the various tribes in the pages of Le Page du Pratz, who, as was said above, lived in Louisiana for a number of years, and was much interested in the Indians. While his descriptions must be corrected in parts, they are the most complete that have come down to us. Most of his statements may be verified by reference to the explorations made among the Indians by Bienville, the founder of New Orleans.

Du Pratz first calls attention to the fact that many of the Indian tribes represented on the old maps had either been destroyed by smallpox or had taken refuge among other tribes, and, by amalgamation, had lost their identity. Of those dwelling in the southern part of the Mississippi Valley in his day he cites the following:

1. At the headwaters of the Pascagoula river in Mississippi was the tribe of Chatkas or Choctaws (Flat Heads). They derived their name from the custom of compressing the foreheads of their infants, but, as this custom was found among other Indians, Du Pratz is at a loss to say why this should be the distinctive name of the tribe.* The Choctaws were so numerous that they were said to be able to put 25,000 (!) warriors in the field. Until some of the divisions of the tribe fell under English influence, they were the friends and allies of the French, often joining them in their expeditions against the Natchez and other tribes.

2. One hundred and twenty miles to the north of the Choctaws were the famous Chickasaws, a fierce, warlike tribe, which allied itself with the English, and constantly defied the arms of the French. Bienville found it impossible to subdue them or to force them to surrender the Natchez, when the latter took refuge among them. "The Natchez have come to us for refuge," was their noble response, "and they cannot be surrendered." Both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, as we shall see, emigrated in the present century to the Indian Territory, where, forgetting their former enmity, they now dwell side by side.

3. To the west of Mobile, which was as yet the capital of Louisiana, dwelt a small tribe of Pascagoulas (meaning "bread nation"). They had only thirty lodges, and among them had settled some Canadians, who lived with them like brothers.

4. Three miles from the present site of New Orleans† had lived a small band of Colapissas (properly Aquelou-pissas, or "nation that hears and sees"); but they had moved farther north to the banks of the lake. Their deserted village was seen by Iberville on his first voyage up the Mississippi.

* The writer is informed by Dr. McGee of the Bureau of American Ethnology that Choctaw or Chahta is not originally an Indian word. It is derived from the Spanish Chata (flat), and it was applied by the Spaniards to these Indians possibly on account of their flattened skulls. As the tribe had no general designation for itself, it seems to have gradually adopted this alien name.

† There is an old tradition that the site of New Orleans was originally occupied by a band of Indians named Tchoutchoumas; but this tribe seems to have had its home on the Yazoo river.

5. On the left bank, about sixty miles above the city, was the tribe of Houmas (or Red Indians). Though the neighborhood of the French and the immoderate use of brandy are said to have had an injurious effect upon the Houmas, they dwelt here for many years. As Iberville ascended the river he saw on the bank a tall May-pole, painted red and hung with offerings of fish and game. This pole (*bâton rouge*) marked the boundary between the hunting grounds of the Houmas and a neighboring tribe. From it the capital of Louisiana derives its name.

6. Opposite to the mouth of Red river were Father Davion's Tunicas, a small tribe that had proved so friendly to the French that the King of France had conferred upon their chief the title of General of the Red Armies, and had sent him a silver medal attached to a blue ribbon, and a gold-headed cane—honorable marks of favor, which gave inexpressible delight to the savage heart.

7. Above the Tunicas was the famous tribe of Natchez, who have been mentioned as the most enlightened of all the tribes with which the French came in contact. Not only did the Natchez win the regard of Du Pratz, but they aroused at a later period the enthusiasm of the distinguished Frenchman, Chateaubrand, who resided with them for a while.* Claiborne, with a natural reaction from the eulogies of these authors, declares that there was nothing to distinguish them from other savages; but neither this writer nor Father Charlevoix seems to do the Natchez justice. Though friendly to the French at first, the anger of these Indians was aroused by the ill treatment of a commandant at Fort Rosalie near their villages, and they arose to the massacre of the French. When an attempt was made to punish them, they took refuge in Northern Louisiana, and stood at bay on Sicily Island, in Catahoula parish. Here the French attacked them in 1731, but many of the warriors slipped away in the night time, and after doing all the damage they could in Louisiana they slipped across the river, where the hospitality of the Chickasaws bade them welcome.

On the west bank of the Mississippi the Louisiana tribes were generally smaller and less important than those we have mentioned. Some of them lived so quietly that the French knew them only by name, while a few of them are to be found to-day not far from the haunts where they were first visited by the white man two hundred years ago.

8. On the west bank, between the river and Barataria Bay, were bands of Tchaouchas and Ouachas. The Ouachas were quiet and inoffensive; but after

* Chateaubrand's sojourn among the Natchez, however, is doubted by some modern critics.

the Natchez massacre, when it was feared that New Orleans itself would be overwhelmed by a general uprising of the Indians, Governor Perier sent down a small army of negroes, who fell upon the Ouachas and destroyed them—men, women, and children. Perhaps the Tchaouchas were involved in their ruin, for no further mention is made of either tribe.

9. On Bayou Lafourche, near Donaldsonville, was a tribe of Chetimachas (a Choctaw word meaning “possessing vessels for boiling”). A number of these Indians are still to be found on Grand river and Bayou Teche. In 1703 they killed a priest named St. Cosme, who had fallen into their hands; and, to avenge his death, Bienville persuaded a band of Indians composed of Biloxis, Natchez, and Bayougoulas to attack them. The Chetimachas were so nearly destroyed that the remnant of the tribe was glad to make peace with the French and live apart. Many of them, however, were taken prisoners by the Indians and sold as slaves to the French. In general, the Indians proved so sullen and unruly as slaves that the French preferred the more docile negro; but du Pratz, who bought a Chetimacha girl to serve as cook, praises in the highest terms her faithful services. He even declares that when her tribe offered to purchase her freedom she refused to leave him—a rare instance, if it is true. Du Pratz also maintains that the Chetimachas were kindred of the Natchez, but modern investigators hold that at least in language these two tribes were not related.

10. Along the coast of the west were the Attakapas. The name means “man-eating,” from Choctaw, *hittok*, a person, and *uppa*, to eat. It was believed that they were in the habit of eating the bodies of their enemies. Thinking that they must have another name for themselves, du Pratz, without venturing into their neighborhood, made many inquiries about them; but he was never able to discover any other appellation than Attakapas. They seem to have been the only tribe in Louisiana addicted to cannibalism; but in Texas, as late as 1838, the same custom prevailed. General Albert Sidney Johnston relates that while pursuing, with friendly Tonkaways, some Lipan horse thieves in Texas, they came upon a gigantic brave, who, on foot, long outstripped his pursuers. At length, finding his enemies closing around him, he turned, and defiantly shouting “Lipan!” rushed among them to certain death. Next day his Indian allies told General Johnston that they had cooked the Lipan, and asked him to dinner, nor could they be made to understand his abhorrence at feasting on the flesh of an enemy.

Du Pratz tells us that the French remonstrated with the Attakapas on the

wickedness of eating their fellow-creatures, and that they promised to give up the custom—a promise which they faithfully kept as far as he could learn.

11. Above La Fourche was a small tribe of Bayougoulas, perhaps near the present town of that name. Their name is derived from two Indian words, signifying “those living near the bayoue,” or rivulet. Iberville and Bienville visited this tribe, and found them living in comfortable cabins, and actually raising some chickens, which they had evidently obtained from the Spaniards. Some twenty years later they had been absorbed by other tribes and had seemingly lost their identity.

12. Above Pointe Coupée were the Opelousas, whom du Pratz calls the Oque-loussas, or Black Water Indians. They were so named because they dwelt on two little lakes whose water appeared black from the quantity of leaves at the bottom.*

13. Above the rapids of Red river were a little tribe of Avoyels. These made their living by bringing cattle and horses from the Spanish settlements and selling them to the French. In consequence horses became so cheap in Louisiana that they could be purchased for twenty francs a piece.

14. On Red River, one hundred and fifty miles above the Avoyels, were the Natchitoches. They were a numerous band, and occupied about two hundred lodges. Near them was the French post of the same name, at which they and many other tribes traded freely.

15. Still higher up on the Red was the powerful tribe of Cadodaguiox or Caddos, from whom Caddo Parish derives its name. The remains of this tribe are found at the present day in Indian Territory.

16. Before Du Pratz’s time there had been a band of Ouachitas on the Washita, but the Chickasaws had nearly destroyed them in one of their raids, and the remnant of the tribe had taken refuge among the Caddos.

17. In the present parish of Tensas there had been a tribe of Tensas. They were visited by La Salle in 1683, and again by Iberville in 1700, but in Du Pratz’s time they had emigrated to the neighborhood of Mobile. At a later day they were destined to return to Louisiana. These Indians had a religion similar to that of the Natchez, and worshiped the Sun in a great temple, where three priests kept alive the sacred fire as a symbol.

Such is a brief account of the principal tribes that lived in Southern Louisiana at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Besides these there were

*Dr. Sibley thinks that the word means “black head” or “black skull.”

bands of Indians of a nomadic character, who visited Louisiana for brief spaces of time, either on war expeditions or in the peaceful pursuit of the fur trade.

Let us now turn to a brief consideration of the salient characteristics of these Southern Indians. The tribes that have been mentioned seem to have had fixed habitations, and to have been engaged in agriculture, or rather horticulture, as well as in hunting and fishing. The braves, taking for themselves the exciting sports of hunting and fighting, spent their time when at home in smoking or in apathetic idleness, varied from time to time by the excitement of a tribal dance. The squaw thought it no disgrace to till the fields, and to raise the corn, the potatoes, and the pumpkins for the family larder. Nay, she would have regarded with contempt a husband that took her place at these occupations. Moreover, the early colonists who accepted the hospitality of the natives, found that the women were no mean cooks, and could prepare appetizing dishes of sagamite—corn meal boiled in water and mixed with the fat of the deer or bear—or of meat barbecued at their open fires. One of the favorite entrées, however, was a roasted dog, specially fattened for the feast. Father Marquette relates that, when he was making his voyage down the Mississippi, the Indians on one occasion served up to him as a special treat a roasted dog, but when they saw his aversion to such a dish, they promptly brought some buffalo meat, and the chief put into the mouth of his guest the choicest morsels.

When Bienville found provisions running short in his early settlement on Mississippi Sound, he allowed some of his men to take up their residence among the neighboring Indians. Here they easily accommodated themselves to the wild life of the woods, and were often reluctant to return to the civilization of the forts. The hunting, the dancing around the fire at night, the freedom from irksome duties proved only too fascinating. In truth the colonists showed much greater capacity for uncivilizing themselves, and falling into savage ways, than the natives possessed for adopting the civilization of the white man. It has often been remarked that the Indian's adaptability did not seem to extend much beyond the appropriation of the white man's vices. From the very first the fire water exercised its potent influence over the savage, and Colonel Stoddard, who was stationed at Natchitoches during the early years of the nineteenth century, deploras the wild orgies of the Indians when they visited that post; just as, many years later, Abbé Rouquette was shocked and grieved to see the drunken Choctaws rioting through the streets of New Orleans.

We have already spoken of the noble efforts of the Catholic missionaries to

inculcate in the savage breast the principles of their religion, and of the slow progress they made in awakening the simple minded natives to an appreciation of the truths they came to preach. Some of the tribes, the Choctaws especially, already believed in a "Great Spirit, the Giver of Breath," but their conception of the attributes of such a deity was so dim and vague that it had no influence on their lives. Of the religious beliefs of the other tribes with which the French came in contact we know little, except of the Natchez and the Tensas. Both these tribes, as has been said before, had temples to the Sun, and had established a kind of priestly caste who attended to the sacred fire. The Natchez told Du Pratz—so he says—that they believed in a spirit "infinitely great, that has made all that we see or can see; He is so good that He could do no evil to any one, even if he wished it." This Deity had made all things, including man, by His will; but there were, also, little spirits that could have made the beautiful things in nature. They did not worship the Great Spirit, because it was unnecessary to propitiate a deity that could do them no harm. The air, however, they said, was full of evil spirits with a chief at their head more wicked than they; and all evil spirits they were careful to win over for fear of the harm they might do.

This is what Du Pratz relates. One cannot help feeling that he has adapted the words of the Natchez to his own preconceptions. It is more likely that, as Le Petit, one of the Jesuit fathers, tells us, the Natchez were simply worshipers of the sun. Their great chief was called the Sun, and he in turn called the sun his brother. As soon as that luminary appeared in the heavens, the chief would salute it with a long howl, and wave his hand from east to west, directing what course it should travel.*

Closely connected with their religion were superstitious rites often of the most terrible character. For instance, when Iberville visited the Tensas in 1700, near what is now St. Joseph, it so happened that the Sun Temple had just been set on fire by lightning. The priest called upon the women to bring their infants to appease the angry god. The French were horrified to see three of these innocents cast into the flames, and had they not protested vigorously, and aided in putting out the fire, the horrible sacrifice would have continued. Among the Natchez, also, it was the custom, when one of the Suns or chiefs, died, to strangle a number of children and adults to serve as attendants upon the deceased in the spirit world. As it was considered an honor to perish with the chief, the French found it very difficult to persuade the Natchez to abolish this custom.

* Claiborne's History of Mississippi.

Among all the tribes great respect was shown to the jugglers or medicine men. These prepared themselves for their profession by a fast of nine days, during which, with loud cries and beating of drums, they called upon the Spirit to receive them as medicine men. With much quackery, there was doubtless mingled much knowledge of hygienic herbs. We know that the Indians of the west still prepare a liquor that, when drunk at the snake dance, renders the venom of the rattler innocuous. Du Pratz, who was several times treated by the medicine men, believed that he had received great benefit from their ministrations, and came to prefer them to the French surgeons that had settled in the colony.

In their grand powwows with the French, the Indians often exhibited great sagacity, and sometimes extraordinary powers of eloquence. Their languages contained no abstract terms, but they employed similes and metaphors drawn from nature, with an appropriateness that was often the admiration and envy of their listeners. If Lanier is right in saying that the metaphor is born of love rather than of thought, we may conclude that the Indian was in loving sympathy with nature, and learned much from her teachings. Those among the natives whose office it was to interpret the treaties, had often trained their memories to such a point that they would repeat word for word long speeches made by previous speakers, before pronouncing their own discourses. Many of the Indian orations that have come down to us, even with due allowance for the additions and improvements of the interpreters, illustrate the great gifts of the most practised speakers among them. An Indian chief, who was anxious to visit President Jefferson, said to Major Stoddart: "If I could only see my great Father, and obtain from him some word declaratory of justice to my nation, it would be like the beams of the sun breaking through a cloud after a storm."

Du Pratz was present when a band of Chetimachas came to smoke the pipe of peace with Bienville. After the calumet had been presented and smoked in turn by the chief men of the assembly, the chief arose, and spoke with "wonderful grace of gesture and majesty of mien." The following extract from his speech is translated from the French of Du Pratz: "Formerly the sun was red, the ways were filled with briars and thorns, the clouds were black, the waters were troubled, and stained with our blood. Our women wept without ceasing, our children cried affrighted, the deer fled from us afar, our houses were abandoned, our fields were waste, we had nought to fill our stomachs, and our very bones began to appear. But to-day the sun is warm and bright, the sky is clear, the clouds have gone, the ways are pleasant to walk, the waters are so clear that

we behold our images therein. The deer has returned to its haunts, our women dance until they forget to eat, our children leap about like young fawns, the heart of the whole nation laughs with joy to see that to-day, O Frenchmen, we shall walk along the same path, the same sun will shine upon us; our tongues will speak the same word, our hearts will beat as one; we shall break bread together like brothers. Will that not be pleasant to behold? What sayest thou, O chief of the pale faces?"

In their family life the Indians of Louisiana seem to have generally been happy and contented. The marriage bond was a loose one, and divorce was permissible at the option of either party, without the aid of court or lawyer. Yet during the eight years that Du Pratz stayed among the Natchez, he heard of only one case of separation. The women were, of course, in a state of subjection to their husbands, which would not be tolerated in this age of sexual equality. It was possible to find squaws that had been deprived of their ears or noses for some real or fancied offence given to their lords and masters, but family brawls were rare.

Generally speaking, the whites found the natives to be dangerous enemies. When their resentment had once been aroused, they were capable of any treachery to accomplish their vengeance. For the captive taken in war, when he was not reduced to slavery, or adopted into the tribe, they could invent the most exquisite tortures, and in these, brave and squaw alike participated. From the stoical indifference of their victims, however, they were seldom able to evoke anything but the death song, which was shouted as long as life lasted. Even the women, as we have seen in the case of the Natchez squaw burned at New Orleans, were capable of heroic deaths.

But if they were often bitter enemies, the natives showed themselves no less capable of abiding friendships. Even if it be untrue that they were never the first to break a treaty of peace, the tribe would always maintain that any infraction of their agreements was due to the impulsive young braves whom the sager heads could not restrain.

All the early writers agree that if an Indian committed homicide within the tribe, and the council condemned him to death, he never tried to evade the penalty. There was no imprisonment, no bail; the condemned went free, but punctual to the day appointed, he appeared to meet his fate without a murmur. If the homicide were committed outside of the tribe, the relatives of the deceased would endeavor to avenge the murder. Martin relates that in a quarrel between

a Choctaw and a Colapissa, the latter slew the former, and fled to New Orleans. The relatives of the Choctaw pursued the murderer, and requested the governor, the Marquis of Vaudreuil, to surrender him. An attempt was made to buy off their vengeance with presents, but they steadily refused to be satisfied with anything but a life for a life. In the meantime the murderer escaped, and his old father came forward to offer his own life for that of his son. To this the Choctaws consented, and when the old man had stretched himself out on the trunk of a tree, a Choctaw severed his head from his body at one blow. This instance of paternal affection, adds Martin, was afterwards made the subject of a tragedy by Leblanc de Villeneuve, an officer of the French troops in Louisiana.

It has been stated above that the Choctaws generally remained the friends of the French. Some bands of them, however, falling under English influence, attacked the settlements above New Orleans, and finally came in conflict with some French soldiers near the city. This was in 1748, and it is said to have been the last Indian battle fought in this neighborhood.* The French were victorious, and the Choctaws took refuge on the shores of the lake. Doubtless the Indians of St. Tammany Parish are descended from this wandering band.

DURING THE SPANISH DOMINATION.

In the year 1764 news reached New Orleans that the whole province of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, together with the island on which the city stood, had been transferred by Louis XV. to the King of Spain. When the Spanish government finally took possession, the French were at peace with the Indians. In 1753, Governor Vaudreuil had made war on the Chickasaws, the old enemies of the French; but, as in the campaigns of Bienville, these Indians, long in league with the English, had defended themselves with their usual success. With the rest of the tribes, the French carried on an active trade at Natchitoches and other posts, and the chiefs were conciliated by handsome presents to prevent them from trading with the English colonies or in any way combining against the French.

The Spaniards pursued the same sagacious policy. When the brilliant young Spanish governor, Galvez, made war on the British in 1780, and captured the forts at Baton Rouge and Natchez, he was accompanied by some 160 Indians, drawn from the "German Coast" and other districts in Louisiana. Quoting

* Claiborne's History of Mississippi.

from the *Madrid Gazette* of that day Gayarré states that "these Indians showed themselves, for the first time, alive to the voice of humanity, and abstained from doing the slightest injury to the fugitives that they captured; nay, they had improved so much as to carry in their arms to Galvez, with the most tender care, the children who had taken refuge in the woods with their mothers. This change in their habits was due to the influence exercised over them by Santiago Tarascon and Joseph Sorelle, under whose command they had been placed."

In 1783 all Florida was ceded to Spain, and a year later we find Governor Miro holding a great congress of the Indians, first at Pensacola and later at Mobile. The Talapouches, the Chickasaws, the Choctaws, the Alabamas, and other smaller tribes were entertained with a magnificence that was characteristic of the Spanish government. Treaties of commerce and alliance were ratified; costly gifts were distributed, and the savage warriors grunted their approval of everything Spanish and their hatred of everything American. Even after this love feast, however, we find McGillivray, the half-breed chief of the Talapouches, seeking a pension from the American government to supplement the one he was enjoying from the Spaniards.

The sixth article of the treaty concluded at Mobile, as given by Gayarré, seems to show that the Indians had experienced a great change of character, or had adopted a different policy from that which distinguished them sixty years before. We find them declaring that, in conformity with the humanity and generous sentiments cherished by the Spanish nation (words that seem to indicate a parallel change in Spanish heart or policy since the days of De Soto), they renounced forever the custom of raising scalps or of making slaves of white captives. Such prisoners, in imitation of the usages of civilized nations, were to be either exchanged or yielded up to ransom.

The trade in peltry had now become very profitable, yielding at least twenty-five per cent. gain to the Spanish government, and strict regulations were made to prevent the traders from defrauding or alienating the natives.

It is interesting to note that when, some years before this period, O'Reilly became governor he found that the colonists, under the French régime, had been permitted to purchase from the natives some of their Indian prisoners of war, thus saving them from death by torture. O'Reilly, however, whatever he may have thought of negro slavery, declared that the practice of reducing Indians to slavery was "contrary to the wise and pious laws of Spain, but that the present

owners might hold their slaves until the will of the sovereign was known.”* We hear nothing more of the matter until the year 1793, when the mild Baron Carondelet was governor of Louisiana. Suddenly the Indian slaves rose up and demanded their freedom. But Carondelet did not adopt the views of O'Reilly. He wrote to the king that it would be dangerous to free the Indian slaves, as well as ruinous to their masters. Emancipation should be either positively refused or delayed and discouraged. The baron added that the efforts of the Indians to obtain their freedom were doubtless aided and abetted by secret agents who wanted to stir up trouble in the province† A little later there was a slave insurrection in Louisiana, which had to be put down with a stern hand; but there is no record of the Indian slaves having had a share therein. As the negro slaves were preferred for their docility, doubtless the number of Indians subject to involuntary servitude was never very large.

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The cession of Louisiana, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by Spain to France and by France to the United States did not, as far as the present writer can learn, affect the fortunes of the Indians living in the southern part of the vast territory. They doubtless found little difficulty in adapting themselves to the new order of things, and they may have viewed the introduction of American control with as little enthusiasm as did the Creoles themselves.

The various tribes or bands of Indians, and the districts in which they were to be found at that period, are given by two writers who were residents of the Territory of Orleans during the first decade of the nineteenth century. These were Judge Martin, one of our early historians, and Dr. Sibley, of Natchitoches. Their accounts, though differing a little in detail, serve to supplement each other.

In his report, published by the United States government in 1806, Dr. Sibley divided the Indians of the territory into two classes:

1. Those who had migrated into the territory within the memory of men then living. These included the Alabamas, the Appalaches, the Conshattas, the Tensas, the Tunicas, Biloxis, Pascagoulas, and Pacanas.
2. The natives, *e. g.*, the Caddos, the Natchitoches, the Adaize, the Ope-

* See Gayarre's *Spanish Domination*.

† No further mention of emancipation is to be found in Gayarre; but Dr. Sibley, writing in 1806, says the Indian slaves had been emancipated by the Spaniards.

lousas, the Attakapas, the Choctaws, the Panis, the Houmas, and, he might have added, the Chetimachas.

The Houmas were in their old home on the left bank of the river, about seventy-five miles above the city. They numbered about sixty persons. The Alabamas, numbering about one hundred persons, were in the Opelousas district. The Appalaches, in small numbers, had settled on Bayou Rapide. The Conshattas, three hundred and fifty in number, were on the banks of the Sabine river, or in that neighborhood. The Pacauas were on Calcasieu river. The Tensas had returned from Mobile and settled on the Red. The Tunicas, numbering about sixty, were above Pointe Coupée. There were Choctaws, Biloxis, and Pascagoulas in Rapides, on Bayou Crocodile and Bayou Boeuf. The Caddos were in their old home, and were able to put a hundred warriors in the field. Below them were the Natchitoches, who numbered one hundred souls. Near them was a small band of Adaize. The Opelousas, in the district of the same name, numbered only forty men. Martin states that the Attakapas on Bayou Vermilion were nearly extinct, but Dr. Sibley says they still numbered a hundred souls. On Bayou Teche and on Bayou Plaquemine were a number of Chetimachas. Four or five hundred families of Choctaws, says Martin, were scattered through the Ouachita country, and, if the Spaniards had permitted, many more would have come over to the west bank of the river.

It will be seen that of the tribes mentioned by Du Pratz some were in their old haunts, others had disappeared, while a few new tribes had migrated into the territory.

The history of the Louisiana Indians during the nineteenth century may be briefly told. Under the American rule the trading post at Natchitoches continued for a long period to be an important point of rendezvous for the Indians in upper Louisiana; and they brought thither, as in the old days, the fruit of the chase to exchange for the goods of civilization. Some of the tribes, of a more peaceful character, resorted to agriculture, and so far forgot the art of war that some of the chiefs used to express to Major Stoddard their regrets that the young men were growing up with no skill in battle, and even suggested that it might be necessary to provoke hostilities in order that they might obtain the needed instruction.

In the course of time the Chickasaws and the Choctaws in Mississippi were persuaded to leave their lands and to migrate to the Indian Territory. Here, forgetting their old enmity, they settled side by side and became prosperous

farmers. As large slave owners, they sympathized during the Civil War with the Southern Confederacy, and gave help to the Southern cause. In 1890 the Choctaws still numbered 10,017, and the Chickasaws, 3,129.

In Louisiana the number of Indians seems to be gradually declining. By the census of 1880 there were 848 scattered through more than ten parishes of the state, while in 1890 there were only 628 in about the same number of parishes. Besides bands of Caddos, Alabamas and Biloxis, there is a small tribe of Tuniceas in Avoyelles Parish, near Marksville, who are said to keep up tribal organization in an irregular fashion.

At Charenton, in St. Mary's Parish, there is still a band of the ancient Chetimachas, who maintained their tribal organization until 1879, when their last chief died. As in olden times, they are very quiet and inoffensive, devoting themselves to agriculture and the making of ingeniously woven baskets. In some cases the children of the tribe have attended the public schools, and the adults have exercised the right of suffrage. In January, 1900, the tribe brought suit in New Orleans for the recovery of some lands that had been sold to residents of St. Mary's Parish by certain members of the tribe without permission of the majority; but the efforts of their lawyer to prove the sale unlawful were unsuccessful. Among these Chetimachas there is a large admixture of white, but not of negro, blood.

In St. Tammany Parish there still lingers a band of Choctaws. Many years ago they aroused the interest and sympathy of Abbé Adrien Rouquette, the poet-priest of New Orleans. When he died in 1887 he had devoted some thirty years of his life to missionary work among these Indians, and it is said that he met with great success; at least, he won the love and respect of the savages. They gave him the name of Chatah-Ima, or Choctaw-like—a name of which he was so proud that afterwards he used it as a *nom de plume* in his writings. When he was dying in New Orleans the friendly savages brought him many little offerings, and around his bier they sat in silent grief for the loss of their white father.

From time to time some members of this tribe are to be seen in the markets of New Orleans selling their pounded sassafras for *gombo filé*. They always sit in a group apart from the bustling Creoles and Americans around them, as if there were no amalgamation possible with this white race that for more than two hundred years has been forcing the red man to retire before the onward march of its civilization.

In Louisiana the Indian is doubtless destined to gradual extinction. Hemmed in by the more enterprising pale faces, his longing for free range of hill and dale is stifled. He has ceased to try to adapt himself to his new environment; not for him are the arts of civilization. In Louisiana he stands a shadowy figure handed down from the past, and his gradual disappearance in pathetic isolation cannot but touch a sympathetic chord in the hearts of those who know his history.*

CHAPTER III.

ADVANTAGES OF NEW ORLEANS.

BY NORMAN WALKER.

IT was predicted by Jefferson, when he purchased Louisiana, that New Orleans, its port and capital, would become not only the greatest commercial city in America, but in the world; and he gave very good reasons for the prediction. He pointed out, for instance, that it was the natural port of the Mississippi Valley, which he foresaw was to become "the seat of a great and populous empire, and that all the varied product of that valley would find their way to New Orleans by a thousand streams; while to the south lay Mexico, Cuba, and the tropics." New Orleans, therefore, lay at the gateway of the continent, and could not be better placed to handle the immense trade that must spring up between the Mississippi Valley and the tropics on the one hand, and Europe on the other. Such produce as Latin America shipped to the interior could but be sent through New Orleans, and *vice versa*; and the people of the interior would, he predicted, find in the "Crescent City" the port they needed

* Among the works consulted in the preparation of this sketch may be mentioned Le Page Du Pratz's *Histoire de la Louisiane*; Gayarre's *Louisiana*; Martin's *Louisiana*; Claiborne's *Mississippi*; Stoddard's *Louisiana*; King and Ficklen's *History of Louisiana*; Winsor's *History of America*; publications of the Louisiana Historical Society; Tonti's *Narrative* (in French); *American State Papers* (Indian Affairs), etc. Special thanks are due Mr. Wm. Beer, of the Howard Library, for his valuable assistance in gathering information, and to Mr. W. J. McGee, Acting Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for several letters in regard to the Choctaw language.

for the exchange of their products with Europe. Through that city, they would find the teeming millions of the "old world" receiving, in return, such manufactured goods as Europe could turn out more profitably than America. La Salle had a slight conception of the future of New Orleans when he hoisted the French flag over the site of the city in 1684, and Bienville when he located his capital there, and pointed out to the French government the advantages which a location near the mouth of the Mississippi offered. He was more of a prophet than Jefferson, because, at that time, the Upper Valley was entirely unsettled and it required a very vivid imagination to foresee that within two centuries a population of thirty-odd millions would spring up in a country where only a few wild Indians roamed. In Jefferson's time immigration was pouring into the Upper Ohio Valley, and the produce of that section was already beginning to reach New Orleans by flat boat and barge. With wonderful prescience, the author of the "declaration of independence" looked a century ahead and saw what New Orleans ought to become. If this prediction has not been fully realized as yet, it is due to the possible accident which Mr. Jefferson allowed for. He could not foresee the fact that the invention of the locomotive would cause a temporary interruption in the commerce and progress of New Orleans, nor could he he imagine the civil war, which undid the work of a century. But what he said is equally true to-day as it was nearly a hundred years ago, when he said it. The commercial advantages of New Orleans are just as great now as then. The city has lost nothing in its opportunities; it has simply not fully utilized them, because accidents have temporarily prevented it from doing so. From 1803 to 1840 Jefferson's prediction was in a fair way of being realized. Then, for forty years, there was a tendency towards an eclipse; but the eclipse is passing off now; and the world is beginning to appreciate the fact that New Orleans is as well situated for commerce to-day as it was in 1803; indeed, an advantage which Jefferson did not foresee is coming to light—New Orleans is quite as well situated for manufactures as for commerce. If it utilizes all its advantages, it will become not only a great commercial city, "the mart of the continent"—as the political economists of a half a century predicted for it—but one of the world's great manufacturing centers.

New Orleans is to-day, and has been for half a century, the second port in the Union, its commerce, its imports and exports, being exceeded only by those of New York. As already remarked, it promised, at one time, to be the great port of America, and in the decade just preceding the civil war more than

half the time it exceeded Manhattan in the value of its exports of American products.

The special efforts of New Orleans for the last quarter of a century have been to recover the ground lost during the civil war and the demoralized condition of affairs that immediately followed it; and much has been accomplished in that time towards developing the commercial advantages the city enjoys and in fully utilizing them. Perhaps no port in the country has done more, in the last half dozen years, in the way of improving its transportation and terminal facilities than New Orleans.

New Orleans is situated 110 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi River. Thus, while its ships are offered the most perfect protection from storm and ocean disaster, it is a seaport in every sense of the word, with every facility for handling ocean commerce and with water sufficient to float in its harbor the navies of the world. This harbor is reached by a permanent channel thirty feet deep; and, as the tide is never more than eighteen inches, there is ample water for the passage of the largest vessel; and it is not necessary, as at so many other ports, to wait for a high tide to float a vessel in. Actual soundings show a depth of 200 feet in the river in front of New Orleans, and it is nowhere less than 100 feet there. There is water sufficient alongshore and close by the wharves to allow the largest vessel to land directly at them. Lighterage, which prevails at Buenos Ayres and many of the other great ports of the world, is altogether unnecessary at the "Crescent City."

The river frontage embraced in the port of New Orleans is about twelve miles on each side of the Mississippi, making about twenty-four miles which can be utilized for the purposes of commerce; but, in addition to this frontage, there is considerable wharfage at Southport above, and Port Chalmette below, on the east bank of the river, and at Westwego on the west bank, none of which are within the corporate limits of New Orleans. Indeed, were there any need for it, the entire river bank from New Orleans to the Gulf, 100 miles, could be used for loading and unloading vessels. The average width of the river in all this distance is 2,200 feet, with plenty of water on either bank to float the largest ships in the world; so that there is no difficulty and delay in vessels constantly passing up and down, as in the case of the narrow channel of the Thames at London.

In the front of the populous portion of the city on the left or east bank, extending from Louisiana avenue to Piety street, a distance of six miles, are

wharves that have been recently constructed and are available for the handling of three times the commerce that New Orleans now possesses. The wharves extend from 100 to 200 feet into the river, and are built of heavy timbers capable of sustaining any weight. From these wharves or landings the bulk of the business of the port is handled.

The several railroad companies with termini at New Orleans have switch tracks extending along the river front, thus enabling men to handle their cars at the ship-side for both inward and outward cargoes.

At Southport, half a mile above the city limits, are extensive wharves belonging to the Illinois Central and Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroads, at which large quantities of cotton, corn, wheat, lumber, cotton seed oil and cake, and other products are loaded into the steamers which moor directly at the landings.

At the foot of General Taylor street, the Illinois Central has established the Stuyvesant works, the most perfectly equipped in the country. There are two grain elevators, the largest in the South, and ample wharves and warehouses.

At Port Chalmette, just below New Orleans, the New Orleans & Western Railroad, which is practically a belt line for the city, has invested some \$2,500,000 in providing the most complete terminal facilities, wharves, warehouses, cotton presses, elevators, etc.

Most of the warehouses, elevators and factories of the city are situated along the river front. At Algiers are several dry docks; and the United States proposes to construct an immense dry dock there for the repairs of its men-of-war, and has taken the initial steps in that direction by the purchase of the necessary land. It may be stated in this connection that a commission appointed by the United States government for the purpose of choosing a site for the location of a dry dock, made a thorough investigation of all the Southern ports and decided that New Orleans offered far greater advantages than any other port on the Gulf or South Atlantic, having deeper, safer and better water, better protection from the enemy and being superior in many other ways to other candidates for the government dock.

While New Orleans does not control the commerce of the Mississippi Valley as completely as it did a century or even a half century ago, it has made great commercial progress, has developed new lines of commerce and seems disposed at last to fully utilize its advantages. It has built up, for instance, an immense grain trade and is competing for the position of the first grain port of the Union,

having proved that it can handle the grain of all the country west of the Mississippi on cheaper and better terms than any other port south or east. This grain comes both by rail and by river, and six large elevators in the city are required to handle it.

New Orleans has secured, as was to be expected, a monopoly of the tropical-fruit trade of Central and South America, and, indeed, all the commerce of that country. On the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua and Honduras, not only is the trade monopolized by New Orleans, but nearly all the capital employed there is supplied by this city, and, in fact, most of the real estate is owned by it. This means that New Orleans will be the chief beneficiary by the completion of the Nicaraguan Canal, as it is the nearest American port to the mouth of that canal.

Several tributes have lately been paid to the advantages New Orleans offers as a purchasing and shipping point. Thus, the Spanish government, during the war with Cuba, after establishing purchasing agencies in several ports, finally concentrated them all in New Orleans, and purchased and exported all of their supplies from that city, declaring that they could do so to greater advantage than from any other port in America. What was true of Spain in the Cuban war was equally true of Great Britain in the Boer war, the British war office having established a commission in New Orleans for the purchase of mules, horses and such supplies as were needed, while the Boers made New Orleans the port of shipment of such grain and western produce as they bought in America, the goods being shipped, because of the blockade against Transvaal, via Holland. Finally the Japanese cotton-mill owners sent a number of purchasers over to examine the advantages of American ports for the purchase and shipment of cotton to Japan, which commission, after a thorough examination of the subject, reported in favor of New Orleans, and vessels now sail from the "Crescent City" direct to Kobé and other Japanese ports, a distance of 14,000 miles! by the Suez Canal, one of the longest voyages taken by vessels anywhere.

New Orleans has now direct steamship navigation with more than eighty of the leading ports in the world,—indeed, there is no port of any commercial standing with which it has not direct steamship connection. Most of these steamers engaged in trade, belong to regular lines and run on schedule time, whereas, of old, the trade of the city was largely in the hands of "tramp" vessels.

Steps are on foot to improve the facilities of New Orleans for handling commerce and to reduce the cost. It is proposed, for instance, to make it a

free port, at which vessels shall pay no charge of any kind. This will be possible in 1902, when the wharves of the city, which are now in the hands of a company, will become the property of the city again.

New Orleans offers the following advantages for commerce:

1. The largest system of great railroad lines terminating there, giving it access to every part of the country. These railroads, formerly inimical to New Orleans or lukewarm as to its trade, have come to see that their prosperity is dependent on the prosperity of the city, are laboring earnestly to hold up its trade, and have invested their capital in wharves, docks and other improvements advantageous to the commerce of the city, thereby showing their confidence in its future.

2. The Mississippi River affording, with its tributaries, 17,650 miles of navigable water-way, all of them open three-fourths of the year, and most of them open the entire twelve months. These water-ways extend into twenty-nine states and territories, and the population living along their banks now exceeding thirty-two millions. The immense valley drained by these streams and which through them has constant and direct connection by water with New Orleans, enjoys every clime and produces every article, agricultural, mineral or manufactured, that mankind needs. In the North are the grain fields of Dakota and Minnesota, in the West the mineral region of Colorado, in the East the coal and iron of Pennsylvania and Ohio and the manufacturing cities of that section, while the South offers the lumber of Arkansas, the cotton of Mississippi and Texas and the sugar and rice of Louisiana.

The Mississippi and its net-work of tributary streams offers, free of all charge or cost, one-eighth as much mileage as the railroads of the United States, upon whose construction billions of dollars have been expended. It acts as a regulator of freight and prevents the railroads from advancing their rates as they can do to New York and the Atlantic seaboard; and it offers the cheapest mode of transportation for bulky articles, such as coal and timber, with the consequence that New Orleans receives its supply of fuel at less cost than any American seaport, while its sawmills and furniture and other factories receive their supplies of timber at a minimum cost. The river allows the barges to deliver their coal direct to steamships in the harbor, and offers extraordinary facilities for delivering materials to the mills and in loading products upon ships for export.

3. A splendid harbor, extending some twelve miles on both sides of the

Mississippi, allowing steamships, steamboats and barges to come together, putting the shipping in immediate communication with the railroads and offering the finest opportunities for the transshipment of freight. The harbor is from forty to fifty feet deep immediately off the wharves, and 200 feet deep in the center of the river. This harbor is furnished with a fine system of wharves newly constructed along a large part of the frontage, supplemented by the dock and warehouses of the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad above the city at Southport, the extensive wharves, presses and elevators of the New Orleans & Western Railroad just below the city at Port Chalmette, the wharves, elevators, etc., of the Texas & Pacific Railroad at Westwego, just opposite the terminal facilities of the Southern Pacific Railroad at Algiers, also opposite the city proper; and the complete docks of the Illinois Central Railroad, in the very center of the river front, and known as the Stuyvesant Docks.

4. Deep water to the Gulf of Mexico, open at all times of the year and free from all danger of ice and storms, and promising still greater improvement when Southwest Pass shall have been jettied, improved and deepened, and an alternative route thus assured to the shipping, permitting vessels of thirty-five feet draft to reach New Orleans without a delay or hindrance.

5. Ample warehouse facilities, grain elevators and cotton-presses sufficient to handle all the warehouse and shipping business of the city, these establishments being located convenient to the trade, and rates of handling being fair and reasonable.

6. Railroad switches running from the trunk lines and belt-line railroads, into the factories both in the front and rear of the city, supplying them with such materials as they may need, and taking their output to market, at a minimum expense in loading, unloading, hauling and handling.

7. There is practically a belt road, in the New Orleans & Western Railroad, which runs in the immediate rear of the city, extending from Avondale above, where it is proposed to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River, to Port Chalmette below, thus uniting the various railroads entering the city. The Illinois Central Railroad also enjoys belting privileges on St. Joseph street and Louisiana avenue; and the city council has undertaken to arrange for the continuation of a belt line along the entire river front, which will be owned by the city and controlled and operated in the interest of all the railroads centering there.

8. Satisfactory labor conditions. The cost of handling goods has been very materially reduced of late by the utilization of labor-saving machinery and devices, instead of depending on rough manual labor as formerly. New Orleans has been but little interfered with by strikes, labor disturbances and similar economic obstacles, as compared with other ports, American and European.

9. The nearness of New Orleans to the chief interior centers of production, as well as to the Latin-American countries to the South, making it the port through which the products of the South and West can be marketed in the shortest possible time,—this question of time and expedition having become of late the most important element in commerce. A comparison of the differences in distance between New Orleans and its chief rival, New York, shows how great is the advantage in point of time the former possesses:

	Miles from New Orleans.	Miles from New York.		Miles from New Orleans.	Miles from New York.
Memphis	394	1,158	Kansas City.....	878	1,335
Cairo	517	1,132	Chicago	912	912
Nashville	595	998	Dubuque	988	1,079
St. Louis.....	700	1,058	Cedar Rapids.....	1,019	1,131
Decatur	755	1,065	Omaha	1,070	1,402
Champaign	787	940	Sioux City.....	1,177	1,409
Bloomington	799	1,037	Denver	1,356	1,932
Peoria	875	1,072	St. Paul.....	1,268	1,322
Louisville	746	857			

New York is 350 miles, or fifty per cent. further from St. Louis than New Orleans, and the freight rate ought to be half as great again. Even Louisville is 121 miles nearer the "Crescent City." West of the Mississippi the differences reach tremendous proportions. Kansas City is 457 miles nearer the Gulf port. Omaha, far in the North, is 332 miles nearer the Gulf than the Atlantic; and Denver is 576 miles nearer. If a division of the trade of the country were based on distances, New Orleans would be entitled to all the business south and west of Chicago and Cincinnati, as compared with New York and other Atlantic ports.

In the foreign trade, New Orleans has similar advantages, as far as that of Latin-America and the Pacific is concerned. If an Omaha dealer wants to send his pork or flour to Guatemala, he will find the New Orleans route 1,012 miles shorter than the New York one; while from Denver to Vera Cruz the ad-

vantage in favor of New Orleans is 1,834 miles. The following table gives the relative distances from Latin-American ports to New York and New Orleans:

	Miles from New Orleans.	Miles from New York.
Tampico, Mexico.....	705	1,986
Tuxpan, Mexico.....	744	2,017
Vera Cruz, Mexico.....	788	2,046
Tabasco, Mexico.....	745	2,020
Carmen, Mexico.....	738	2,032
Campeche, Yucatan.....	655	1,764
Havana, Cuba.....	597	1,227
Cienfuegos, Cuba.....	851	1,342
Port Royal, Jamaica.....	1,112	1,452
Port au Prince, Hayti.....	1,215	1,320
Cape Haytien, Hayti.....	1,189	1,333
Belize, British Honduras.....	882	1,482
Greytown, Nicaragua, entrance of the Nicaraguan Canal.....	1,259	1,970
Colon, Colombia.....	1,380	1,981
Cartagena, Colombia.....	1,462	1,970
Curacao.....	1,702	1,820

New Orleans controls the bulk of the Central American trade and handles a large business with the West Indies and Colombia, but it has as yet little traffic with the rest of South America. In the event of the construction of the Nicaraguan Canal, it will have an advantage over New York of 711 miles in distance to all points on the Pacific,—a difference equal to two days in time. By the Colon-Panama route its advantages over New York is 601 miles.

In the earlier days of New Orleans, its principal commercial dependence was upon the Mississippi River and its tributaries. It neglected the railroads; and it is only of recent years that it has enjoyed any railroad business of importance. Now the bulk of its business is done by rail, and the railroad companies are deeply interested in its trade and development, and are doing all in their power to stimulate it.

New Orleans is the terminus of six of the largest railroad systems in the United States, so that what it lacks in the number of its lines it makes up for in mileage. These roads are the Southern Pacific, Illinois Central, Louisville & Nashville, Texas & Pacific, Southern and the Queen & Crescent routes, the latter

two roads entering the city over the New Orleans & Northeastern. The mileage of the several roads is as follows, extending into all parts of the country:

	Miles.
Southern Pacific.....	7,372
Illinois Central.....	3,130
Louisville & Nashville.....	5,027
Texas & Pacific, including the Missouri Pacific.....	5,324
Southern	4,827
Queen & Crescent.....	1,201
Total mileage of New Orleans trunk lines.....	26,881

This is one-sixth the total railroad mileage of the United States, and the railroads here mentioned are among the greatest in the country, besides having other important connections. Its railroads place New Orleans in direct and immediate communication with every part of the Union, as its steamship lines do with all foreign ports.

The Southern Pacific, through its railroad and steamship lines, place New Orleans in close connection with New York on the one hand, and the Pacific coast and the Orient on the other. It is one of the great routes of commerce around the globe, and carries freight between Europe on the one side and Australia, India, China and Japan on the other. But two changes are necessary in transporting goods from New York to Hong Kong—at New Orleans and San Francisco—and the route is the shortest in time between our Atlantic coast and the Orient. There pass over this line the products of Alaska, of the whale and seal fisheries of the Northern Pacific; teas, matting and silks from China and Japan and Indian goods of all kinds. With its line of steamers to New York and other points, the Southern Pacific has secured the business of distributing the various manufactured products of the Eastern States, as well as large quantities of European imported goods through Texas, California, the Northwest and ports of the Mississippi Valley. The Southern Pacific is the finest coast-wise steamship line in the world, and owns a number of vessels of from 4,000 to 5,000 tons, which leave New Orleans three or four times a week with cargoes of over half a million dollars each.

The terminal facilities of the several railroad trunk lines terminating at New Orleans are given elsewhere. The Illinois Central has no less than seven depots or yards within the city limits of New Orleans, covering an area of 240 acres;

and its yards at Southport and Harahan, both above the city, will increase its property for the storage of freight and cars to 982 acres. On this it has no less than five grain elevators and some twenty odd warehouses.

What is true of the Illinois Central is largely true of the other railroads, particularly of the Southern Pacific, Texas & Pacific and New Orleans & Northeastern lines, all of which have large and perfect terminal facilities.

New Orleans, therefore, which a few years ago had the very poorest railroad facilities, is now one of the very best provided cities in the Union in this respect. Its railroad traffic is entirely the creation of the last quarter of a century. In 1876 its railroads handled in the city only 731,514 tons of freight, against 5,262,825 tons in 1899, having increased their business sevenfold during that period.

Such are the commercial advantages that New Orleans offers to-day. Even greater improvements are proposed and more or less under way, as follows:

1. Absolute free wharfage, with no charge whatever on vessels landing at New Orleans.

2. The improvement of Southwest Pass, so as to offer an alternative route to the gulf.

3. A bridge across the Mississippi river at Avondale, just above New Orleans, which will better facilitate the interchange of freight between the Texas lines and the railroads on the east of the Mississippi.

4. A deep canal across the Florida isthmus, which will shorten the trip from New Orleans to all Atlantic ports 600 to 700 miles.

Such, in brief, are the commercial advantages that New Orleans enjoys in terminal facilities, in its river traffic and in ocean vessels and railroads, and in its position for trade, both the interior and with foreign countries. No other city in the world has similar advantages. There is, for instance, no other river like the Mississippi, with as many miles of navigable stream, with as fertile a valley depending on it or containing so large a population and turning out such valuable products. There is no city on the gulf having so deep a harbor, and therefore admitting such large vessels to its wharves; and only two or three cities with such important railroad connections. With these three transportation routes—river, rail and ocean—united, New Orleans has better opportunities to collect and distribute products in the region tributary to it than any other city on the continent.

Again, in the matter of markets, New Orleans is, as Jefferson pointed out, specially favored, having the Mississippi Valley at its back and Latin America

fronting it, and being therefore the port for the interchange of the products and commodities of North and South America, as well as for their shipment to Europe, Asia and the rest of the world. If, then, it should accomplish all that has been predicted for it by the great economists of the world, it will not do more than its facilities and advantages entitle it to.

But it is not in commerce alone that New Orleans offers such extraordinary advantages, for it is equally well situated and has equal advantages to make it a great city.

New Orleans has become an important manufacturing city in the past quarter of a century. During that period, from 1875 to 1900, the output of its factories has increased sixfold, while the increase in commerce was only thirty or forty per cent. It is growing much faster as a manufacturing than as a commercial city, but not as fast as its advantages should make it grow. In regard to manufactures, it is probably the best-situated city in the United States, having the following specified advantages, some of which are enjoyed by other cities, but no other town has all of them, or to the same degree or extent as New Orleans: First, climate; second, raw materials; third, labor; fourth, markets; fifth, cheap transportation of materials and manufactured products; and, sixth, cheap living.

The climate in New Orleans is probably the best in the Union for manufacturing, and there is no loss of time from any interruption from the elements. The winter is never cold enough to stop work, as in New England, and there is no snow fall to prevent employes from getting to the factories where they work. The mills are not tied up by freezes, as in the central Southern States. On the other hand, the hot spells which occur so frequently in the larger cities of the North because Nature has been outraged, the shrubbery destroyed and there is nothing left but brick and stone and iron to store up and accumulate the heat, are unknown in New Orleans. Sunstrokes and heat prostrations are very rare here, and no factories, not even the sugar refineries, have had to close on account of heat of summer, as has occurred more than once in New York and other Northern cities. The summer in New Orleans, while long, is not hot, and is the busiest season of the year for manufactories. A cool breeze blows from the gulf, and the nights are always cool and not hot like the summer nights of the Atlantic Coast, which wear out the people by depriving them of sleep and render them prone to sunstroke the next day. New Orleans covers a large area, and there is ample room for gardens and shrubbery of all kinds, which serve to

mitigate the summer heat, and the flushing of gutters tends to the same result.

Again, the climate possesses that moisture which is so necessary in textile manufactures. In the Southern mills outside of New Orleans the dryness of the climate has a bad effect on the yarns, and it is necessary to employ machinery in the mills in order to produce that moisture which is essential to the successful working of them. In New Orleans, however, this is wholly unnecessary.

But the greatest boon that New Orleans enjoys is in the abundance and cheapness of the raw materials employed, not in one but in all lines of manufactures, and its prosperity to-day is based upon its wealth and resources in this matter. It is the port of export for these materials, and they can therefore be obtained there on the most favorable terms, in the best condition and of the highest quality: and this is true not of one but of a dozen articles—cotton, wool, hemp, cypress, pine and lumber of all kinds, iron, copper, lead, hides, leather, tobacco and a hundred other necessary articles, including such essentials to manufacturing as cheap and abundant fuel.

Take cotton, for instance. New Orleans is the best cotton port and the best cotton-purchasing center in America. It is the market for the South and Southwest, and exports the bulk of the cotton used in Europe and New England. Cotton can be bought in New Orleans for from \$3 to \$5 a bale cheaper than in Boston; and it is in better condition for spinning, for it has not suffered from a long voyage and the misusage it gets on a voyage, nor has it been so pressed and repressed that the fibre has been affected. Then again, in the matter of quality, New Orleans offers the purchaser opportunities he can find nowhere else. It monopolizes the handling of long-fibre cotton of the Tensas and Yazoo bottoms, which has from that very fact been named "Orleans" cotton. With this advantage, and the other advantage already noted in the matter of the moisture of the climate, it can readily be seen how favorably it is situated for the manufacture of cotton goods.

It is equally well situated for woolen and mixed goods. The wool crops of California and Texas, the largest in the Union, are shipped through New Orleans, reaching that city over the Southern Pacific. These shipments run as high as 20,000,000 pounds a year, and the wool is naturally cheaper by the difference in freight, insurance and handling than in Boston or Philadelphia, to which the bulk of it goes. The advantages the city offers for the manufacture of woolen and mixed goods have only recently been appreciated by the erection here of several woolen mills manufacturing hosiery, underwear and similar articles. These mills have been most successful, and their products are shipped

to all parts of the country and sell readily in New York and Chicago in competition with the output of the Eastern mills. Only a small portion of the wool which passes through New Orleans is retained here for manufacturing purposes; and the possibilities of this city in textile goods, both cotton and wool, are as yet not fully developed.

In the matter of hemp, and the manufacture of ropes, cordage, baggage, etc., New Orleans has great opportunities, for it handles the Kentucky product as well as imports—most of the *istle* or Mexican hemp. It has always done some business in the manufacture of ropes and bagging—even in ante-bellum times; but has never fully utilized its chances.

In respect to lumber, New Orleans stands first among American cities, in variety, quality and price. It has been an exporter of lumber for nearly two centuries, supplying the West Indies and Mexico and Central America with such wood as they needed. At the same time it is the importer of most of the mahogany, Spanish cedar and other tropical woods used in the West and Southwest, and its mills supply the factories with the timber used in the manufacture of furniture, cigar boxes, etc. New Orleans is the center of the cypress region, which covers the lower delta of the Mississippi, and of the Southern yellow pine district, and is able, therefore, to handle both of these woods to advantage. It is also the exporting point for the shipment of oak staves, and supplies nearly all the staves used in Europe for marketing the wine crop of that continent. Its cypress is especially adapted for the manufacture of shingles, cistern tanks, etc., and twenty-seven States are supplied with these articles, as well as nearly all the coast of the gulf of Mexico and Caribbean seas. Its pine is sent to all points of the world, and is shipped to Europe, Asia, Africa and South America.

Much of the lumber comes to New Orleans in a manufactured state and the city merely exports it; but the New Orleans sawmills and other factories do a large manufacturing business themselves. For this they have great facilities. The mills are situated either on the river front, getting such timber as they need from the Mississippi itself, as it can be floated down to them from that river or any of its tributaries, or on the New or Old Basin, while they can receive timber from Lake Ponchartrain or the Mississippi gulf coast. The logs are brought direct to the mill, while the finished product can be similarly shipped directly. Besides the timber brought by the waterways, New Orleans receives a considerable amount by its railroads, especially the New Orleans & Northeastern, Illinois Central and Yazoo & Mississippi Valley lines. Timber being a bulky article

and being brought to the city almost without cost—that is, floated down during high water—it is from forty to fifty per cent. cheaper than in the Eastern cities, and the industries which utilize wood or are of the chief material in their lines of manufactures, are therefore at a great advantage over those in most other cities.

The development of the iron industry of Alabama of recent years has given the New Orleans foundries and machine-shops an advantage which they did not previously enjoy. These shops did a big business even when they had to get their iron from as far distant a point as Pittsburg. To-day they are getting iron at much cheaper figures from the Birmingham district. Indeed, New Orleans is so favorably situated as far as Birmingham is concerned that a large part of the Alabama iron shipped abroad is sent via the “Crescent City.” It is believed that still more favorable conditions can be arranged by the improvement of the Alabama streams so as to give the furnace men a chance to ship their products to seaboard by an all-water route and thence through Mississippi Sound to New Orleans. This would give the city factories iron at practically cost price.

It may be mentioned, in regard to the foundry, machine and iron business in New Orleans, that it is nearly three-quarters of a century old, and that it has in consequence a large amount of skilled labor at hand.

At one time New Orleans handled the entire lead product of the country. It has lost the bulk of the business of late; but enough lead passes through the city to give employment to many paint and other factories. It still ships an immense amount of copper ore, coming from the copper mines of New Mexico and Arizona; but nothing has been done towards utilizing the possibilities this supply offers.

New Orleans ships each year from four to five million dollars' worth of hides, and with possibly one exception is the largest handler of hides in the United States. It receives the immense output from the millions of cattle of Texas, as well as the bulk of the product from the ranches of the plains, Mexico, Central America and other countries of the Gulf and Caribbean. Only a small portion of these hides, however, are treated in New Orleans or converted into leather here; the greater portion are shipped North and tanned in that section; and such leather as New Orleans needs for its boot and shoe, trunk, harness and saddlery and other factories is generally bought in the North and brought back here. In spite of this extravagant policy, instead of manufacturing the hides into leather, New Orleans does a large business in shoes and nearly all other classes of goods into which leather enters as a principal constituent. In this, as in other matters, it has not fully utilized the opportunities it enjoys.

It is the same story in regard to tobacco. New Orleans stands at the meeting point of the two great tobacco crops. It is the nearest American city to Havana, and, as a consequence, is the importer of most of the Havana tobacco crop sold in this market. It is the point of export of the tobacco crops of Kentucky and Ohio. At one time it was the largest tobacco market in the world, and while it has lost this superiority, it still handles an immense amount of American tobacco; and the German, French and Spanish buyers make most of their purchases in the "Crescent City." It was only a quarter of a century ago that these advantages were first utilized, and the city ventured into the manufacture of cigars and tobacco. In the matter of cigars it uses mainly Havana tobacco, and largely Cuban labor, thus turning out a Havana cigar in every respect except that it is manufactured in the United States. Its cigars have attained a world-wide reputation and it possesses, in the Hearnheim Factory, the third largest cigar factory in the United States. Its tobacco business has not been quite as successful, but it fills an important position in the country as a manufacturer of tobacco.

This enumeration of the raw materials which can be obtained in New Orleans in greater quantities, at cheaper prices or of better quality than in other American cities will give some idea of its opportunities for manufacturing. Equally important is that other element which plays so important a part in manufacturing, coal.

There are no coalfields near New Orleans, but it gets its fuel for domestic and factory use as cheaply as though it was in the coal districts of Pennsylvania. It owes this to the Mississippi River, down which the coal is shipped in barges, at a minimum cost, from the mines of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. This water transportation is so cheap that New Orleans, although 1,000 miles further from the coalfields than New England, gets its coal from 20 to 30 per cent. cheaper; and as coal forms so important an element in the cost of manufacturing, the expense is very considerably reduced in the "Crescent City." The railroads also bring coal into New Orleans, but the water route still remains the cheapest.

New Orleans has another advantage as a manufacturing city. Most of the factories in the city being immediately on the river bank or close to it, the coal can be delivered to them direct.

The labor supply of New Orleans is abundant and orderly, and strikes are few. In consequence of the utilization of more economic methods in handling

the commerce of the city, a much smaller force is required than of old, for the transportation is done mainly by railroads, and much of the unloading and loading by machinery. This leaves some 40,000 to 50,000 persons available for factory work. The proportion of skilled labor is not very large save in one or two branches; but it is increasing as fast as the needs of the city require, with the experience gained in the factories as well as the instruction given in the technical and other schools.

A very considerable proportion of the labor is female, especially in the cotton, tobacco and clothing factories and knitting-mills. A far larger proportion of the work is done at home, by pieces, than in other cities. This is specially the case with clothing and pant factories, nearly three-fourths of the output being made by the operatives in their own homes instead of in the overcrowded sweatshops which are a feature of the industry in New York and other Northern cities. It is needless to say that this results to the great comfort and advantage of the working people, who have plenty of fresh air, their own hours and such conveniences as they can afford. The other operatives have other advantages in a climate where the weather is never too hot or too cold for work, and where the cost of living for the poorer classes is exceptionally low. The cost of fuel, in an average household in New Orleans, is hardly one-fourth what it is in the North: and there is a corresponding reduction in the cost of overcoats, cloaks and other winter apparel. The rent is lower for a small cottage than for a room in a New York tenement house, and being nearer the center of production the cost of food, if they live after the New Orleans style, is less. It is possible, therefore, for a mill operative in New Orleans to live for 20 to 30 per cent. less than in a similar style in the Eastern States. This is practically demonstrated by the many thousands of skilled laborers who have settled in New Orleans of late from the North and West, brought here by the progress of its industries.

While there have been several large strikes in New Orleans, nearly all of them have been in the commercial lines, due to the shrinkage in commercial profit and an attempt to rearrange wages. In the manufacturing lines proper, strikes of all kinds have been few, as the government reports show, and the interruption and injury to factory work have been insignificant.

In the matter of markets all that applies to the commerce of New Orleans equally applies to its manufactures. It is a case where manufactures follow the ship. Wherever New Orleans has lines of steamers running, it is able to furnish all kinds of goods at an advantage over competing cities.

Thus, the extension of its trade in bananas, cocoanuts and tropical fruits generally, has been followed by a great extension of its manufactures and their shipment to the tropical countries of Central and South America. New Orleans furnishes the bulk of the manufactured goods to those countries, a large proportion of them manufactured in the city itself. Nine-tenths of the articles used on the Atlantic coast of Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua come from New Orleans. Practically all the cisterns, tanks, etc., used in Central America, Mexico and Colombia are made in or around the "Crescent City." The same is true of the lumber used in Mexico. The New Orleans breweries furnish a large part of the West Indian trade. In the matter of cigars, New Orleans supplies Texas and the Southwest generally. Its canned goods go over the world, for many of them are manufactured nowhere else. Its canned shrimp are sent by the thousands of cases to India. It furnishes two-thirds of the cottonseed oil and cottonseed cake and meal used in Europe, the oil going through Marseilles, Genoa, Naples and other centers of the olive-oil industry. It can thus be seen that it has for its market all quarters of the globe—Europe, Asia and South America. The fact that it has steamship lines to more than eighty different ports gives it an opportunity to sell its manufactured products in all the countries in which these ports are situated. It cannot, of course, sell in all of them, but it has them all as markets to be utilized in the course of time when its manufactures develop. There are very few countries, or states in the Union, into which goods manufactured in New Orleans do not find their way.

In New England and the Eastern States are sold its "pants," clothing, hosiery, molasses and canned goods, and rice.

In the West its canned oysters, rice, sugar, hosiery, tanks, shingles and lumber.

In the South its cotton goods, tobacco, cigars, lumber and miscellaneous goods of all kinds, its food products, chemicals, fertilizers, etc.

In Mexico, Central and South America, its cotton goods, lumber, machinery and foundry work, beer, etc.

In Europe, molasses, staves, canned goods, cottonseed oil, fertilizers, etc.

In Japan, its fertilizers and canned goods.

In Africa, lumber of various kinds.

Roughly estimating, New Orleans now supplies more than a third of the city demand for manufactured goods; but seven-eighths of the output of its factories are shipped away, either to neighboring districts or to foreign lands;

and the proportion of these exports is steadily increasing. Its steamships, which now give it connection with every part of the globe, offer it manufacturing opportunities unexcelled anywhere. With a direct line running to Japanese ports, via the Suez canal, established for the purpose of supplying Japan with cotton for its mills, New Orleans can ship its manufactured goods to the more distant points of the East.

The facility for obtaining raw materials and for handling them, through the fact that the factories are on the river front, as well as the excellent markets New Orleans enjoys through its many steamship lines, have resulted in bringing to the city from many parts of the South and West manufacturing plants which have found that they can do better there than in the interior. The fact that New Orleans is a commercial city has been of immense advantage to its factories, by giving them new markets and cheaper transportation which they would otherwise have never enjoyed. This is an advantage possessed by few other cities in America, because in the commercial centers like New York and Boston, the cost of living and of land is so high that manufacturing is expensive.

It is narrated of one of the early settlers in California, in the days when it was a great mining center and was turning out a million dollars of gold annually, that he would not give a hundred dollars for all the agricultural land in the state. At that time it was all gold on the Pacific, and California was thought to be too dry ever to become of any value as an agricultural or horticultural country; but time has shown that the pioneers could not appreciate the real wealth of the land of gold; for to-day its mining output has become an insignificant item in comparison with the magnificent crops it raises on its fertile soil. Similarly in New Orleans the possibilities of manufacturing were looked on with more or less contempt in the earlier days, and the people pinned all their faith on its commerce. To-day they see that manufactories support a larger population than commerce, and hold out the greatest advantages and possibilities of the city for the future. As these manufactories are of recent growth, New Orleans has had no chance to fully test what they will do for it; but, judging by the experience of some ten or twenty years, they should build it up beyond even the grand prediction and promise of Jefferson. It is not a Liverpool only, but a Liverpool and Manchester combined, with equal advantages and chances of becoming a great commercial and a great manufacturing city.

The other advantages of New Orleans are more or less treated elsewhere.

Its climate is comfortable and pleasant, neither too hot nor too cool. Its

temperature has fallen only once below eighteen degrees, and has never reached 100°, which can be said of few other American cities. It seldom has more than one day of freeze during the year, and its winter temperature averages fifty-eight. It has more hours of sunshine than any city of the North or West, and for nine months of the year its skies are as bright as those of Italy.

In the past it has suffered somewhat from dampness, due to the supersaturation of its soil, resulting from a defective drainage; but this objection has been removed by the new drainage system which has so recently been constructed. It is now dryer than Florida, with a winter temperature from two to five degrees higher than that of most of the tourist cities of the "Land of Flowers."

As a residence city, New Orleans has made great improvement of recent years. Its old houses, while admirably adapted for its climate, with their big halls, wide galleries and thick walls, were lacking in many modern conveniences. The newer residences contain these conveniences, and are a combination of the best features of the old Creole home and the latest inventions in household comfort. New Orleans residences boast of ample grounds, such as are to be found in no other city in the Union. The city covers an immense area of territory (183 square miles), and thus offers plenty of room for yards and gardens, even for the poorest. As a consequence it boasts of large gardens, a great deal of shrubbery and trees, particularly live oak, magnolias, orange trees and other evergreens in abundance. Even in the midst of winter the city seems an immense mass of verdure. Its flowers are famous and its roses are the wonder of all visitors.

The markets of New Orleans are good. In the immediate vicinity are hundreds of truck gardens, which send early fruit and vegetables to the Northern cities. It has the first pick from them. The swamps of Southern Louisiana yield an abundance of game, especially ducks, deer, wild turkey snipe, papabottes and other birds peculiar to Louisiana. The Gulf of Mexico yields an abundance of fish, among which are the pompano, which, it is claimed, is the best food fish caught anywhere, redfish, red snapper, sheep's-head and crabs, both hard and soft. It is claimed, and not seriously disputed, that the oysters of Louisiana and Mississippi are the best found anywhere in the world; and this is universally admitted of its shrimps, of which there are two entirely different varieties,—river and lake shrimp. The latter is canned by the ton or dried and packed in barrels and sent to all parts of the world, thousands of barrels of them going each year to China. The Louisiana orange is the juiciest produced, and is declared in Europe to be the best grown anywhere.

This brief enumeration of some of the table delicacies enjoyed in New Orleans will give some idea of the pleasures of the table in this city; and it should be further noted that the open season—that in which these delicacies can be obtained—much longer than elsewhere, because the closed season—winter—is so much shorter. Finally, New Orleans possesses an abundance of good cooks, which it owes to its large French population, as the French are the inventors of the modern cuisine. Its Creole cooks are famous throughout America, and Creole cookery is known everywhere as a synonym for all the gourmand desires. It has given to the world a number of toothsome concoctions, among them the gumbo—or rather gumboes, for there are more than a score of combinations—the “jambalaya” (something like the Spanish “olla”), the court bouillon, bouillabaisse and others.

Social life in New Orleans is made enjoyable in many ways. The population, being a mixed one, has given to the city a marked cosmopolitanism, so that one may live as he chooses—in the French, English, German or American style. The city is remarkable, linguistically. While practically its entire population speaks or understands English, half speak French also, while 15,000 understand Spanish, as many Italian and even more German. A large proportion of its population understands more than one language.

The basis of the social life is French, derived from the earlier French or Creole settlers. To them it owes its gaiety, its love for the theater and opera, its public balls, the carnival and similar holidays. It boasts of some of the finest clubs in the United States. Its balls, given mainly during the carnival season by clubs or associations, have no counterpart anywhere else in the world. It is one of the best theatrical cities in the Union; and in the matter of opera it is the only American city with a first-class record. Opera is an institution dating back nearly a century. During all that time, except the period of the civil war, New Orleans has had its seasons of from three to five months of grand opera; and this has developed and built up an operative and musical taste which naturally does not prevail elsewhere.

All these things tend to make New Orleans a very pleasant city to live in—pleasant from the standpoint of society, of the table, of its festivities and enjoyments, its theaters, opera, balls, carnival, etc.

It has preserved the best features of French and American life. This is an advantage, which is not overtopped by the advantages New Orleans enjoys as a commercial and manufacturing city.

CHAPTER IV.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

BY NORMAN WALKER.

THE early history of New Orleans will explain its remarkable municipal experiments and changes. This history is different from that of most of the other American cities, for New Orleans was under dominations and political systems of which they knew nothing. It was at one time a French, and at another a Spanish, city; and while such, conformed to the political usages and municipal systems of France and Spain. The cosmopolitanism of the town and the presence of a large negro population compelled other modifications in its government, unnecessary elsewhere. Again, for long periods of time the city was in open or quasi rebellion against the constituted authorities, and its municipal government had to be modified in consequence. The great area over which the city was built, the peculiarities of the location, below the level of the river and a hundred other incidents resulted in producing conditions which occurred nowhere else in America, or, for that matter, in the world; and to meet these conditions experiments of various kinds, some of them the crudest imaginations, were tested from time to time. It can be said of New Orleans that every variety of municipal government that has ever been tried anywhere on the face of the civilized earth has been tested in the "Crescent City," from the centralized government dominated entirely by the State or by the military power, to an almost separate and independent municipality. *Conseils superieus*, *cabildos* and municipalities have followed each other in rapid succession. Now the French, now the Spanish, now the pretended American form of government has been adopted, each of them to last for a few years; and charter has succeeded charter, each radically different from the other. At times, so impossible did it seem to reconcile the differences, racial and political, which existed between the population of the different districts of New Orleans, that the Legislature in despair split the city up into several municipalities or cities, each with an independent government of its own, thereby reverting to the system which prevails

in Oriental cities, where the European population lives in a different quarter and under different laws and regulations from the Orientals or natives.

It can be imagined from these facts how interesting the municipal history of New Orleans must be, especially as in 1896 this city secured one of the most "up-to-date" and advanced charters possessed by any municipality in the United States, and containing in it all the reform provisions inculcated and proposed by the Municipal Reform League and other organizations, which have worked for the better government of American cities. Perhaps the history of New Orleans is lacking in some of the poetry that clings to the earlier colonial story of Louisiana as told by Gayarré, but it is rich and profitable in all matters of economical and municipal politics, and teaches a far more valuable lesson than the "Romance of Louisiana."

From 1718 to 1900, New Orleans has passed through several forms of government, each radically different, as follows:

- 1718 to 1767—Superior Council (French).
- 1767 to 1803—Cabildo (Spanish).
- 1803 to 1805—Appointive (temporary).
- 1805 to 1836—Council (American).
- 1836 to 1852—Separate municipalities (American and Creole).
- 1852 to 1862—Council (bi-cameral).
- 1862 to 1866—Military (martial law).
- 1866 to 1870—Council (bi-cameral).
- 1872 to 1882—Administrative (Legislative and executive the same).
- 1882 to 1896—Cameral (one chamber).
- 1896 to —Model charter, civil-service reform, etc.

THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL.

The first governing body of the city of New Orleans was the Superior Council, which was created by the King of France, Louis XIV. This Superior Council continued, more or less, the governing body of the city during all the earlier French days and up to 1767, when Spain took possession of Louisiana and substituted for it a Spanish organization, but it changed and modified from time to time. It was composed originally of only two persons, the Governor and the commissary ordonnateur. This council was subsequently increased to three, the Governor's clerk being added to it; later to six, when it included the Governor, commissioner, clerk, chief engineer, military commander and attorney general. It was still further enlarged in 1732, when the council, besides

those already enumerated officials, included the two lieutenants de roi (lieutenant governors) and four of the more prominent citizens. Finally, in 1742, in view of the fact that the litigation before the Superior Council had become so great—for the council was not only the governing body of the city, but the supreme court as well, hearing all the higher cases, where the amount in dispute exceeded \$22—the Governor and the commissary ordonnateur were in the King's letters patent directed to appoint four assessors to serve in the Superior Council. They ranked after the Councilors proper and their votes were received only when the record was referred to them to report on, or when they were called upon to complete a quorum, or in a case where the council was equally divided upon any question coming before it.

The Superior Council, however, was not always in control of the government, and was subject to those frequent changes and revolutions which occur in countries where pure autocracy prevails. The real governing power was the Council of State of France, or rather the King himself who interfered frequently and arbitrarily in the most trivial matters in the government of New Orleans. All the laws for New Orleans were framed by this Council of State, or rather the King; and they were often wholly unsuited to the country to which they were applied. Thus, in 1723, among the laws passed by the Council of State for Louisiana and New Orleans, was one punishing with death any person who killed a cow or horse belonging to another, and punishing the owner of a cow with a fine of 300 livres if he killed it without a permit from the government.

In that same year, 1723, the power of the Superior Council was suppressed and remained suppressed for some years. The Council of State had sent over an inspector to examine into the condition of affairs in New Orleans. This inspector, de la Chaise, presented a vigorous report in which he showed the gross mismanagement existing in the colony. The result of his report was the removal of the councilors, who were ordered to report in Paris, and the government was given into the hands of the Governor, Périer and the Inspector General de la Chaise. These continued in charge until the India Company surrendered its charter in 1732. It was a better government than New Orleans had had before, though somewhat severe and rigid, and a number of important and indeed necessary improvements were made by it for the little city. The most important of these was the construction of a broad and high levee in front of the town and its continuation above and below for a distance of eighteen miles.

When the city was founded by Bienville, it was believed to be safe from any overflow from the river; but this was soon afterwards discovered to be a mistake, and the frequent floods left the streets in a muddy and almost swampy condition for a large part of the time. Levees were therefore absolutely necessary, and Périér's levee has been kept up ever since.

Governor Périér also founded for the protection of the city from another danger. The Natchez massacre had caused a great excitement among the colonists and there seemed a possibility that the hostile Indians might descend upon New Orleans. To protect the city from them or other marauders, it was provided with a stockade and with eight small forts. The manner in which public works were done at that time is well illustrated in the construction of the levee and forts. Governor Périér assessed the inhabitants for the work, not in money, but fixing how many negro slaves each should contribute to the force at work. Their labor was contributed by their owners without charge, but the government fed them. At that time there was no tax of any kind and there seemed a complete ignorance on the subject of taxation.

Governor Périér was a man of most progressive ideas for his time and his régime saw the passage of the first sanitary ordinance for New Orleans. He arrived at the conclusion that the sickness which prevailed in the city during the summer was due to the dense forests that grew between it and Lake Pontchartrain, and which, as he thought, prevented the winds from blowing freely from the lake. In order to allow the "proper ventilation of the city" he began the gigantic task of removing these forests and put a large force of negro slaves at work felling the trees; but he did not complete the undertaking; it was too great for the time and his resources and the other work he had undertaken.

He also undertook to construct a canal from New Orleans to Bayou St. John, so as to connect with Lake Pontchartrain, and pursued the same plan of obtaining the necessary labor as with his other improvements assessing the owners of slaves for as many negroes as he thought each of them could afford to contribute. This improvement also was left uncompleted and not taken up again until 1790.

Governor Périér received special recognition from the government for the services which he rendered in the way of public improvements in New Orleans, and was given, in addition to his regular salary as governor, a large grant of land, and as an additional salary eight negroes each year of his term of office.

The government of the city, at the time, was as far from municipal as it

is possible to conceive. The people of New Orleans had no hand or part in the government of their city, and were in no wise consulted as to it. The police power was in the hands of the governor, and was enforced by him through the military. There were no provisions whatever for the extinguishment of fires; but when a fire occurred the population was impressed into service to put out the flames as best they could. There were no engines or other implements that could be used, and when a fire became very threatening it was fought by tearing down exposed buildings with pikes and halberds borrowed from the arsenal.

Education was entirely in the hands of the regular authorities, the Ursulines providing for the education of the girls on the condition that the governor general should furnish them with quarters and support, and caring also for the hospital, while the Jesuits looked after the boys.

The lawmaking power was vested in the Council of State or King of France. The basis of the laws was what was known as "the custom of Paris," which became the common law of Louisiana as it was of the other French colonies. This common law had been supplemented by statutes passed by the Superior Council, supposed to control local matters. Such, for instance, is the Black Code of 1724, which bears the signature of Bienville and de la Chaise, and was the first system of law adopted for Louisiana and New Orleans. This Black Code gives an excellent idea of the political and legislative conditions of the colony at the time.

It makes the Catholic religion the only one to be practiced in New Orleans and decrees the expulsion of all Jews from Louisiana.

It requires masters to impart religious instruction to their negroes, and provides that negroes placed under the direction or supervision of any person who is not a Catholic shall be confiscated.

It contains a very rigid Sunday law, for it declares that Sundays and holidays (saints' days) are to be strictly enforced, and any negroes found working on these days were subject to confiscation.

It will be seen from these ordinances that the religious sentiment in the colony was very strong, and that great care was taken to make Christians and Catholics of the slaves.

It is unnecessary here to go into the other provisions of this law, which merely covers the regulation of slavery. The code was less severe than those proclaimed in the Southern States later, as indeed the last article (No. 56) may be considered a very liberal one for the time, providing that "all manumitted

or freed slaves shall enjoy the same rights, privileges and immunities as those enjoyed by free-born persons. Their merit in having their freedom shall produce in their favor not only in regard to their persons, but also as to their property, the same effects which other subjects deserve from the happy circumstance of being born free." This liberal spirit prevailed during most of the French régime and long after New Orleans passed under the power of the United States, and free negroes were employed on both the police force and the fire department; nor were they debarred from municipal service until in the days just previous to the Civil War, when the abolition movement reached fever heat. But the police regulations as to negroes published elsewhere in this article were, as will be seen, very severe and harsh.

The Superior Council when in office represented the judicial department of the Governor. In civil cases three members constituted a quorum; in criminal cases, five. In the event of the proper absence of members (who excused themselves because of personal interest in the suit before them) or their absence from some other reason, a quorum was obtained by summoning to the council as many notable citizens of New Orleans as were needed. Originally the sessions were monthly, and it was afterward provided that two or more members might be delegated to meet bi-weekly, when cases were numerous and pressing. The council was a court of last resort. Its jurisdiction at the beginning extended to original cases; but later on it was elevated into a jurisdiction purely appellate and such tribunals as were found necessary were established. In 1723-24, it exercised the powers of police; in 1728 the King assigned to the council the supervision of land titles; and in 1748 the power of the council over land deeds was so extended as to allow it to make titles good upon inventories prepared in good faith and recorded, although unofficial and informal, when the defects in the title were due to the absence or incompleteness of the public officials.

The legislation was arbitrary and despotic. As shown elsewhere, the government changed the currency no less than three times, and swindled the people each time; and to prevent any opposition to its changes it passed severe laws against those who refused to accept whatever currency it might issue or who dealt in other currency—these offenses, when repeated, being punished by public whipping upon the bare back. The Council of State also arbitrarily fixed the price at which the people should sell tobacco, rice and such products as they raised; assumed absolute control over all commerce, and either operated all industries itself or sold the monopoly of dealing in goods. For instance, in 1760

the monopoly of printing books and papers in Louisiana was sold to one Braul, and it was made a penal offense for any one else to publish a book, pamphlet or paper of any kind.

As for such functions as the government had to perform, they were, in nearly all cases, performed badly. The numerous investigations made of the local officials closed with nearly the same severe arraignment of the mismanagement, and indeed corruption, that prevailed. The government, that is, the King, found it necessary to interfere again and again to protect the people. He did this in the case of the paper money, issued without authority by Governor Vaudreuil; and again in 1760, when, as the ordinance declares, the mails had been so tampered with and so many letters opened, lost or misappropriated, that it became necessary to take some action to protect the inhabitants, in consequence of which it was provided that any officials tampering with the mail should be punished by a fine of 500 livres.

The local authorities were limited to police regulations. Those adopted in 1751 by Governor Vaudreuil and de la Rouvillière, at that time Commissary General and Intendant, were practically the laws governing New Orleans during the entire French régime.

By these police regulations six taverns or barrooms were allowed in New Orleans. None but these licensed taverns could sell liquor, under a penalty to the seller of one month's imprisonment, a fine of ten crowns in favor of the poor, and a confiscation of all the liquors found in the house violating this regulation, the money derived therefrom to be paid into the King's treasury. The six licensed taverns, however, were subject to many restrictions in the sale of liquor. They could sell only to travelers, sick people, residents of New Orleans and seafaring men; and they must do this "with requisite moderation." To sell liquor to a soldier, a negro or an Indian was to subject the tavern-keeper, thus violating the law, to a fine of ten crowns, sentence to the pillory, confiscation of all wines and liquors found in the house, and for a repetition of the offense, to be sent to the galleys for life. It is doubtful if there was ever a more severe liquor law in America.

All saloons were required to be closed on Sunday and other holidays during divine service, under penalty of having their licenses repealed, and must be closed at 9 at night. The licenses cost 300 livres each, 200 of which amount went "to the ecclesiastical treasury," which, it is naively remarked, "needs very

much such relief," while the other hundred livres went to the maintenance of the poor of New Orleans, "who are in a great state of destitution."

The soldiers, however, were not only altogether shut off from drinking, but were required to patronize different establishments from the resident population and thus prevent trouble between themselves and the civilians. Two military barrooms were established; they would be called "canteens" to-day. One of them was under the control and management of the major in command of the troops at New Orleans, and the other under the captain commanding the Swiss company; for, as always under the Bourbons, a considerable portion of the garrison were composed of Swiss. The residents of New Orleans were prohibited from drinking at the canteens, as also were sailors, travelers, negroes and Indians. The last two races were altogether denied the right of drinking liquor at any saloon or cabane whatever. The police regulations punished those who sold liquor to negroes, declared to be "tramps" those who had deserted their plantations and had come to New Orleans without permission, and ordered their return to the country.

The regulations as negroes were very severe. Parties, dances and assemblages of all kinds were prohibited. They could go nowhere on the street, whether by day or night, without a pass which they had to show to any white person who claimed the right to look at it. Perhaps the most severe provision was one similar to a custom which prevails in the Transvaal Republic to-day—that "any negro who shall be met in the streets carrying a cane, a rod or a stick shall be chastised by the first white man who may meet him, with the instrument found in the possession of the negro—that is, the cane, stick or rod." Any negro found on horseback who did not stop when ordered to do so by a white man "shall be shot." Any negro who shall offend his master, "in any way whatsoever," shall be punished with fifty lashes and branded with "the fleur-de-lys in the back," in order to make known the nature of the crime." These regulations were made after a negro insurrection which had greatly alarmed the whites.

The severity of these and other laws passed in the colony was more apparent than real. It would seem that Draco was alive again, when the killing of a calf meant death, the sale of liquor to soldiers or Indians imprisonment for life in the galleys, and when a negro could be shot down by any white man who met him stealing a ride on a horse. As a matter of fact, these laws were seldom, if ever, enforced. They were mere dead letters—all sound and fury, and nothing else.

It cannot be said that New Orleans made much progress towards municipal government during the French régime. The severity of its police ordinances was slightly mitigated from time to time, and some improvements were made in its judiciary system, but the government remained autocratic and arbitrary, and the people themselves had little part or share in it.

THE CABILDO.

With the Spanish dominion, a radical change was made from the French to the Spanish system. The Superior Council was abolished and the Cabildo was established. In the redistribution of the powers of administering the laws a much larger share of the power passed into the hands of the military and ecclesiastical representatives of the crown and church—as is always the case in Spanish countries—while the Cabildo, which may be regarded as representing the civil power, was given far fewer privileges than its predecessor, the Superior Council, had enjoyed.

The Cabildo consisted of ten members, in addition to the governor and a secretary, called the *escribando*. The governor was, *ex-officio*, president, presiding at all meetings. There were two classes of membership in the Cabildo. One class, consisting of six members, acquired their seats by purchase and held office for life; the other class, consisting of four, were elected annually on the first of each year, the retiring members participating in this ballot. They were required to be residents of New Orleans and householders. They could not be re-elected to the Cabildo until they had been out of office two years, except by a unanimous vote. All the financial officers of the colony, as well as their bondsmen, were prohibited from election to the Cabildo, as well as those under 26 years of age or who had only recently become converted to the Catholic faith.

From the Cabildo, two members were elected *alcaldes ordinarios*, or judges, who probably were the most important officers. The *alcaldes* held court—each a separate court—daily in the town hall, having jurisdiction over all cases, civil and criminal, where the amount in dispute did not exceed \$20, thus corresponding to the recorders and justices of the peace of a later day. The *alcaldes ordinarios* also held evening court at their residences, at which only oral decisions were rendered. Their judgments were subject to appeal in all civil cases. They had no jurisdiction over any one connected with the military or ecclesiastical branches of the government, all such matters being given to the ecclesiastical and military tribunals.

Another of the four elective members of the Cabildo were called the *sindico-procurador general*, or attorney general syndie, who acted as the official representative of the people in the deliberations of the Cabildo. He was the prosecuting officer against the town; he sued for revenues and other debts due the city; and he was present at all apportionments of lands.

The fourth elective officer was the *mayor domo propios*, or municipal treasurer, who paid out money on the warrants of the Cabildo and who gave at the end of the year, when his term of office expired, a full account of the revenues and expenses of the city.

The rest of the memberships in the Cabildo were obtained by purchase, and it is probably the only instance in the history of American cities where the offices were put up for sale—at least openly, although stories have been frequently told of their purchase at private sale by prominent politicians. The seats in the Cabildo were sold by auction to the highest bidder. When a citizen who had purchased a seat in the Cabildo died, his heirs were allowed to use it, provided half the price of the transfer and one-third of the price of subsequent sales were turned into the royal treasury.

In these six seats sat the six *regidores* or administrators, the first of whom held the honorary office of *Alferez real*, or royal standard-bearer. The *Alferez real* was without official function, except in the case of the death or absence of one of the Alcades, when he filled the vacancy. He also enjoyed the great privilege of carrying the royal standard in parades.

The second *regidor* was *Alcalde mayor provincial*, or extra muros, a magistrate who had jurisdiction over offenses and misdemeanors committed outside the limits of the city, and with power and authority to overtake and capture those seeking to escape to the rural districts—such, for instance, as runaway slaves or fugitives from justice.

The third *regidor* was *Alcuazil mayor*, and acted as sheriff, superintendent of police and prisons; but the police did not exist until the last days of Spanish rule.

Two other *regidores* were *deposidores general*, or keeper and dispenser of government stores; and *recebidor de penas de camarara*—receiver of fines and penalties. The sixth *regidor* had no special duty or assignment.

The Cabildo met every Friday in the town hall, or Jackson Square, which, from the body sitting there then, has earned for itself the title of Cabildo to this day. It sat both as a council and as a court—in the latter case as a court of appeal from the decisions of the *alcaldes ordinarios*, through two of the

regidores chosen by it, with the Alcaldes who had rendered the judgment appealed from, but only when the judgment was for less than \$350. Cases involving larger sums were assigned specially by the king to such tribunal as he selected. The Cabildo had the right to fix the price of provisions, to sell the privilege of providing the city with meat, and many other petty privileges permitted municipalities under the Spanish rule.

Appeals from the decisions of the Cabildo were carried to a special court in Cuba, or even to Madrid itself, if the matter was one of importance.

All matters affecting the soldiers and ecclesiastics were carried before a military or ecclesiastical tribunal, and judged by the *fueros militares* or *fueros eclesiasticos*. In civil matters the ordinary laws of Spain were in force—the *recopilaciones* of Castile, the *fuero viejo*, *fuero jurico*, *partidas* and *acordados*.

The governor exercised a certain control and power over the Cabildo very similar to the power exercised by the mayor of the city in later days; and no appropriation could be made by this municipal council, save for the most trifling and necessary expenses, without a permit from him.

The underlying design of the Spanish government in establishing the Cabildo was to so scatter the power in the hands of the royal and government officials as to neutralize its possibility for harm. After the experience of Spain with the old Superior Council, which had rejected the government of the Spanish, that power was determined that it would never again have that trouble to face; and it therefor created a council which had its hands tied and could do little or nothing.

The first Cabildo of New Orleans met December 1st, 1769, Governor O'Reilly acting as President. It included Francisco Maria Reggio, Pedro Francisco Olivier de Vezin, Carlos Juan Bautista Fleurian, Antonio Bienvenu, Jose Dueros and Dyosio Brand. Juan Bautista Garie, who had been secretary of the old Superior Council, bought the office of secretary of the Cabildo.

Reggio was *Alferez real*, or royal standard-bearer; Fleurian, *Alcuazil mayor*, or sheriff; Dueros was receiver of supplies; Bienvenu, receiver of fines and penalties; and de Vezin, principal *Alcalde provincial*, or *extra muros*.

It is not stated how much the purchasers of the office of *regidor* paid for the honor; but some years afterwards, when Bienvenu, who was one of the *regidores*, died, the position was bought from his heirs by Fagot de la Garinère for \$1,400, money being then worth about five times its present value.

Besides the offices already mentioned, the government included a treasurer, a contador or comptroller, a storekeeper and purveyor, a surveyor-general, three notaries and a cashier.

The Cabildo met January 1, 1770, and elected as Alcaldes ordinarios the principal officers in the city, de la Chaise and St. Denys. They were succeeded as follows:

- 1771—Chabert and Forstall.
- 1772—Amelot and Chevalier de Villiers.
- 1773—Duplessis and Doriocourt.
- 1774—Forstall and Chabert.
- 1775—Dufossat and Duplessis.
- 1776—D'Ernonville and Livandais.
- 1777—Forstall and Chevalier de Villiers.
- 1778—Navarro and Dufossat.
- 1780—Piernas and Duverger.
- 1783—Le Breton and Morales.
- 1785—Forstall and Kernion.
- 1786—Orne and Dufossat.
- 1787—Chabert and Reggio.
- 1788—Foucher and Argotte.
- 1790—Ortega and Almonaster.
- 1791—Marigny de Mandeville and de la Pena.
- 1794—Serano and Daunoy.
- 1795—Loris and Pontalba.
- 1796—Perez and de la Chaise.
- 1798—Serano and Argotte.
- 1800—Perez and Poyfarre.
- 1802—Forstall and Cassergues.
- 1803—Forstall and Lanusse.

The clerks of the council were Garic, Rodriguez and Mazange.

In 1790 the number of regidores were increased by six, on the ground of the

large increase in population of the city.

In organizing the Cabildo, Governor O'Reilly prepared the schedules of rules and regulations fixing the powers of the several officers. These rules and regulations were, to all intents and purposes, the charter of the city. They are very full and complete, covering even the minutest details.

Few changes occurred in the government of the city during the Spanish rule. This, as usual with Spain, was of a most conservative character.

It will be noticed from the names of the members of the Cabildo that the Spaniards were glad to have the French Creoles take part in the city government of New Orleans. The provincial government, which was more important and had greater power, was, however, restricted to Spaniards alone. In the last decade of Spanish rule the two Alcaldes ordinarios were usually divided between the French and Spanish population.

On taking possession of the government in 1786, Miro issued his *bando de buen gobierno*. This is the proclamation which the governor of a Spanish colony generally issues when taking possession, making known the principles under which he proposes to operate and the public ordinances he proposes to enforce. These ordinances, in brief, were as follows: No labor of any kind on Sunday or other public holidays; all stores and shops to be closed during the hours of divine service; no dance of slaves in the public squares during church time; a warning to "women of the town" not to pay "excessive attention to dress;" women of color (*mulattoes*) forbidden to wear jewelry or plumes, and required to wear handkerchiefs or turbans (*tignons*) around their head so as to distinguish them from the whites; gambling and duelling prohibited; rigorous prohibition of the carrying of dirks, pistols and other weapons (up to that time the better class of the population had been accustomed to wearing their swords, as in France); no meetings of negroes allowed at night; no person allowed to leave or enter the city without passports; those leaving the colony required to give security for the payment of their debts; all persons reaching New Orleans required to present themselves at once at the government house and obtain a permit to remain in the city; all public meetings prohibited without a permit from the governor; all walking out at night prohibited, except in cases of necessity, and not even then unless the walker carried a lantern (it was not until some years later that the city provided street lamps); no houses or apartments to be leased to a slave; saloonkeepers required to close their saloons at regular hours, and prohibited from selling wine to soldiers, negroes or Indians; purchases from soldiers, Indians, convicts or slaves prohibited; hogs prohibited from running at large in the streets of the city, and the number of dogs to be kept by a citizen was limited. Measures were also taken to guard against conflagrations, for draining the streets and keeping the public landing on the levee unobstructed.

These ordinances, which it will be seen, are those of a very primitive company, about illustrate the municipal and police government of New Orleans during Spanish rule, when the governor did not hesitate to interfere in the most

private concerns, even as in Italy during the Middle Ages, in the dress of the people, particularly that of the women.

The *bando de buen gobierno* issued by Governor Carondelet in 1792 was very similar to that of Miro. He, however, took the slaves more into consideration and issued a number of provisions in their favor, fixing the amount of food they were to be furnished with and the clothing to receive. He forbid their being given more than twenty-five lashes at one time, and provided that their Sundays belonged to them when they could not be compelled to work for their masters except in urgent cases, and must then receive pay for their services. It was the most liberal treatment they had ever received—far more liberal than they received afterwards.

The most important changes were made under the administration of Governor Carondelet in 1792, when the presence of the Americans in the colony began to be felt. He divided the town into four wards, placing an *Alcalde de Barrios* with a commissary of police over each ward, with official control of fire engines, firemen and axmen. He appointed policemen, provided first for the lighting of the streets with lamps. In 1796 there were thirteen *serenos*, or night watchmen, in the city, and eighty street lamps. The expense of these improvements was borne by a chimney tax of nine reales (\$1.12½) on every chimney. This tax being found insufficient, another levy was substituted for it—a tax on wheat bread and meat.

The many important public improvements made in the city under Carondelet were made on an entirely different basis from those instituted by the early French and Spanish governors. The latter had compelled the inhabitants to furnish them negro slaves for the purposes of work. Carondelet tried a different plan of taxing them. In the matter of the fortifications erected around the city, which were then considered necessary, for the situation was growing rather threatening in the Southwest, he regarded the expense as belonging properly to Spain, and the people of New Orleans were required to contribute nothing, but merely to keep up the fortifications. The expenses of light, police, etc., etc., were borne by the inhabitants, being raised by a tax on chimneys and food.

The resources of the city at the time, that is, for the last year of Spanish rule, 1802, were as follows:

Hire of stalls in the meat market.....	\$ 2,350
Tax on beef, seven-eighths of a dollar.....	3,325
Tax on veal, mutton or pork, on each carcass.....	1,200
Hire of stalls in the vegetable and fish market.....	1,383
Tax on bread, half a dollar a barrel on flour baked in the city*.....	2,800
Licenses, \$40 on barrooms, \$20 on lodging houses, and \$40 on billiard tables	3,500
Port charges, \$3 on all ships at anchorage except American shipping†..	500
Tax on Tafia (rum), \$2 per pipe.....	800
Ground rent on great square.....	132
Rent of the old market house, then used as a ball room and gaming house	1,800
Ground rents on the square opposite the hospital.....	693
Moveable shops and stalls (peddlers).....	360
Tax on vessels entering Bayou St. Jean, \$1 a vessel.....	470
Total revenue.....	\$19,278

This table gives the basis upon which the city revenue was raised for many years afterwards. As in France and Spain, the principal dependence was on the tax on food and the revenues from markets and licenses. These indeed produced three-fourths of the total revenue. The direct tax on real estate and personal property, capital, houses and furniture was altogether ignored.

The expenditures are equally interesting, although not given in the accounts of the time as completely and fully. They were:

Commission of five per cent. to treasurers for all sums received by them	\$
Salaries of regidores, about \$5 a month.....	350
Salary of clerk of council.....	200
Salary of porters (who collected the licenses).....	420
Salary of sergeant (head of the street repairing department).....	144
Salary of corporal (who superintended street cleaning).....	144
City crier.....	144
City executioner.....	180
Lighting the city, including 14 watchmen (serenos), who were also lamp-lighters	2,980

No itemized account was kept of the other expenses, such as cleaning and repairing the streets, etc.

* It was recognized that the bakers swindled the municipality in this matter, and did not pay their full dues.

† This money was received to keep the wharves in order.

The Cabildo and the Spanish system remained in force until the cession of Louisiana to France. When Laussat, the French Intendant of Louisiana, took possession of the colony in 1803, he abolished the Cabildo, or old Spanish council, and established in its place a regular municipal government. Etienne de Boré, the first of the Louisiana sugar-planters, was chosen as mayor, and the council was composed of Villeré, Fortier, Jones, Donalson, Faurie Allard, Trideaux and Watkins—five Creoles and three Americans. The secretary of the council was Derbigny, and the treasurer, Labatut. This government was intended merely as a stop-gap until a charter could be obtained for the city from the Territorial legislature; but it continued in office more than two years. De Boré, however, resigned and Pierre Petit succeeded him as mayor *pro tem*.

CITY CHARTER.

Although the bill for the incorporation of the City of New Orleans had been introduced in the legislature as early as 1803, it was not passed until February 17, 1805. The city included then what are now the first, second and third municipal districts and some territory on the west bank of the river. Under the charter the government was placed in the hands of a mayor, treasurer, recorder, and a city council of fourteen aldermen, apportioned among the several wards as follows, until a census of the city could be taken, when the aldermen were to be apportioned according to population, one for each 700 inhabitants:

Ward.	Aldermen.
1—Canal to Conti.....	2
2—Conti to St. Peter.....	2
3—St. Peter to St. Philip.....	2
4—St. Philip to Esplanade.....	2
5—Faubourg Marigny (third district).....	2
6—Faubourg St. Marie (first district).....	2
7—Upper portion of city (now part of first ward of New Orleans)....	1
8—Settlements on Bayou St. Jean.....	1

The election was held in March, and resulted in the choice of James Pitot as mayor, and the following aldermen:

Ward.	Aldermen.
1—Felix Arnauld and James Garrick.	
2—Francis Duplessis and Joseph Faurie.	
3—Col. Bellechasse and Guy Dreux.	
4—Antoine Arzotte and La Bertonnière.	
5—Thomas L. Harman and P. Lavergne.	
7—Perez.	
8—Guerin.	

The city government thus organized was largely on the model of other American municipalities. It was decidedly more American than French, and contained very few of the principles of Spanish municipal government, save in the control of the markets, licenses, fixing the price of bread, meat and other products. On account of the small revenue of the city, it often ran behind in its expenses, and more than once the salaries, from the mayor down, had to be cut in order to meet the deficit.

The mayor exercised the usual powers of a chief magistrate. He presided over the council; he was the head of the police and fire departments. Both of these were largely volunteer. There was a small force of watchmen (the city guard), ill paid (\$20 a month); but the services of policing was done by the militia (the militia patrol), and an attempt was made to organize a force of firemen. It is noticeable, as showing the condition of affairs then prevailing, so different from what it was a few years afterwards, that a large proportion of both the police and firemen were free negroes.

James Pitot had been elected mayor in March, 1804, but served only until July, 1805, when he was succeeded by Dr. John Watkins. On March 9, 1807, James Mather became mayor and served until 1812, when Nicholas Girod was elected by a vote of 859 out of 1,411. Pierre Meissonier was elected recorder at the time. On September 4, 1815, Augustin Macarty, a creole of Irish descent, was elected to the mayoralty.

The new government went energetically to work to improve the city, taking up the work where Gov. Carondelet, who had been the most progressive of the Spanish governors, had left off. An order was issued by it in 1805, requiring the laying of banquettes, or side-walks, with which, up to that time, very few of the streets, save in the center of the town, were provided. It was required that these banquettes should be at least five feet wide, with curbs of cypress and the pavement of wood, brick or masonry.

In 1810 a still greater improvement was begun, one Louis Gleises obtaining the right to establish water-works, which would not only provide the inhabitants with such drinking water as they needed, but would be of assistance in the extinguishment of fires.

The city charter of 1805 lasted thirty-one years—until 1836—a longer period than any subsequent charter. It must not be imagined, however, that during all that time it remained unchanged. On the contrary, there was scarcely a session of the legislature in which some important modifications and changes

were not made, in the vain attempt to straighten out matters and overcome the difficulties and prejudices which, from the very start, threatened the new government, and which finally resulted in the repeal of the city charter and the substitution of an entirely new government, built on radically different foundations. The difficulties that faced the government were racial. The great majority of the population of New Orleans at the time of its purchase by the United States was Creole French. The Spanish government had humored the race, and national sentiment of the native population, and while it held a tight hand on the colony, it allowed the Creoles control of local affairs, or at least appeared to do so. While Spanish became the official language, French was also permitted, and the deliberations of the Cabildo were conducted in that language. The annexion of Louisiana to the United States brought in a new race, the American, speaking a new tongue, known to very few of the native population, and there was a more or less natural clash between the two races.

The Creoles objected to the introduction of English, which so few of them understood, as the official language of the city, and especially that the governor, Claiborne, did not understand their tongue, the French. They complained of a large number of Americans appointed to the new courts and offices instead of these positions being filled by natives of New Orleans, and they asserted that the new courts showed favoritism to Americans in their decisions. Other causes of objection to the new dominion was the formation of American military companies and their indiscreet parades in the public streets, the interference of the American authorities with the public balls, which were one of the chief amusements of the Creoles, and the scarcity of money. The principal currency in use in Louisiana under the Spanish had been Mexican dollars. These ceased to be imported when the Spanish left, and there was, consequently, a scarcity of currency, until Louisiana could put a new and American banking system into operation.

The two races did not fuse well at first. In the early days of the American dominion those Americans who had immigrated to New Orleans settled in the city proper, the vieux carré of Bienville; but that section is limited in area, and the rents demanded were so high that most of the immigrants after 1815 moved into Faubourg St. Marie beyond the walls, which had been of old the Jesuit plantation, and which is to-day the first municipal district of New Orleans. These people complained that the American section of the city was greatly neglected for the Creole portion, and that the public revenues were expended almost

entirely in the improvement of the city proper and none in the suburbs. As the Creoles were in a large voting majority in the city and possessed three-fourths of the members of the city council, they found this easy enough—indeed they were in complete control of the municipality. Against this condition of affairs the American element frequently appealed, and finally secured, in 1836, what they aimed at—a division of the city.

During these years of Creole supremacy, New Orleans grew rapidly in wealth, commerce and population. Many important public improvements were made, especially in the city proper; but it cannot be said that the improvements kept up with the progress made by the city in other directions.

In 1817, in the face of much skepticism on account of the yielding nature of the soil, the first cobble-stone pavement was laid—on Gravier and Magazine, in the new American section. Previous to that the streets had all been unpaved—dirt or mud streets. In 1820 the wooden sidewalks and curbs gave way, in the main thoroughfare, to others of brick and stone. In 1822 a general paving of the commercial streets was begun in both the old and new quarters. This improvement boom did not last long, however, and up to 1835, although there had been a second improvement movement in 1832-4, only two streets in the city had been paved any considerable distance.

Still less had been done in the matter of drainage and sanitation. Between 1835 and 1838, a natural drain in the rear of the American section was improved and deepened into Melpomene Canal. In 1836 a municipal draining company began operations with a draining machine on Bayou St. John, but it drained only a very small portion of the city even in that neighborhood.

THE THREE MUNICIPALITIES.

The strife between the American and the Creole had, during all that time, continued to call forth exhortations from the governors against jealousies and party spirit with reference to the accidental circumstance of language and birth. These prejudices culminated in 1836, when the legislature, principally in response to the appeals of the American section in New Orleans, repealed the charter of the city and provided for an entirely new municipal organization, the like of which has never been seen in the country, save, perhaps, in the charter of (Greater) New York. The latter is very similar, in some respects, to that of New Orleans in 1836. To prevent racial ill feeling the city was di-

viled into three municipalities, each with a separate government of its own and independent power, but with a mayor and a general council (composed of the councils of the three municipalities) over the whole city.

The old town, the "city proper," as it is called in the charter (and what is now the second municipal district), formed the first municipality, the bulk of its population being Creoles or French.

The Faubourg St. Marie, what is now the first municipal district and above the city proper, formed the second municipality.

The Faubourg Marigny, what is now the third municipal district and below the city, formed the third municipality.

The first municipality composed the first, second, third, and fourth wards of New Orleans as it existed in 1836; the second municipality, the sixth and seventh wards; and the third municipality, the fifth ward. Each of the municipalities was governed by a recorder and a council of aldermen elected by wards. The councils were composed as follows: First municipality—12 aldermen, 3 from each of its four wards; second municipality—first ward, Canal to Poydras, 4 aldermen; second ward, Poydras to Calliope, 2 aldermen; third ward, Calliope to upper end of city, 2 aldermen; total 8 aldermen; third municipality—first ward, Esplanade to Marigny, 2 aldermen; second ward, Marigny to Enghien, 2 aldermen; third ward, Enghien to Lafayette, 2 aldermen; fourth ward, below Lafayette, 1 alderman; total, 7 aldermen.

The municipalities had complete control of all their local affairs, paving, improvements, etc.; they could fix taxes and issue bonds, which they did quite actively.

The recorders of the several municipalities performed all the duties of magistrates, and were conservators of the peace.

Once a year, on the first of May, the general council, which was composed of the aldermen from the several municipalities, met in the City Hall of the city proper on Jackson Square, and attended to such matters as belonged to the city as a whole, that is, to all the municipalities. The division of powers between the general council and the separate municipal councils, was on much the same lines as that between the Federal and the State governments. The general council enjoyed only such powers as were specially delegated to it; all other municipal powers belonged to the several municipalities. The general council, for instance, had control of all matters relating to wharfage rates, charges and dues, and all licenses. It had the care and control of the police and supervision

over all incorporated companies, and it was its duty to provide for the salary of the mayor.

The parish prison, which was situated in the city proper, was the property equally of all the municipalities, who could use it on paying pro rata for its maintenance. The revenues derived from the licenses on drays were to be divided among the several municipalities in proportion to the amount of revenue collected by each. The old debt was similarly divided, that is, the share which each municipality was to assume was estimated on the bases of its revenues.

A further provision was that all rules and ordinances of the old city should continue in force in all the municipalities until repealed by any of them.

The division of the city into three municipalities seemed to give an impetus to public improvement, the three councils competing with each other to see which could make the most progress. The next few years, therefore, chronicle a great advance in all respects. The city was provided with water-works and gas. The year 1837 saw the completion of the new canal, which gave the second municipality (the American city) connection with Lake Pontchartrain, the construction of the Merchant's Exchange, St. Charles Hotel, St. Louis Hotel and a number of large and influential banks. The progress was slightly checked soon after by the big panic of 1837.

The division of New Orleans into three cities continued until 1852, when the animosities between the Creoles and Americans had disappeared. The necessity for union had, by that time, become apparent. The city finances, for instance, had been badly managed and a large debt created, confusion prevailed in nearly all branches, and, as the report of the commissioners declared, "the people were disheartened."

A BI-CAMERAL COUNCIL.

The legislature in 1852 repealed the charter of the three municipalities and consolidated them into one. On the same day it annexed the City of Lafayette, now the fourth municipal district of New Orleans, which had grown up just above the city limits. The debt of the three municipalities and Lafayette at the time was \$7,700,000, of which \$2,000,000 was over due. Commissioners of the consolidated debt were appointed, who soon straightened out this confusion and put the debt on a better basis. Through the improved credit of the city some \$5,000,000 of this indebtedness was extinguished, and in 1853, one year after the consolidation, the bonded debt of the city was given as only \$3,000,000.

The new city government was bi-cameral—with two chambers, one of aldermen and the other of assistant aldermen. The former were elected by municipal districts, which were then fixed by the charter, and have remained unchanged up to this day. The assistant aldermen were chosen by the wards, of which eleven were created, and which also remain unchanged. The representation was as follows: Aldermen—first district, 5; second, 4; third, 2; fourth, 2; total, 13. Assistant aldermen—first ward, 2; second, 3; third, 6; fourth, 3; fifth, 3; sixth, 2; seventh, 2; eighth, 2; ninth, 1; tenth, 2; eleventh, 1; total, 25. Besides the aldermen there was a mayor, who was *ex officio* chief of police, and who received a salary of \$4,000 a year; a controller, surveyor and street commissioner. The city election was held in March.

This municipal system continued eighteen years, until 1870; but a considerable portion of that time it was under suspension, because of the civil war, during which period New Orleans was under martial law and the municipal affairs were administered by the military authorities. Considerable modifications were made in the city charter in 1856, with reference to assessments and taxation; and in 1866, in order to provide for the reorganization of the civil government, which had so long been suspended.

During the military occupation of New Orleans, a military officer was detailed by the commandant to act as mayor of the city, but possessed little real power. Such municipal matters as required attention were performed by a finance committee and a committee on streets and landing. The street-cleaning was attended to by the military authorities, and was well done. A new department of the municipality had sprung up in consequence of the war: this was some provision for the poor. The suspension of commerce and of all industries had greatly increased the number of the poor in New Orleans, and the situation was made worse by the large number of negroes who fled to New Orleans to seek refuge within the Union lines. These people had to be fed, and public markets were provided, whence free rations were distributed. The money necessary therefor was obtained in fines and assessments levied on the banks and other corporations, and even on private individuals, for assistance given by them to the Confederate cause.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM.

In 1870, another experiment was made in city government by the establishment of what is known as the "administrative system." The government of the municipality was vested in a mayor and seven administrators elected on a

general ticket. Each of these administrators presided over a separate department of the city government. They were severally administrators of finance (about equivalent to comptroller), commerce, improvements (similar to a commissioner of public works), assessments, police, public accounts (treasurer), water works and public buildings. Some of these titles were more or less absurd and did not cover the duties of the office held by the administrator. Thus the city had practically no control over assessments and there was no reason why it should have an administrator of assessments, and as it parted with its control of the water-works in 1877 there was equally little reason why it should have an administrator of water-works. However, each administrator had certain executive duties to perform. The mayor and the seven administrators were constituted a city council for local purposes, thus combining the executive and legislative branches of government in one body.

This council was too small to have committees, and each administrator was allowed freedom in his special department. Weekly meetings of the council were held to consider general municipal matters; but they were, from the very small number of members, necessarily of a somewhat informal character.

Judge W. W. Howe, in his "Municipal Government of New Orleans," expresses the opinion that the administrative system, 1870-82, was the best the city had ever had. This view, however, it is difficult to accept, and Judge Howe's opinion was probably based on the fact that the municipal government of New Orleans was exceptionally bad at the time he wrote his pamphlet. The administrative system had the advantage of compactness and of working quickly. There was no danger of a conflict between the legislative and administrative branches, as is so frequently the case in American cities. The administrators fully understood the legislation coming before them, and *vice versa*, since they first made laws for themselves and then carried them out. It is admitted that the councilmanic system is slow and cumbrous; but it is sometimes wise to "go slowly" in legislation, and to give the people time to consider and pass on public matters. The new system was naturally more secret, and the people knew less of what was going on. Several scandals occurred; and whether from the form of government or from other causes, the municipality dropped behind and surrendered many of the functions of a city government. It would be unjust to attribute this decay wholly to the several city governments which administered the affairs of New Orleans between 1870 and 1882. The city was decaying in many other ways during that period. It had lost heavily in commerce

and business, in consequence of the civil war, and overflow and pestilence. The general panic of 1877-8 cut down values and reduced the assessment and revenue far below what it had been for years. The lowest depth was reached in 1880, when assessments fell to \$91,117,918. Moreover, during most of this period the city was at the mercy of the legislature, which played shuttlecock with it, changing its boundaries, rearranging its courts, and constantly tampering with its bonds and indebtedness. Finally a low condition of political morality was prevalent, which, while it was far worse in the State government, yet more or less reflected itself in the municipal government.

But aside from these outside influences, the municipality of New Orleans seemed to be drifting backwards. It lost control of the water-works in 1877, it being shown that the city was unable to administer them without loss; it surrendered control of its wharves and leased them out to a private company. The necessity for this action was recognized by all, as the wharves had got into a thoroughly bad condition under the city government, and it became obvious that the city could not properly administer them.

The treatment of the city debt was equally bad. The debt was made up of various kinds of bonds, differently guaranteed, bearing different rates of interest and wholly different in their character. The conflict between the consolidated bonds and premium bonds, which were supported by different administrations, led to a great deal of litigation and brought discredit on the city's bonds, some of which sold at less than twenty-three cents on the dollar. Finally the city's credit got so bad, and so many judgments were outstanding against it, that the creditors searched right and left to find public property subject to seizure, and even threatened to seize the parish prison and public markets. The tax rate of the city, which had been 1.5 per cent. in 1860, and 1 per cent. during the greater part of the Civil War, rose to 2.375 per cent. in 1869, 2.625 in 1870, 2.75 in 1871, and 3 per cent. in 1873. It was cut down afterwards, but this accomplished only by defaulting on many of the debts of the city. The result was a great deal of litigation and many judgments against New Orleans, which had to be included in the taxes of 1882, the last year of the administrative government. The tax rate of that year was the highest ever known in New Orleans, reaching a total of 3.175 per cent., of which 1.675 per cent. was a special judgment tax, levied by order from the United States Court to satisfy judgments that had been found against the city.

In 1870, Algiers and Jefferson City were annexed to New Orleans and be-

came the fifth and sixth municipal districts respectively; in 1874, Carrollton was annexed as the seventh district.

Under the circumstances that existed it was not to be wondered at that popular sentiment should demand an entirely new charter for the city. This was granted by the Legislature in June, 1882.

THE COUNCILMANIC SYSTEM.

As usual in the frequent changes in municipal government in New Orleans, the transformation was a radical one. The administrative system was entirely abolished and for it was substituted the councilmanic government, but wholly different from the councilmanic government which had existed from 1852 to 1870. The council consisted of one instead of two chambers, but the old distinction of districts and wards was preserved. Each of the seven districts elected one councilman at large without regard to population, while the seventeen wards elected twenty-three councilmen, based on their population. The council was thus composed of thirty members, there being no difference whatever in the powers between the district and ward councilmen. The councilmen received no pay. The council was the legislative department of the government, levying taxes and licenses, having control over all expenditures, over the repairs of the streets, lights, the extinguishment of fires, the maintenance of levees, the streets, squares, cemeteries, etc.

The executive department was in the hands of the mayor, treasurer, comptroller, commissioner of public works and commissioner of police and public buildings—all of whom were elected at the same time on a general ticket. The other municipal officers, such as surveyor, city attorney, etc., were elected by the council.

The mayor was commander-in-chief of the police and appointed the entire force, which was subject to radical changes with each change of administration. The police ordinances were enforced by four police courts, presided over by recorders, while in the fifth, sixth and seventh districts the justices of the peace had the power of committing magistrates.

The fire department at the time was completely out of the control of the city, being in the hands of the Firemen's Charitable Association (the volunteer firemen), under a contract with the city, which was renewed every five years. (There was, as a matter of fact, four fire departments, for the volunteer firemen



James Smith Little

had organized separate and independent associations in the fifth, sixth and seventh districts.)

The new city government had really very little to do, the several departments that properly belong to a municipality having been lopped off at various times. The fire department, as already noticed, had always been separate and independent.

In order to protect the city, as well as the bondholders, against the mismanagement which had been the feature of the city government from 1870 to 1882, all control over the debt was taken from the city in 1880 and given to a Board of Liquidation, consisting of six members, two of whom were chosen by the Governor, two by the Lieutenant-Governor and two by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The mayor, comptroller and treasurer were ex-officio members of this board. With this exception, the city had nothing to do with its municipal debt except to provide for the payment of interest on it; and this act was nearly perfunctory, as the Legislature required that the proper provision be made.

The wharves had been surrendered as early as 1882, when they were leased to a private corporation, the lease being renewed from time to time. As the United States had decided that the revenue derived from wharfage dues could be used only for the commercial improvement of the city, the lease made to the lessees was for so much money to be expended in improving the wharves and port facilities of the city. There can be no question that under the wharf lease a great improvement took place over the conditions that had prevailed under the municipal ownership and control.

In 1892, the city government, having shown itself in no position, from lack of funds, to deal with the problem of the construction and maintenance of levees, and the city being put in danger of a general overflow, the council's control of the levees was taken from it and given to a board, known as the Orleans Levee Board, with power to levy district taxes for the construction, repair and maintenance of levees. This board was appointive, and named by the governor, and was a state rather than a municipal body, although its jurisdiction was restricted to the City of New Orleans.

The control of the city's public schools was wholly out of the hands of the city council, which had no control over them, save in the election of some of the members of the school board. This, however, had always been the case, save for a short period after 1852, when the council had organized the public schools and created three districts, maintaining its control over these three boards.

What was true of the public schools was equally true of the Board of Health. This was a peculiar body, half state and half city, with certain municipal as well as state powers. Its members were partly elected by the city council and partly named by the governor.

To such a degree was this disposition to vote away municipal functions, rights and duties carried that even the parks, squares and principal streets were given over to commissions, consisting of tax payers of the vicinity. The city being unable to make provisions for keeping these parks, squares, etc., in good condition, the duty of raising the necessary funds by subscription or public entertainments devolved upon the commissioners. In fine, the City of New Orleans had surrendered nearly all its franchises and duties, had sold, leased or transferred the municipal property and privileges to various private individuals or corporations, to state boards or commissions of citizens. About 1884 the city had reached, perhaps, the lowest depths as a municipality. It is true that its credit had improved and its wharves were in better condition, but the city government was powerless and had no jurisdiction or city property to administer.

Perhaps the only function which still belonging to the city, was the control of its police force. This was wholly in the hands of the mayor, and had been so administered that the police was overrun with politics and infected with corruption. Mayor Shakespeare, 1878-82, took the bull by the horns in the matter of blackmail and corruption that existed in the police force, growing out of the gambling business, and introduced a system known as the Shakespeare plan. It was peculiar to New Orleans, and never attempted anywhere else in the country, and proved what could scarcely have been conceived from so remarkable a plan—a success.

Gambling had always been very prevalent in New Orleans, in spite of the fact that the earliest French colonial ordinances contained numerous edicts against it. Mayor Shakespeare took the view that it was useless to carry on the statute books ordinances against gambling that could not be enforced and which only gave the police opportunity to blackmail the gamblers. He could not license gambling; that was against the State constitution; but he argued with the gamblers that if they paid so much into his hands monthly and carried on an "honest game," he, as chief of the police, would not allow the officers to interfere, or molest them. They accepted this agreement, and the money derived from this source was used by the mayor in erecting the Shakespeare Almshouse—an institution the need of which had been greatly felt—and in maintaining

that and other charity institutions. The whole transaction was extrajudicial. The money paid into the hands of the mayor did not have to be accounted for to any one and could be used by him as he saw fit. Its administration and expenditure called for the utmost confidence in the chief magistrate. The system ultimately was abused and the Shakespeare fund gradually disappeared from the extraordinary revenues of the city.

The charter of 1882 lasted fourteen years, until 1896. It was badly shaken by the elections of 1888 and 1896, in both of which the issue of municipal reform was a prominent feature and succeeded in carrying the election. The administration of the city had grown very bad between 1882 and 1888, and the popular demand was for the protection of the public interests from politics and politicians.

The election of a reform city administration in 1888 led to several important changes, especially in the matter of the police and firemen. The police department had become permeated with politics. It was badly demoralized, moreover, by the radical change in the force which came with each change of administration. To correct these evils it was decided to take from the mayor some of the supreme power he exercised over the force and to put it more or less under the control of a police board. This was accomplished in 1890-91 by the passage of the Police Board Act.

The fire department has been for nearly seventy years and from the earliest days of New Orleans, outside the control of the city and in the hands of the Firemen's Charitable Association (the Volunteer Firemen). The contract of the Volunteers, which expired in 1891, was taken advantage of to organize a municipal fire department under the control of the city, through the Board of Fire Control and the Fire and Lighting Committee of the council.

The city soon began to feel the influence of these changes. The administration of municipal affairs showed a marked improvement beginning in 1888, when a great deal of paving was done, and New Orleans began to release itself from the decay into which it had fallen in all matters of municipal administration. This improvement created such public enthusiasm and desire for still further advance that the election of 1896, like that of 1888, turned almost wholly on the question of municipal reform; and it was given out that the success of the reform movement would mean a new charter for the city. The movement having won, the members of the Legislature elected on that ticket set at work at once to carry out the promises made to the people, and the result was the passage of the charter of 1896.

A MODEL MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The latter charter is an ideal one, from the standpoint of the political and municipal economist. It is in line with the suggestions of the Municipal Reform League and contains almost all the suggestions of that body as to what should be contained in a model charter. Perhaps its chief defect lay in the fact instead of going into operation all at one time, the charter became operative partly in 1896 and partly in 1900. The Legislature did not like to disturb the new city government so soon after it has been installed, and hence it provided that there should be no change in the officers until after the next election (1900). This fact has led to considerable confusion and litigation to determine what part of the charter of 1896 went into immediate operation and what part was postponed until 1900.

The charter of 1896 continued the councilmanic system, but with only one council, of smaller dimensions than that created by the charter of 1882—seventeen instead of thirty members. The councilmen, as formerly, are elected by districts and wards; but—and this was a radical innovation—are paid for their services, whereas all the previous councilmen and aldermen had served without pay. The other elective officers are few in number—mayor, comptroller and treasurer—the latter two to prevent the mayor having too great control over the finances of the city. The other officials—commissioners of streets, surveyor, city attorney, etc., are appointed by the mayor, with the approval of the council. Under this charter the power of the mayor is very great, and he practically names the other officials, who constitute his cabinet. This is in full accord with the recommendations of the Municipal Reform League, which claims that it assures a harmonious administration, prevents a division of responsibility, and that it increases the chances of the people securing good government as they ought to be able to elect a fit and proper mayor; whereas they may, if they are compelled to choose a half dozen officers, make a mistake as to some of them.

The principles of civil service reform were recognized and endorsed in the new charter. A board was created to prepare and put in operation a system of civil-service rules for the new government; and it was provided that all appointments and promotions thereafter would be made in accordance with these rules.

The new charter was a model one. The only fault that could be found with it was that it was somewhat in advance of public sentiment in New Orleans, in too great contrast with the political conditions that had prevailed there;

in fine, that the reforms it proposed were too radical and sudden and did not take local conditions sufficiently in account.

Under the charters of 1870 and 1882, the city had lost and surrendered most of its municipal functions, which had been sold or leased. Beginning in 1888, the disposition had been for the city to regain control of these functions, but to safeguard them against the danger of partisan politics by placing them under the control of boards and commissions, beyond the reach of politics and popular elections. This idea was undoubtedly the fruit of the success met with by the Board of Liquidation in dealing with the city debt. That debt had been so mismanaged by the city and so admirably managed by the Board of Liquidation that public sentiment strongly favored placing as many as possible of the functions of the city beyond the reach of politics. This plan has been steadily carried on since then until the government of New Orleans as it exists to-day is a most composite one, made up of a dozen different bodies, distinct and separate from the municipal government proper—the mayor, city officials and council—and in most cases absolutely independent of it. These independent boards and commissions are as follows:

Civil Service Commission.—Three members appointed by the mayor and serving each for twelve years. Commission created in 1896 by the city charter. The commission makes rules and regulations for the selection of minor officials, recommends persons for appointment and hears complaints of removals without cause.

Board of Liquidation of the City Debt.—Created in 1880 by an act of the Legislature. Composed of nine members; six citizens chosen; two by the Governor, two by the Lieutenant-Governor and two by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Mayor, Treasurer and Comptroller of the city ex-officio. This board has control of the city debt and of all revenues coming to the city from the sale franchises.

Police Board.—Created in 1888 by the Legislature, with control over the police force. It consists of members chosen by the council for twelve years each, and the Mayor ex-officio.

Board of Fire Commissioners.—Created in 1891, by the council. It consists of nine commissioners, chosen by the council, and the Mayor and Commissioner of Police and Public Buildings, ex-officio, and has control over and regulation of the fire department.

School Board.—It consists of twenty members, of whom eight are appointed by the Governor and twelve elected by the city council.

Board of Health (two boards, one State and one city).—Chosen partly by appointment by the Governor and partly by election by the council. These boards exercise jurisdiction over quarantine and all sanitary matters.

Orleans Levee Board.—Created by the Legislature in 1890. The board consists of seven members, and has full control over all levee matters—the construction, repair and maintenance of levees and the drainage of the city. It exercises the right to levy a tax not to exceed one mill for levee purposes, and to issue bonds to raise the necessary funds for levee construction.

Port Commission.—Created by the Legislature in 1896. This board has charge of the wharves, the collection of port dues, etc. Its powers will be greater after the expiration of the wharf lease (1901) and the return of the wharves to the possession of the city. The board consists of six members, appointed by the Governor.

The Drainage Commission.—Composed of nine members, including five chosen from the Orleans Levee Board. The commission has charge of all matters relating to drainage and the work of providing the new drainage system of the city.

Water and Sewerage Board.—Established by the Legislature in 1899 and going into active operation in 1900. It consists of seventeen members, appointed from the Orleans Levee Board, from the Board of Liquidation, the Drainage Commission, and seven commissioners, one from each district, appointed by the Mayor. The board has charge of the sewerage and drainage, of providing New Orleans with a sewerage system and with water-works. It levies taxes and is authorized to raise bonds thereon to carry on the work entrusted to it.

Thus it will be seen that the control of the police, fire department, schools, wharves, levees, sewerage, drainage, water supply, the public debt, sanitation and the appointment of minor officials have been taken from the city government proper and given to various boards and commissions, selected by the Governor, Legislature, Mayor or Council, all acting independently of the city and not answerable to it, and holding their several positions for long terms or even for life.

THE POLICE.

The police system of New Orleans has passed through the same changes and transformations as other branches of the city government; indeed, there have been even more changes from the purely military system of the early days

to the effective civil and municipal system which prevails to-day under the control and management of a Board of Police Commissioners. Under the French and Spanish rule, there was practically no police force for New Orleans. The preservation of the peace of the city was delegated to a few soldiers and civilians who patrolled the streets at night. As in mediæval times, these watchmen called out the hours, as well as the state of the weather, and, in order to give a feeling of confidence to citizens, shouted, if everything was satisfactory, "Tout va bien!"—"All is well!" The patrolling was not done by single men but by squads of four or five *gens d'armes* (the city guard), who wore the usual French or Spanish uniform of *gens d'armes*—cocked hat, deep blue frock coat and breast straps of black leather supporting a cartridge-box. They went armed, too, and carried an old-fashioned flint-lock musket with sword bayonet and short sword.

The only policing was done at night, when malefactors were thought to be about. Early in the evening the sergeant collected his squad at the guard-room which adjoined the old calabosa (calaboose or prison). Here the *gens d'armes* were put through the manual of arms, after which, with each squad under the command of a corporal, they marched, at "shoulder arms," to the section of the city they were detailed to patrol and guard. The city was very much limited in area then, including only the vieux carré bounded by what are now Canal, Rampart and Esplanade streets and the Mississippi. After making a round of the city, the several squads returned to the guard-house to make a report, and with such prisoners as they had picked up—negroes and drunken wayfarers. There was naturally a strong prejudice against the *gens d'armes* or *serenos* and the civil population, a majority of the former being Spaniards, whom the Creoles detested. The *gens d'armes* were accordingly the butt of the people, the subject of frequent lampoons and burlesque songs. In scrimmages, which were frequent, they suffered from their popular dislike, for a prisoner who was arrested by them had only to set up a cry to call his neighbors to his rescue. In nearly all such encounters the *gens d'armes* were outnumbered and overpowered and their prisoners released. The police were ordered by the Spanish officers to use their weapons as little as possible, so as not to intensify the Creole opposition to Spanish rule, which, always strong, grew stronger during the latter days of that domination. The calabosa, which was the police headquarters, was situated on St. Peters street in the rear of the present Louisiana Supreme Court building, having been erected there in 1795 by Don Andres Almonaster, builder of the St. Louis cathedral.

The actual police system of New Orleans, as distinguished from the military police system that prevailed under French and Spanish rule, dates from the establishment of the American dominion in Louisiana. After the abolition of the Spanish *Cabildo* or government of New Orleans and the establishment of the temporary municipal government under Mayor Etienne de Boré, one of the first acts of the new council was to provide for a proper police force; and Messrs. Livandais and E. Jones, members of the council, were appointed special police commissioners to inspect the prisons and formulate police regulations. The regulations drawn up by these commissioners were 108 in number. They are yet in existence among the city archives and give an excellent idea of the social as well as the police conditions which then existed in the little city. Some of them were so thoroughly in popular favor that they are continued to this day, with scarcely verbal changes.

Article 1 prohibits blasphemy (cursing) on the public streets. Article 2 prohibits "the driving of carts on the streets on Sunday" without a good excuse therefor, the punishment for "breaking the Sabbath" being twenty-four hours' imprisonment in the calabosa. Article 3 prohibits gambling of all kinds. On the third offense the gamblers as well as those who played with them were subject not only to a heavy fine but were ordered to receive "twenty-five lashes on the bare back." There is no evidence that this severe law was ever enforced or had the slightest effect in suppressing or even reducing the gambling. New Orleans, on the contrary, stuck to gambling and indulged in more games of chance than any other city in the Union.

The Police Regulations of Messrs. Livandais and Jones were very well prepared and covered nearly all the offences against the peace and order of the community. A police being necessary to see to their enforcement, one was created to consist of twenty-five men, with Pierre Achille Rivery at their head as "Commissioner General of Police in the city and suburbs of New Orleans." M. Pierre Pedesclaux was made clerk to the chief and two aids provided for. The pay of the officers was very small, the two aids getting \$20 and \$25 only, respectively. The latter amount, \$25, was paid to the second aid because he was required to know English as well as French. The American immigration was already pouring into the city, and the first comers, rude pioneers and flat-boatmen from the West, were a most troublesome class, who set at defiance the police force of New Orleans.

The small pay allowed the police rendered it no easy matter to secure white

men for the force as was desired, and the council finally provided that if white men could not be found to do the police duty mulattoes might be employed; but the officers must be white—a remarkable provision in view of the existence of negro slavery at the time, and the strong prejudice afterward shown to the employment of negroes as officers. The patrol of the police was no longer restricted to the city limits, but they were required to go beyond the “walls” when requested by citizens “to catch runaway negroes, and put a stop to looting and other crimes.”

In 1805 the temporary municipal government of New Orleans, which had existed from the time of the American purchase of Louisiana, was abolished, and the city was regularly incorporated by the Territorial Legislature. Mr. Regnier was appointed sub-inspector of police, and the police was recognized as a part of the municipal and civil government instead of the military government as heretofore. In August, 1804, the patrol militia was reorganized, with Col. Bellechasse as commandant. It was made up of firemen and hunters, and consisted of four squads of fifteen men each, the squads changing every eight days.

The militia patrol under Col. Bellechasse did duty in the outlying districts where there was a large disorderly and turbulent population. There was, in addition, a city patrol, composed of sixteen soldiers, two officers, two sergeants and two corporals, to be chosen each in turn from the militia and the volunteers. The patrol was divided into two sections for the night service, the first patrol going on in the evening and remaining on duty until midnight, when it was relieved by the second watch, which remained on duty until daybreak. The police headquarters were in the city hall, and were maintained by the city government. The militia patrol received no pay. It made an application to the city for the necessary appropriation to arm the men, asking for fourteen sabers, nineteen guns and thirty-nine pistols; but the council refused to make the necessary provision. On the contrary, the popular prejudice increased against the militia patrol, many of whom had been soldiers on the police force under the Spanish government; and in 1806, in deference to popular sentiment, the council decided to create a city police force, to be known as the “garde de ville.” Thus in the short space of four years the police of New Orleans had been four times changed from the military to the *gens d’armes*, the constabulary, the militia patrol, and, finally, the garde de ville.

The new organization was intended to be a purely civic police, with the

military element, which had survived from the Spanish and French days, eliminated. It consisted of one chief, two sub-chiefs or assistants and twenty men for the city proper; and for the Fauxbourg Ste. Marie, the American section, now the first municipal district, the same chief, two sub-chiefs and eight men; a total force of thirty-three. The chief was provided with a horse and allowed \$60 a month, from which he had to provide food for the animal. The sub-chief received \$25 a month, and each watchman \$20. The police were armed with the old half pike and a saber suspended from a belt of black leather. They wore long brass buckles, on which was engraved "Garde de Ville" (City Watch). The headquarters were still in the city hall, where two men as a relief force and one sub-chief were always on duty. The reliefs were at 7 A. M. in the summer and 9 A. M. in winter.

The new police force went on duty March 14, 1806. It was in trouble within a very short time; for in an encounter in May of the same year the police were overpowered by a number of rioters, dispossessed of their weapons and badly beaten. For this cowardice the force was formally deprived of its weapons by an ordinance of the city council. The grand jury joined in the popular denunciation of the new force for their failure to do their duty, and declared that the city was "at the mercy of brigands to loot and pillage at pleasure." The grand jury cited a very strong case to support the denunciation—that of a man murdered in the Fauxbourg Ste. Marie, whose body was left lying where it fell for three days, until buried by charitable persons.

The next council decided that the city was wasting money on such a police force, and reduced it to eight men, restoring the militia patrols, and thus going back to the military system, the civic police having failed after two years' trial. The chief of the city guard was placed in charge of the militia patrol, who were designated as "constables."

This condition of affairs continued for fourteen years, and was found generally satisfactory. As the city grew in size, the constabulary force was increased, and in 1822 it consisted of fifty men, who patrolled the city at night in small squads. This police force, like the fire department, was voluntary and composed of private citizens.

With the division of the city into three municipalities, the patrol was gradually abolished and the constabulary increased, each section having its captain and high constable.

The marauding of the "levee rats" on the freight on the river front led, in 1851, to the organization of a levee police force of nine men, under a sergeant.

In 1852 the three municipalities and the City of Lafayette (now the fourth municipal district) were consolidated into one government, and John Youennes was appointed the first chief of police of the entire city. Under this charter the mayor was constituted the head of the police force of the city, with power to appoint officers, to make regulations and to exercise general control over the police.

This was the condition of affairs up to the time of the Civil War. The occupation of New Orleans by the military force under Gen. B. F. Butler suspended all civil government. The city was placed under martial law, the police were superseded by the soldiers, and the head of the police department was the provost marshal, an army officer detailed for that purpose. The violation of ordinances or regulations was punished with severe imprisonment or transportation to Ship Island, or some other of the military prisons established by Gen. Butler.

With the restoration of civil government in Louisiana in 1866, under Mayor John J. Monroe, a police force was reorganized, a large proportion of whom were veterans of the Confederate army. This force figured very conspicuously in the Mechanics' Institute riot of 1866, and an investigation was made into the matter, which resulted in finding that the police had done their duty, and that the riot was caused by the negroes who were taking part in the convention.

With the establishment of the Republican government in 1868 the entire police system of New Orleans was again changed, and the force again reverted to the military system. The act organizing the metropolitan police force of New Orleans, which was changed and amended from time to time, practically created a military force very similar to the Prætorian guards in the days of the Roman Empire. The force was very much increased, amounting at one time to 800 men. It was reorganized and well paid, so as to get men on it who were willing to fight, and a very considerable portion of the force consisted of veterans of the Civil War, both from the Union and Confederate armies. The police, while bearing only side arms when on ordinary duty, owned rifles and even Gatling guns and other cannon; and the arms apportioned among the states by the general government were given to them rather than to the militia. In fine, the police practically superseded the militia, under the title of the "Met-

ropolitan Brigade," although a nominal militia force was kept up independent of them. As a militia the metropolitan police force was of great convenience to the *de facto* state government, as it was well disciplined and continuously on duty. The men were chosen with care and well equipped. There was a considerable mounted police force, which served as cavalry. In the subsequent difficulties which grew out of the dual state government, when New Orleans was for several years in a state of civil war, the police were frequently called on to make expeditions to the neighboring parishes to suppress popular movements that refused to recognize the *de facto* (Kellogg) state government or to pay taxes to it. A steamer was purchased for the purpose of making this expedition, thereby constituting the nucleus of a navy.; The police thus became both army and navy, the army being divided into infantry, cavalry and artillery.

Under the several laws passed in regard to the metropolitan police, they were constituted a state militia and given power and jurisdiction throughout the state, becoming in their power very like the Royal Irish constabulary, the situation in Louisiana at the time being very similar to that of Ireland when a large part of the population refused to recognize the government. There is no counterpart in the United States to the metropolitan police force of New Orleans from 1868 to 1877—not even in the other Southern States where reconstruction was going on; and the situation in Louisiana, with two state governments, was *sui generis* and different from that of its neighbors.

"The Metropolitans," as the police were called, were used in several military movements to suppress popular uprisings and establish the authority of the Kellogg government. They were sent to St. Martin's, where the people under Gen. Alcibiade de Blanc maintained their allegiance to the McEnery state government. This country campaign was a failure. A condition of actual war prevailed in the parish of St. Martin for some weeks, but the Metropolitans made no headway; and Gen. de Blanc finally surrendered to the United States marshal, but refused to recognize the Metropolitans or state constabulary. In New Orleans the police were at first somewhat more successful. They captured the building occupied by the McEnery government as a legislative hall, and they dispersed the citizen militia who had assembled in Jackson Square for the purpose of establishing the McEnery state government by force of arms; but in the battle on the levee, at the foot of Canal street, on September 14, 1874, the power of the Metropolitans was completely broken. Under the command of

Generals A. S. Badger and James Longstreet, the Metropolitans, some 600 strong and with several cannon, Gatling guns and Napoleons, marched to Canal street to disperse the White League and similar organizations which sought to overthrow the Kellogg state government and establish that of McEnery. The result was a battle equal to many unfortunate engagements in actual warfare. The Metropolitans were defeated, losing some sixty-odd men, killed and wounded. Among the latter was the commander, Gen. Badger, while the citizen soldiery lost eighteen killed and a number wounded. Most of the other Metropolitans surrendered, and the next day, with the capture of the State House and Armory, the Kellogg government was dissolved. This defeat broke the power of the Metropolitans. With the restoration of the Kellogg government on May 17, 1874, the Metropolitans were reorganized, but as a city police force, not as a state constabulary. They made no more expeditions to the country, and they no longer attempted to act as militia. In the subsequent capture of the Supreme Court buildings by the citizens' soldiery, on January 9, 1877, they made no resistance, nor during the long siege of the State House (afterward the Hotel Royal) did they attempt any military movements.

After the breaking up of the Metropolitans New Orleans was for a short time without any police whatever, and police duty was done by the citizens' soldiery. It was practically martial law, and the peace and order of the city was never better preserved or crimes and misdemeanors more infrequent.

With the establishment of the Nicholls government in 1877 the Metropolitan police force was abolished and a new force organized. Few of the old members were given service, so strong was the popular hatred of the Metropolitans, who had ruled with a high hand and most arbitrarily during their years of power. Nearly all the statutes giving the Metropolitans extraordinary power were repealed, and the force again became a police force in fact.

While the new police was in many respects a great improvement on the Metropolitan, many defects had crept in which soon showed how necessary was the reorganization on an entirely new basis. Under the existing ordinances the police were entirely under the control of the mayor, who as chief had the power of appointment and removal. With this power it was natural that politics should creep in, and that appointments should be made because of political services. The police exercised an important, if not a dominant, influence in primaries and elections, and, moreover, considerable corruption prevailed, especially in the matter of gambling, which at that time was tolerated, or at least overlooked, in New Orleans.

When, in 1888, a reform administration went into power, it set to work at once to reform both the fire and the police departments, which were permeated with politics. Popular sentiment demanded a change, and strongly supported the bill introduced by Mr. Felix Dreyfous, member of the Legislature from the sixth ward of New Orleans, reorganizing the police force, which law was at once passed. It contained the provisions usual in most of the police laws of the large American cities. The mayor continued as commander-in-chief of the police, but the force was controlled and directed by a board of six commissioners, representing the several municipal districts of the city. This board was to formulate rules and regulations to try all delinquent officers, and to have the power to fine, suspend or remove officers for cause. All officers were appointed to the force after physical and other examinations as to their fitness, and were under civil service rules, and could not be removed without cause. Provision was also made for the establishment of a police pension fund.

The new law worked well, and the police board set vigorously to work to reorganize the force; this took nearly a year. All the officers had to stand examinations, physical and otherwise, and the unworthy and unfit were weeded out. The board, however, came in conflict with the mayor during this work, and a serious clash of authority resulted.

The practical experience in organizing the police force had disclosed several defects in the law. The police board met and suggested certain changes in this law in the direction of increasing their power. The mayor, Joseph A. Shakespeare, who had not received the law with favor, because it curtailed his power, proposed amendments which, while they continued the police commission, materially increased his powers. The controversy lasted some months, and found its way into the courts. A majority of the police commissioners were removed by the mayor and new members of the board appointed. The State Supreme Court, however, overturned this action and restored the commissioners who had been removed; and the Legislature amended the law, as the police board had asked that it be amended. It was a triumph of the principle of the government of the police by a commission instead of a single individual—the triumph of the principle of the civil service as opposed to the political system which had been in operation previously.

It was during this period of strife between the mayor and council that an event occurred which stirred New Orleans to a pitch of frenzy, caused more or less excitement throughout the country and led the United States into serious

diplomatic difficulties and even into the possibility of a foreign war. This was the assassination of the newly-appointed chief of police, D. C. Hennessey, by members of the Mafia, on the night of October 15, 1890, and led to the Parish Prison lynching the next year, for which Italy made demands for reparation of the United States.

The dispute between Mayor Shakespeare and the Police Board in 1890 settled the question of the control of the police. The Mayor abandoned his resistance to the law, and it was universally recognized that the force had greatly improved in morale, efficiency, and in every other way since the change in the system, and the adoption of civil-service rules for its control. Differences, however, crept up from time to time between the Police Board and the several mayors as to the limit of power between them. Thus Mayor Fitzpatrick, who succeeded Shakespeare, quarrelled with the board over the appointment of civil officers for the police courts, and in 1894 brought action to secure the removal of the commissioners. The court decided against him and thus entrenched the board in power and fixed the limits of its authority.

The original police act of 1888 had been amended in 1890, and was still further amended in 1896, in order to make it clear and cover all the disputed points which had led to the differences between the mayor and board. The last police act provided how the commissioners might be removed by legal proceedings, authorized the mayor to appoint emergency officers without pay, altered the qualifications of the police force, changed the examination board for promotion from a committee appointed by the superintendent of police to a committee appointed by the board, made the decision of the board final in all cases and not subject to revision, prohibited policemen from engaging in other pursuits, and finally set aside a portion of the police appropriation to the pension fund. It was a move in the right direction, tended to make the police force still more independent and free from politics. It will be thus seen that the police of New Orleans have been through every possible status. It has been a volunteer force, a military force (a detail from the army), a constabulary, a genuine municipal police, to revert back to the militia system, again to a city police, and finally to adopt the principles of civil service, under the control of a board, the force being responsible to the mayor yet independent, to a large extent, from the legislation and interference of the council and city government.

The police pension fund was established by the act of 1888, reorganizing the police force. It provides a pension for the widows of all officers who may

lose their lives in the performance of their duties, and had in 1900 eleven families on the pension roll.

The Police Mutual Benevolent Association was organized in 1893. By voluntary contributions to the fund of this association, police officers receive so much per day when sick, and a gross amount is paid to their families in the event of death. It received and disbursed \$31,511 during the six years 1893-99.

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The Fire Department of New Orleans passed through the same changes and vicissitudes as other branches of the municipal government, and as have occurred in other cities of the same age. It began with no firemen at all, followed by a volunteer fire force, which assumed more and more the characteristics of a paid department, until finally the volunteer force went out altogether and a paid department came into service.

There were no firemen in the earlier days of New Orleans, and no means of fighting fire. When flames broke out in the little city, the neighbors flocked to the scene of the fire and did what they could with buckets to extinguish the flames. The soldiers also turned out and did the heaviest work.

With the lack of firemen, in a city where houses were almost all of wood and roofed with shingles, it was natural that a great conflagration should occur. Such a fire came on Good Friday, March 21, 1788, and it was one which the city had cause long to remember. A high wind, amounting almost to a gale, carried the flames from house to house and from street to street. The entire business portion of the city was destroyed, including the parochial church (succeeded by St. Louis' Cathedral), the Presbytery (where the civil courts are now situated), and with it nearly all the archives of the colony, the municipal building or Cabildo, the military barracks and arsenal, with large supplies of arms and ammunition and the calaboose or public jail, from which the prisoners were narrowly rescued from burning to death. Altogether between 800 and 900 houses were destroyed by fire, the total loss being estimated at \$2,595,616. It was the first big fire New Orleans ever had, and it has never had one as large since.

The conflagration had one good effect; it called attention to the utter deficiency of the city in the matter of preparations to fight fires. There were not even enough buckets to use, and no organization to pass up the buckets to put out the fire where it burned or to wet the roofs of the houses which stood in its path.

While the city was in flames the Governor sent the soldiers to the artillery quarter to search for such military implements as were best adapted to the purpose of staying the flames, such as axes, military picks, etc., with which to pull down houses and parts of houses and parts of houses left standing that might feed the flames with fuel.

The result of the great fire, which was felt in New Orleans for many years afterwards, was the organization of a fire department. Only four years afterwards another severe fire broke out in the city. Thanks to the improvement that had been made in fighting fires, it was not nearly as destructive as that of 1788, for not only were there buckets ready for use but engines as well, the latter being, however, without trucks and carried in carts. The city at that time was divided into four wards or districts, in each of which was an *Alcalde de Barrios*, a commissioner of police, who had charge not only of the police or *serenos*, but also of fire matters as well. The *alcaldes* were directed to take charge of the engines and implements, to assume command at all fires and to organize new companies as the occasion demanded. It was the first fire department New Orleans boasted of, and it proved efficient in spite of the very crude engines then in the city. In 1794 another destructive conflagration occurred, which burnt over a considerable portion of the city destroyed in 1788. The fault did not lay with the *alcaldes* or the firemen, but was due to the lack of necessary provisions in regard to the style of the new houses erected. Most of them were of wood and of a very flimsy character, and a fire once started was difficult to extinguish.

When New Orleans passed under American control and a city government was established, the first work of the new council was to overhaul the fire department and improve it. There were four engines in the city, one for each of the four quarters of the city, but they were without trucks; and the committee to which was given the matter of strengthening the fire department recommended that there be organized for each engine a company of fifteen men, under a foreman. These first foremen were *le Sieur Chessé McNeal*, *Hilaire Boutté*, and *Gagné*. A fifth engine, called *L'Union*, was soon after provided, and the council appropriated \$1,000 for the support of a volunteer fire department—the first appropriation made for the purpose. It provided also for a detail of firemen each week for patrol duty. The several companies were entirely independent of one another, and considerable confusion resulted, requiring the attention of the fire committee of the council. It was found too arduous work for the firemen to do patrol duty as well as service with their engine, and the

fire patrol was abolished in 1806, and the ordinary police patrol was required to give notice of fires to the fire companies.

In 1806, the council showed that it was beginning to understand and appreciate the necessity of taking precautions to prevent fires, and a number of very sensible ordinances were passed, such, for instance, as the prohibition of shingle roofs, providing for the inspection of chimneys, relating to the proper policing in the case of fire, so as to prevent looting and other depredations, which were frequent at that time.

A still more rigid law was passed in 1807, known as the "bucket ordinance." It fixed the limits within which the construction of wooden buildings was prohibited; it required every householder to have a well on his premises and to be provided with at least two buckets.

A depot for four engines, known as the Depot des Pompes, was provided at the City Hall, with twelve dozen buckets, twelve ladders, ten grappling-irons and their chains, ten gaffs, twelve shovels, twelve pick-axes, twenty axes and ten sledge-hammers. Six other engines were provided for—one at the Theater St. Philippe, one in each of the four quarters or wards of the city, and one in the Faubourg St. Marie, the new or American district of the city, which was growing up above Canal street. Each engine was to be served by a company consisting of from twelve to twenty-two men. There was, in addition, a company of "sapeurs" (sappers), composed of thirty workmen accustomed to use the ax, such as carpenters, blacksmiths and iron workers, whose duty it was to tear down buildings whenever this became necessary to prevent the spread of fire. On the first Sunday of each month the engines were required to repair to the Place d'Armes (Jackson Square), there to play their engines and otherwise exercise themselves.

The ordinance is a long one, and there are numerous provisions as to the fire department; indeed, it was so complete that it has formed the basis of nearly all the subsequent legislation on this subject. It will be noted from the detail of the engines and other implements of the fire department that the latter was very well provided, considering the time and place for fighting fires. It was certainly in marked contrast with the condition that had prevailed eighteen years previous, at the time of the great fire of 1788, and gives some idea of the progress that New Orleans was making under American rule.

The firemen were all volunteers; and to encourage the citizens to join the several companies, the legislature passed a law exempting from jury duty all fire-

men, a provision which remained in force up to the time of the disbandment of the volunteer department.

The council, at the same time (1807), offered a reward of \$50 to the fire company whose engine first reached any fire.

A fire-alarm service was provided for, but it was of a most primitive character. A watchman, or sereno, as he was still called, was required to be by day and night on guard at the porch of the St. Louis Cathedral, whose duty it was to call the hours, and who, at the first sight of a fire, should ring the alarm bell. He was further to indicate to the citizens who rushed toward the church the direction in which the fire was by waving a flag by day and a torch by night.

In the event of a fire alarm, all the watchmen who could be spared from police duty were required to report at once at the City Hall, whence they were sent in squads toward the fire by parallel streets, obliging all persons whom they met to go to the fire and lend their assistance in extinguishing it, by working the engines.

The necessity of a good fire department became more and more obvious. Whether with reason or not it is difficult to say, but the belief prevailed that there were a number of incendiaries in the city who were desirous of burning it down. In 1807 the council passed a resolution, in which it was announced that there had been two recent attempts to burn the city; and rewards of \$500 were offered for evidence that would convict the incendiaries. How strong the popular sentiment was on this point is borne evidence to by the passage of a law allowing slaves to testify against their masters in cases of arson or incendiarism, and even giving them their liberty as a reward for furnishing information in cases of incendiary fires.

These acts stopped the incendiary fires, but in 1816 another big conflagration broke out, in the lower part of the city, which exposed the utter inefficiency of the fire department. A board of fire commissioners was created, five in each of the eight wards of the city. The commissioners were required to be at all fires, bearing white wands as badges of office and authority, and to direct all persons present at the fire, whether free or slave, by forcing them into ranks for the purpose of handling buckets to supply the fire engines with water, and perform such other duties as were required of them. The council tried to organize a municipal and partly paid force, but it was more or less a failure.

In 1829 New Orleans abandoned all efforts to support a paid fire department of its own and arranged with the volunteers (the Firemen's Charitable Associa-

tion), for the extinguishment of fires. The volunteer firemen had several controversies with the city before the latter fully accepted their services in the extinguishing of fires. One of the most serious was in 1833, when the council placed two of the engines under the control of negroes—negroes having been previously used to a great degree as firemen. The volunteer firemen held a meeting and tendered their resignations, in case negroes were continued in the service, whereupon the mayor and council gave in and the engines were turned over to white firemen.

The expense of the fire department during its earlier days was very small. The cost for 1835, for instance, was only \$10,430. The city gave only \$1,000 a year. The insurance companies and banks gave \$1,500; the firemen themselves, \$250. The balance was given by individual subscriptions from property holders and merchants, who were interested in preventing fires. Thus, it will be seen that the new service was doubly a volunteer one—the firemen giving their services free, while the money for the necessary and legitimate expenses of the department was contributed by voluntary subscriptions. It was such a fire service as might be expected in a very primitive state of society.

Its popularity did not prevent the volunteers from getting into serious difficulties with the city. There was no sufficient head to the department, and the rivalry of the several companies led to unfortunate results, which more or less interfered with the extinguishment of fires. The council attempted to restore order and discipline, in 1855, by the creation of the office of chief engineer of the fire department, and selected James H. Wingfield for the position. It also passed an ordinance providing, among other things, for the payment of the firemen; in other words, it attempted to establish a paid fire department. Finally, seven of the companies which had grown very weak, were disbanded and deprived of their charters.

The result of this legislation was a revolt on the part of the volunteer firemen. They asserted that the plan to get rid of them and substitute a paid fire department was the work of the underwriters. They accordingly announced their intention of retiring from business, met in mass meeting and resigned from the service.

The city invited bids for the extinguishment of fires, and the Firemen's Charitable Association, to the surprise of every one, bid in the contract, for \$70,00. This contract plan continued for thirty-six years, until 1891, the amount allowed for the fire service being increased from year to year.

In 1860, just before the opening of the civil war, the fire department consisted of fourteen hand-engines, five steam-engines and four hook-and-ladder trucks. At the outbreak of the war, the firemen were organized into a military body, uniformed as zouaves and equipped with arms; but this organization, of course, broke up when Gen. Butler occupied the city, and the firemen returned to their duty, being granted special privileges by the military commander.

With the return of peace, an attempt was made to get rid of the volunteer system, which had been abolished in New York and most of the other cities where it had prevailed. An ordinance was passed in 1881, establishing a paid department and creating a board of fire control, but was vetoed by the mayor. The board of control was created, however, in 1886; and in 1889, when the contract between the city and the volunteer fire department of the sixth municipal district expired, the city took advantage of the opportunity to establish a pay system in the sixth district. This was followed two years afterwards, in 1891, by the refusal of the council to renew its contract with the volunteer fire department, which expired that year, and decided on the establishment of the pay system for New Orleans. It had taken the city much longer to get to a pay system than most of the larger town of America, because of the success and prosperity of the Firemen's Charitable Association, and its great political strength; for its members had exercised the greatest influence on the community, and had filled high positions, as mayors, and even as governor.

The new paid fire department cost rather more than the volunteer service. The city had, moreover, to buy back the engines and apparatus from the Firemen's Charitable Association, just as that association had bought its apparatus from the city in 1855.

There has been practically no change in the system since the organization of the paid fire department, beyond the continued improvement by the purchase of better engines and such other apparatus as were needed. The department is under the active management of a chief and two assistants; but the board of control and the lighting and fire committee of the council have control over it, make the purchases, employ the men and try them for any breach of the rules, prepare all rules and regulations, etc. The department is under civil-service rules, and can no longer take the active part in politics, for which the volunteer firemen were noted of old. The chief, as well as most of the men, were taken from the old volunteer force, but naturally it was very materially reduced from what it had been in volunteer days. In consequence of this reduction the de-

partment labored under many disadvantages during the earlier days of its service, when fighting large fires; but there has been steady improvement ever since, and the department is to-day the equal of that in cities where the cost is from fifty to 100 per cent. more.

The several chiefs of the fire department of New Orleans have been as follows:

NEW ORLEANS FIREMEN'S CHARITABLE ASSOCIATION.

First, Second Third and Fourth Districts: 1855, James Wingfield; 1856, Alfred Belanger; 1858, John F. Gruber; 1861, David Bradbury; 1864, Alfred Belanger; 1866, Jacob Seidner; 1868, Philip McCabe; 1869, Tom. O'Connor.

Fifth District (Algiers): 1859, W. Brodtman; 1870, T. H. Jones; 1873, M. Iver; 1875, W. Brodtman; 1877, T. Daly.

Sixth District (Jefferson): 1869, John A. Meyer.

Seventh District (Carrollton): Fred Fischer, Philip Mitchell, John Pfeiffer, George Geier, John Dahmer.

The fire department of New Orleans in 1900 has 27 steam-engines, 12 chemical engines, 7 hook-and-ladder trucks, 1 water-tower, 144 horses, 4 captains, 44 lieutenants and 207 firemen.

New Orleans was the fourth city in the Union to introduce the fire-alarm telegraph. This it did in 1860, adopting the Gamewell system. Thirty seconds was sufficient to get the alarm from the alarm boxes to the engine-houses. Improvements have been made in this service, also, from time to time.

DRAINAGE AND SEWAGE.

The most important municipal problem, which New Orleans has had to face—far more important than police and the extinguishment of fires—was that of sewerage and drainage. Lying, as the city does, below the level of the river, this was a most difficult matter; and it took nearly two centuries before it was satisfactorily solved. As early as 1723, Governor Perier had found it necessary to construct a levee in front of the city to prevent its overflow from the Mississippi. The drainage, however, was not touched, and remained as bad as ever. Some attempt at drainage was made by Governor Vaudreuil, without much success. Governor Carondelet, under the Spanish régime, did better. The completion of the Carondelet canal to Bayou St. John, drained the greater part of the city and left it in better condition than it been before.

When, however, the city spread beyond the wall, the newer sections were poorly provided with drainage, and were often subject to overflow from excessive rain-fall. The new canal, completed in 1837, gave some relief, and the Mel-pomene Canal, excavated about the same time, also benefited the upper portion of the city.

This work, however, was only piecemeal. In 1857 a plan for the drainage of the city was submitted by the city surveyor, Louis H. Pilié, and the legislature made a small appropriation for a topographical survey of the city. Laws were passed in 1858, 1859 and 1861 relative to the drainage of the city, but nothing of any moment was accomplished. In 1871-3 Mr. Bell, the city surveyor, prepared a plan for the drainage of New Orleans. A contract was made with the Mexican Ship Island Canal Company for the excavation of certain drainage canals. Considerable work was done, and for the first time the city got something practical and efficient in the way of drainage. The plan, however, was never completed, and the work was dropped again until 1892, when a topographical survey was made of the city, and an advisory drainage board was created for the purpose of suggesting a plan of drainage for the city, based upon the conditions developed by the topographical survey, the rain-fall and similar data.

A plan was prepared in 1895, submitted to the council and approved by it, and the money derived from the sale of street railroad franchises was set aside for the construction of this drainage system. In 1896 the legislature created a drainage board to carry through the plan of improvement, consisting of two members of the Orleans Levee Board and *ex officio*, the mayor and the chairmen of the council committees on finance, budget and water and drainage.

Actual work in the excavation of canals and the installation of the pumping machinery was begun in 1898, and the new drainage system was put into practical operation in March, 1900.

The success attained in this drainage work and the discovery that the cost of excavations was much less than it was supposed to be, led the city to undertake the work of sewage. Believing the cost of establishing a sewerage plant to be greater than the finances of the city would allow, the council had, in 1893, given a private company the right to lay sewers and to charge for connection with them. This private corporation, after expending a very large sum of money, failed; whereupon the city undertook the work itself. As it was without available funds for so great an undertaking, it was proposed that a special tax of two and one-half mills, to run for forty-two years, be levied for the purpose of pro-

viding the necessary funds for sewerage, drainage and a system of municipal water-works. Under the constitution of Louisiana, the voting of a special tax for public improvements requires a number of formalities and must be submitted to a special election, in which only the tax payers participate. This election was held in 1899, and the proposed tax voted by an overwhelming majority. The tax payers voted at the same time on the question, whether the district commissioners, to whom the work of providing for the sewerage, drainage and water system should be elected by popular vote or appointed by the mayor, and decided by a large majority in favor of the appointive system, as opposed to the elective one. The result of this election was approved by the state legislature, at an extra session, held in 1899, this being necessary to provide for the bonds based on the tax, and from which the funds for sewerage, drainage and water-works are to come. Under these several ordinances, acts and constitutional amendments, a water and sewerage board was created, composed of the seven district commissioners appointed by the mayor and members of the drainage and Levee boards and board of liquidation, having free control over all matters affecting the establishment of a drainage and water system of New Orleans.

WATER-WORKS.

In 1810, an attempt to establish water-works was made by one Louis Gleises. The new water-works were of a most primitive character. The pipes were hollowed out of cypress logs, and the supply of water was obtained from the river by slave labor, that is, a number of slaves pumped the water into a large reservoir, from which it was distributed through the hollow logs to such citizens as had subscribed. Necessarily, very few persons got their water supply in this way, a majority of them depending upon cisterns or wells.

In 1819, the New Orleans Water-Works Company was incorporated by the Legislature, with a capital of \$120,000. The board met on December 19, with eleven directors, nine elected by the stockholders and two appointed by the mayor. Nothing, however, of any moment was done by this company.

In 1833, the Commercial Bank was established, with a capital of \$3,000,000, its purpose being to establish water-works in New Orleans. The charter was to run for thirty-five years, at the end of which time the city was authorized to purchase the works. The company was to furnish the city with water free of expense and with all the water it needed for the extinguishment of fires and

for other public purposes. The new company did not fulfill all its obligations, and in 1848 an act of the Legislature had to be passed compelling it to do so, requiring it to keep all hydrants open, free of charge, for the purpose of washing the streets and gutters under a penalty of a forfeiture of its charter unless the company accepted the terms proposed by the State.

On the expiration of the charter of the company in 1869, the city utilized its right to buy in the water-works, issuing, for that purpose, bonds to the amount of the appraised value of the works, \$1,300,000. The city then operated the works until 1877, but so badly that it was on default in the interest on its water-works bonds, as well as on the rest of its funded debt. It was thought best to surrender control and let the water-works pass into the hands of a private company. This was effected under an act of the Legislature of March 3, 1877, the bonds issued in 1869 for the purchase of the works being given in exchange for stock in the new company. Under this act, the New Orleans Water-Works Company was given a monopoly of the supply of water from the Mississippi River for fifty years.

The Algiers Water-Works and Electric Company was organized in 1895, and the mains were completed the following year. This company supplies the entire fifth municipal district of New Orleans with water, as well as illuminates it.

LIGHTING.

Under the early French and Spanish dominion no attempt whatever was made to light New Orleans, but all persons in the streets at night were required to carry lanterns to prevent collisions and accidents.

The first city lighting was done in 1792, when Governor Carondelet established eighty street lamps. In 1824, the American theater was lighted with gas by its owner, Mr. James Caldwell, this being the first time that gas was seen in New Orleans. Encouraged by his success, Mr. Caldwell, in 1834, organized the New Orleans Gas Light and Banking Company, with a capital of \$300,000, which was subsequently increased to \$600,000. The charter gave the city the right to purchase the works at the end of forty years. When the charter expired, in 1875, a consolidation was effected with a new company which had secured a charter from the Legislature and which was known as the Crescent City Company. This last charter was for fifty years, extending until 1925.

The illumination of the streets was by gas until 1887, when a contract was

made for lighting by electricity for the first, second, third and fourth municipal districts. On the expiration of the contract with the Jefferson City Gas Light Company in 1899, the sixth and seventh municipal districts were illuminated by electricity instead of by gas as formerly; and the city in 1900 used electricity wholly.

MAYORS OF NEW ORLEANS.

1804—Etienne de Boré, appointed; Pierre Petit, *pro tem*; James Pitot (city incorporated).

1806—John Watkins.

1807—Joseph Mather.

1812—Nicholas Girod.

1815—Augustin Macarty.

1820—J. Roffignac.

1828—Denis Prieur.

1838—C. Genois.

1840—William Freret.

1844—E. Montagut.

1846—A. D. Crossman.

1854—John L. Lewis.

1856—Charles M. Waterman.

1858—Gerard Stith.

1860—John T. Monroe.

1862—May, G. F. Shepley, acting military mayor; July, G. Weitzel; August, Jonas H. French; September, H. C. Deming; November, James F. Miller.

1864—July, Stephen Hoyt.

1865—May, S. M. Quincy; November, H. Kennedy.

(All those serving from 1862 to 1865 were military.)

1866—April, John T. Monroe; December, E. Heath, acting military mayor; J. R. Conway.

1868—B. F. Flanders.

1872—Louis A. Wiltz.

1876—Charles J. Leeds.

1878—Joseph A. Shakespeare.

1882—William J. Behan.

1884—I. Valsin Guillotte.

1888—Joseph A. Shakespeare.

1900—Paul Capdevielle.

1892—John Fitzpatrick.

1896—Walter C. Flower.

CHAPTER V.

MILITARY.

BY ELLA RIGHTOR.

THE military history of New Orleans, as treated in this chapter, begins with the time of American occupancy in Louisiana. Such scattered facts and events as may be gathered by the historian concerning the Spanish and French possession are referred to in other portions of this work.

Under the Territorial government the first danger that came to threaten Louisiana, and to call out what military resources she possessed, was the conspiracy of Aaron Burr. A certain cloud of mystery hangs over this strange man, who, with great military talents and some statesmanlike qualities, united the most unscrupulous dishonesty, ruthless ambition, and treachery to his country. Although the charges have never been proved, it is accepted as a historical fact that after his retirement from the vice-presidency, and after the fatal duel in which Hamilton was killed and his slayer's prestige forever lost, Burr meditated, and endeavored to organize an expedition against Mexico, with the object in view of forming a "Southwestern Empire," in which several of the southwestern States were to be included. It was a scheme worthy of a Napoleon, and, in the hands of a great genius, would have been successful. True, the arch conspirator did not prove himself a Napoleon, but in 1806 there was a possibility of his doing so. He had already won a certain renown, and the eyes of statesmen, soldiers and public officials were anxiously fixed upon this desperate man, in whose game of empires and armies all might be lost or won.

In New Orleans excitement reached a high pitch, for it was believed that the southern city would be made the basis of operations against Mexico, and that the first attack of the traitor would be made with this end in view. Moreover, the population of New Orleans was then of a mixed character. At the close of the Spanish dominion emigrants had surged into it from all parts of the country. The French, the Spanish, the German, the American elements feared and distrusted each other. The administration of Claiborne (1803-1807) was

fraught with dangers and difficulties, and the stanch, brave, loyal governor showed his metal by overcoming them all.

It is supposed that Andrew Jackson himself was deceived at first by Burr's plans. The entanglement of Blennerhassett, who lost wealth and reputation in an infamous cause, is well known. But the wily General Wilkinson, when overtures were made to him by the conspirators, became suspicious at once, and lost no time in communicating his suspicions to others.

The eager spirit of Claiborne was immediately aroused when the facts of the conspiracy were communicated to him; and he did everything in his power to prepare a gallant defense. His letters at this period, particularly those to the Secretary of State, glow with patriotic fervor. At the same time, it is evident that he was greatly distressed with doubts as to the efficiency and loyalty of his soldiers. Amid disheartened reports, we find, however, sanguine expressions of renewed hope and confidence. For instance, after a muster held on the 17th of October, 1806, he writes: "At a muster this morning of 1st, 2nd and 4th Regiments, every officer, non-commissioned officer and private present made a voluntary tender of their services;" and later: "I cannot, however, but cherish a hope that the battalion of New Orleans Volunteers, will in any event, be faithful."

The Orleans Rangers and the New Orleans Volunteers were military companies existing in New Orleans at the earliest time of of the United States' occupancy.

The events in connection with New Orleans during the so-called raid of Aaron Burr were as follows:

Friday, October 17, 1806. Muster of 1st, 2nd and 4th Regiments of Militia held by the order of Governor Claiborne at the Place Gravier (in the suburbs of the city), Lewis Kerr being Colonel of one of these regiments and Major of the Brigade, L. Doerillier aide-de-camp of the Brigade. At this muster all white men capable of bearing arms were ordered to be present.

October 8. (Gayarré) Claiborne informs the Secretary of War that the number of militia from the frontier counties was 500, and that 100 regulars with military stores would set out for General Wilkinson in a few days.

November 5. (Martin) Wilkinson, having arranged matters with the Spaniards, and being assured that the camp on the Sabine would be at once broken up, proceeds on his march to Nachitoches. Sends an emissary to New Orleans for the purpose of fortifying the city, getting ready arms and ammuni-



Chas B. Maguire



tion and mounting "six or eight battering cannons on Fort St. Charles and Fort St. Louis, below and above the city, and along its front, flanks and rear." Wilkinson proceeds to New Orleans, stopping at Natchez to make application for 500 men of the Mississippi Militia. No reason for this being given, the request is refused.

November 15. Wilkinson sends an envoy to Mexico to warn that country of Burr's conspiracy, and (secretly) to discover its military resources.

December 4. Claiborne writes to the Secretary of State: "When troops from Natchez and Mobile have arrived, there will be in New Orleans about 800, including officers. The Orleans Volunteers may muster 180 men, but it is impossible for me to say on what portion of the militia I can rely. Captain Shaw of the Navy has under his command, on the New Orleans station, two bomb-ketches and four gunboats, etc. All have been ordered to New Orleans."

December 8. Claiborne writes to Wilkinson: "The Battalion of Orleans Volunteers, which consists of from 150 to 180 men, and a small detachment of militia cavalry, will be ordered into immediate service." To the Secretary of State: "If, however, I should learn that the Associates had actually set out in force, I shall pursue such measures as may be required to man the little fleet on the river—whose co-operation the General deems necessary." Which suggestion as to naval defenses brings us to:

December 9. An important meeting of the merchants of New Orleans, held at the Government House, and convened by the Governor, to discuss ways and means of assisting Commander John Shaw in defending the Mississippi, for it was by this river that, according to popular belief, the approach of Burr would be made. At this meeting both Claiborne and Wilkinson spoke, exposing the infamy of Burr, exciting the people to patriotism, and considering earnestly the best plans for obtaining seamen and arming the gunboats. After Claiborne had held a private conference with Colonels Bellechasse, D'Orsiere and McCarty, he ordered the New Orleans Volunteers to be ready at a moment's notice.

At this meeting: "It was unanimously agreed that a general and immediate embargo of the shipping in port be recommended to his Excellency, as the best means of obtaining the desired object (*i. e.*, the naval defense of the city)." —(Executive Journal, Volume I.) (This plan was approved by the Governor, and the embargo went into effect until December 31.)

About this time, in a letter to the Secretary of State, Claiborne states that he has spent \$111.87½ on the troops.

December 14, 1806. Dr. Erick Bollman, of New Orleans, arrested by the order of Wilkinson, on the charge of being implicated in the conspiracy of Burr. About the same time, Peter Ogden and Mr. Swartwout were also arrested. General Wilkinson was somewhat of an autocrat, and constantly petitioned Claiborne to declare martial law. This Claiborne refused to do, though he upheld the General in most of his actions, and exhorted obedience to his commands. When, in Dr. Bollman's case, an order for a *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* was issued and sent to Wilkinson, the General answered it in rather a high-handed manner, stating that he took upon himself the arrest of Bollman, explaining his reasons for so doing, and declaring that he would pursue a like course with all traitors. Claiborne was firm in refusing to suspend the *habeas corpus*, and in a letter to the Secretary of State December 17th announced that he would not do so, nor declare martial law. In a letter to Wilkinson on the 25th of December he speaks approvingly of Bollman's arrest, but says he should have been given up at instance of the court.

General Wilkinson in court produced incriminating evidence against Bollman; among other things, a copy of a letter in cipher from Burr to the prisoner. Other citizens, being implicated, were arrested. Edward Livingston, James Alexander, Colonel Lewis Kerr and Judge Workman, who was suspected because of his zeal in issuing writs of *habeas corpus*.

Bollman, Alexander and Swartwout were taken to Washington for trial, but all the prisoners were eventually discharged, and a long controversy followed between Workman and Claiborne concerning the authority of Wilkinson. The general, by his severity and love of power, rendered himself very unpopular.

December 15 Claiborne sends an order to Captain Shaw that the Ketch Etna should ascend the Mississippi with all possible dispatch, and in conjunction with the gun boats Nos. 13 and 14 oppose by force the descent of any armed and unauthorized body of men. According to General Wilkinson, Colonel Burr was to arrive at Natchez December 20 with 2,000 men.

December 29 Claiborne writes to General Wilkinson: "When these arms [certain guns and muskets which had been collected] are distributed I shall have in this city and its vicinity (independent of the volunteer corps) 900 men completely armed, and shall, after Sunday next, be able to call them into actual service upon very short notice." About this time the governor issued an order for all boats in passing the fort of Baton Rouge to show respect to the flag of Spain.

Information now reached New Orleans to the effect that all the marines in Washington had been ordered to this city, and that shortly Aaron Burr would be afloat with his flotilla.

Tuesday, December 30, Colonel and Adjutant-General Henry Hopkins issued an order to the effect that the governor would review the First, Second and part of the Fourth (included in the Fauxbourg Ste. Marie) Regiments of militia on Sunday, January 4, 1807, at 10 o'clock. Colonel D'Orsiere was then in command, in place of Colonel Bellechasse, who was indisposed.

December 31. The Ketch Vesuvius is ready to ascend the river.

January 2, 1807. Claiborne removes the Battalion of Orleans Volunteers and Orleans Troops of Horse from Wilkinson's command.

January 6. General Wilkinson states that he has good authority for believing that Burr had only about 6,000 men under him, and that he would with 2,000 precede the rest of his force to Natchez. On the same day is published a statement of the strength of the militia of the territory, which was 5,584, including general staff, infantry and cavalry.

News being received in this city that Burr had left Nashville, Tenn., with two boats, and would join the rest of his flotilla at the Cumberland river, Shaw was immediately ordered to destroy whichever vessels of the conspirators might make their appearance.

A few brief and quickly marching events now bring us to the close of this episode in New Orleans history.

January 12 a body of sixty men were stationed at Natchez to examine into the character and purpose of all passing vessels.

January 14 General Adair arrived from Tennessee, and reported that he had left Burr at Nashville on December 22, about to leave with two flat boats for New Orleans. This aroused indignation and suspicion. Adair that very day was dragged from dinner at his hotel, and taken to a place of confinement by 120 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Kingston and one of Wilkinson's aids.

The New Orleans volunteers and part of the regular troops then paraded the city, arresting Kerr, Workman and Bradford. Bradford was, however, instantly released, and on the following day a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued in favor of Kerr and Workman. Adair was secretly hurried away. (Martin.)

On the 15th Burr actually arrived at Natchez, and expressed his willingness to submit to proper authorities, represented by the Honorable Cowles Mead, acting-governor of Mississippi. Burr was placed under bonds to the amount

of \$10,000 to appear before the Supreme Court, but he made his escape, and, despite a reward of \$2,000 offered for his apprehension, made his way with "an active, well mounted party of men" to Washington.

Though Aaron Burr was finally arrested and brought to trial, he was acquitted with the verdict "not proven." His life, however, was ruined, his hopes blasted, his pride crushed; a fitting end for a traitor, whose discharge from the courts of law will never exonerate him in the pages of the just and careful historian.

Thus terminated the famous Burr affair in New Orleans, for their part in which General Wilkinson and Governor Claiborne were publicly thanked March 27, 1807, in addresses, to which they made fitting response.

While the foregoing events may seem trivial and their details unnecessary, they were of great importance in the evolution of New Orleans as a city of the United States. Her mettle was tried, her patriotism proved, her pulse felt, and in this manner preparation made for a great conflict, towards which, even then, events were slowly tending, and which was to prove, beyond doubt, the fidelity of our city and the valor of its inhabitants.

It may be as well to speak briefly of the fact that in April, 1809, General Wilkinson arrived in New Orleans with a number of United States troops, in the collecting of which he had been authorized by the Secretary of War, a conflict with Great Britain seeming at that time imminent and impending. These troops were quartered in the unhealthy lands of *Terre aux Boeufs*, about eight miles below the city, and in a few months 795 had perished out of 1,953. This fact, with other causes, rendered Wilkinson very unpopular, and in December he was succeeded by General Wade Hampton, father of the famous Southern soldier.

We will pass over the revolt of Bayou Sara in 1810 against the Spaniards, and the various events that, April 30, 1812, made Louisiana a state, with the faithful Claiborne still at her head as governor. We now come to the War of 1812, in which New Orleans played so important a part, that its causes must be briefly mentioned, although they belong to the history of the United States. In order, however, that events may be seen in their proper perspective, some mention must be made of affairs which shook the whole country, and filled with anxiety and eager longings the inhabitants of New Orleans.

The arrogance of England, and the cool impertinence of her attitude toward the United States, were enough to justify a declaration of war on the

part of Jefferson, who was president in 1808. England and France were then at war, and the former, by her "orders of council," forbade any traffic of America with the latter, or with any of the French dependencies.

This gave Great Britain boundless liberties in examining our ships and seizing our seamen, under the pretense of searching for British deserters. France, by her retaliatory measures, the Berlin and Milan decrees made matters worse, and Jefferson's famous embargo act was the last straw upon the back of crippled American commerce. True, this act of Jefferson's was repealed just before the inauguration of Madison; but, though America showed great patience under her afflictions, and was indeed averse to war at that particular time, it became unavoidable, and on June 18, 1812, was declared by act of Parliament, the motion being carried by a vote of 79 to 49 in the House of Representatives, and by 19 to 13 in the Senate, and the peace-loving president signified his approval of the act.

For the first year or two of the war but little active part was taken by New Orleans, though on the 15th of July, 1812, Brigadier-General Wilkinson assumed command, and a steamboat was sent down to Fort St. Philip for the purpose of reconnoitering. It returned September 2 without having seen a sign of the enemy. By the 20th of December six uniformed companies of militia were ready for action in the city, and on that day the Seventh U. S. Infantry, which had been quartered at Pass Christian, marched into town under Major Gibson. January 6, 1813, the Third U. S. Infantry, under Colonel Constant, arrived. The Orleans Guards, Captain Reynolds, and Louisiana Blues were ready for action, also.

On January 12, 1813, the ship *Jane*, from Greenock, Scotland (twelve men and twelve guns), the first really valuable prize of this port, was taken by the privateer schooner *Spy*, and brought to New Orleans.

It was in 1814 that events began to crowd thick and fast. Colonel Nicholls, the British commander, then at Pensacola, Florida, sent emissaries and proclamations endeavoring to incite the Louisianians to revolt, promising to restore them to Spain, holding out tempting offers, threatening, entreating, commanding. All this was received with contempt by those to whom it was addressed, who, while they might distrust each other, remained universally faithful to their country. The Creoles then, as always, were loyal patriots and brave soldiers, and even those of Spanish descent did not love the British sufficiently to yield to them. However, the knowledge of Nicholls' manœuvres caused great anxiety

in the city, and, being reported to the government by Claiborne, caused active measures to be taken; and the news soon came that volunteer troops would be sent from Kentucky and Tennessee, and that Andrew Jackson, the most famous officer in the American army, would take command. (Dimitry.)

Dusan Livingston
The citizens of New Orleans, thinking it time to do something toward the defense of their city, held a meeting September 15 (1814) at Tremoulet's coffee house, Edward Livingston, a true patriot and brilliant orator, presiding, while Richard Relf acted as secretary. A committee of nine men, as follows, was appointed to co-operate with the government for the safety of the state: Edward Livingston, Pierre Foucher, Dusan de la Croix, Benjamin, George M. Ogden, Dominique Bouligny, J. Noel Destrehan, John Blaque and Augustin Macarty.

During the meeting the charge of disaffection toward the government, made by the British, was indignantly denied, and on the 24th of the month the committee published a fine address written by Livingston, which did much to excite the patriotism of the city. But when Legislature assembled November 10th little was done, the mutual distrust and lack of confidence crippling the entire body, and six weeks after it convened we find Louis Louaillier, chairman of the committee of ways and means, complaining that "No proof appears of patriotism, but in a disposition to avoid all expense, all fatigue." In fact, suspicion and hesitation and confusion ruled the city until the arrival of General Jackson December 2, 1814, when order and confidence were restored, proving how much the personality of a great man can do. Even the dread of England, which had humbled "the mighty Napoleon," failed to benumb and paralyze the efforts of our brave New Orleanians toward the defense of their country.

There is a little story told to the effect that the old housekeeper of J. Kilty Smith, at whose home on the Bayou St. John Jackson was received, was much disappointed when she saw, instead of an imposing looking general, "an ugly old Kaintuck flat boatman." But whatever his appearance, Jackson was a military genius, and his power was felt from the moment of his arriving in New Orleans.

An interesting episode previous to these events was the expedition against the Baratarian smugglers (by some called pirates), who, with their brave leaders, Pierre and John Lafitte, occupied the Island of Grand Terre. On his arrival the indefatigable Colonel Nicholls had made overtures to this band, offering John Lafitte \$30,000 and a captaincy in the British army. This offer was re-

fused, and Lafitte instead proffered his services to Governor Claiborne. The governor, acting on the advice of the officers of the army, militia and navy, refused this offer, and instead sent an expedition, which captured the Baratarian stronghold in September, 1814. Jackson, however, accepted the services of the Lafittes and the Baratarians, who fought so well that they received the general's thanks and a full pardon at the close of the war.

The troops at this time in New Orleans did not present a very formidable appearance; in the seventh and forty-fourth regiments of the United States between seven and eight hundred men; Major Planche's battalion of volunteers, 500; two regiments of state militia, containing about 1,000, besides 150 sailors and marines, and a battalion of free colored men, making in all an aggregate of 2,000. On the river were two men-of-war, the ship *Louisiana* and the schooner *Carolina*, but neither was in a state of preparation. When, on December 19th, General Carroll had arrived with 2,500 Tennesseans, and on the 20th General Coffee with 1,200 riflemen from the same state, the forces amounted to between six and seven thousand men, including United States regulars, Louisiana volunteers and militia and the Tennesseans. Those old enough to be exempted from duty had joined in companies of veterans, formed to preserve order. The people were by this time aflame with zeal, and were working tooth and nail for the preservation of their city.

On the 18th of December Jackson reviewed all troops in New Orleans, and a fine address was read by Edward Livingston to the embodied militia, to the battalion of uniform companies and to the men of color. The following is a brief extract:

"Natives of the United States: They are the oppressors of your infant political existence with whom you have to contend! They are the men your fathers conquered whom you are to oppose. Descendants of Frenchmen! Natives of France! They are English, the hereditary, the eternal enemies of your ancient country, the invaders of that country you have adopted, who are your foes! Spaniards! Remember the conduct of your allies at St. Sebastian and recently at Pensacola, and rejoice that you have an opportunity of avenging the brutal injuries inflicted by men who dishonor the human race."

Major-General Villere of the state militia with 600 men reached the city on the 29th.

Later (early in January) General Thomas and General Adair, with 2,000 poorly equipped Kentuckians, joined our forces. So ragged and miserable were

these men, and also some of the Tennesseans, that on the suggestion of Louailier an appropriation of \$6,000 was made for their relief. This was swelled from other sources to \$16,000, and the ladies of New Orleans made up the material purchased into wearing apparel, which in about a week was distributed and put to use. We are, however, anticipating events, for an affair of much importance took place about the 12th of December. This was the Battle of Lake Borgne.

In November the magnificent fleet of the British, at least fifty armed vessels, was sighted off Pensacola. The largest was the *Tonnant*, an eighty-gun boat, won by Nelson at the battle of the Nile, and commanded by the dreaded Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane. Among the ships were five of seventy-four guns, one of fifty, one of forty-four, several of thirty-eight, one of thirty-six, one of thirty-five, several of thirty-two, five of sixteen guns, three bomb crafts, eleven transports and various other vessels; in all, about 1,000 guns, 10,000 sailors and the army of 7,500. The entire British expedition against Louisiana amounted to 14,450, in three divisions, General Sir Edward Packenham being commander in chief, General Gibbs commanding the first division, General Lambert the second, General Keane the third. The fleet was under Admirals Cochrane, Codrington and Malcolm. The British fleet reached the entrance to Lake Borgne December 10, 1814, and light draft vessels with troops immediately entered that body of water. A little American flotilla of five gun-boats, 182 men and twenty-three guns, under Commander Thomas A. Jones, was then reconnoitering in Lake Borgne. Pursued by the enemy (forty-three barges, with as many cannon and 1,200 men, under Captain Lockyer), and prevented by the winds from escaping, the little flotilla stood at bay, near the Rigolets, and after a gallant fight both Jones and Parker, who took his place, being severely wounded, was compelled to surrender to the enemy. The American loss was ten men killed, forty-five wounded; of the British nearly 300 were killed and wounded. This battle left New Orleans defenseless, and the enemy master of the lakes.

Jackson had been indefatigable in measures for the defense of New Orleans. He had visited the forts and had them strengthened, and others established. He had had Bayou Manchac and other outlets leading from the Mississippi to the lakes, closed; and after the battle of the 12th had sent Major Lacoste with the dragoons of Feliciana, and the battalion of colored men to the rear of the city. Another "colored" battalion was formed, chiefly of refugees

from St. Domingo, and placed under the command of Major Daquin. Seventeen thousand dollars was given to Jackson to use in such fortifications and batteries as he might deem necessary, and \$11,000 more was afterward given him for the same purpose. Hands were asked of the planters to assist in building, and were supplied in great numbers. Debts were forgiven, inducements held out to volunteers, the writ of habeas corpus was suspended, and strict martial law declared. The people did everything in their power to assist. Special mention should be made of the fact that the French subjects, instead of taking shelter in their nationality, eagerly volunteered their services, being urged to do so by the French consul, the Chevalier de Tousac.

On the night of December 21, a detachment of the British army (which had landed at Pine Island), reached Villeré's Canal, through the Bayou Bienvenu (it is thought, owing to the treachery of some Spanish fisherman). On their way they captured a little band of nine Americans, stationed as an outpost on the Bayou de Catiline. On the 23rd, a force of about 3,000 British troops surrounded Villeré's plantation, in which was a company of militia, and took them all prisoners. Young Major Villeré, however, made his escape, and, having killed his favorite dog to avoid detection on the road, reached the city about two o'clock, in time to warn General Jackson of the enemy's approach. Jackson hastened to station his men in what he thought the best manner; a detachment of artillery, with two field pieces and a body of marines being sent in advance; the Tennessee riflemen, Mississippi dragoons and Orleans riflemen, to a plantation two miles below the city, followed by the battalion of negroes, 44th regiment, and a battalion of the city militia. Claiborne and two regiments of the state militia undertook to guard the Gentilly Road in case of a possible approach from Chef Menteur. The Carolina, under Commodore Patterson, was sent toward the enemy.

Jackson, in this emergency, acted with great promptitude and energy. The same quickness and activity on the part of the British might have made New Orleans theirs. But they delayed, and when at half-past seven, Jackson and his troops having reached the Villeré plantation, the Carolina fired a terrific broadside in among the British, they were fairly dazed for a moment, and a hundred of them were slain before they had grasped the situation. Most of them, in fact, were engaged in preparing supper.

When ready for battle, Jackson's left wing was drawn up in line between Lacoste's and Laronde's plantations. The seventh and forty-fourth regiments

formed a battalion before the enemy, and soon commenced fire. To the right were Planche's and D'Aquin's battalions, and toward the wood, eighteen Choctaw Indians, commanded by Captains Jugeant and Allard. To Colonel Ross was given superior command of the battalions of militia. Coffee's division came later, to fall on the rear of the enemy, and 350 of the state militia, stationed at English Turn, under Captain Morgan, advanced to assist, upon hearing the guns, but, not being able to find their way in the darkness, retreated. The artillery occupied the high road.

The British boats were, meanwhile, busily landing reinforcements to the number of 2,500 men, the 21st, 44th and 93rd regiments, and a division of artillery. The 1st regiment was stationed at an angle of the road. Other troops were stationed on the sides of the levee; outposts were between Laronde's and La Coste's plantations, and among the negro huts of the latter place. A detachment of the rocket brigade was placed behind the levee, and a few cannon near Villeré's sugar works. In all, there were 4,500 of the enemy; less than 2,200 of our men. The battle that followed Jackson's command, "Now, boys, give it to them for the honor of America," was full of confusion in the darkness. At one time, some of Planché's men took the 44th for British troops, and commenced firing on them. But, though nothing was really gained, neither side being victorious, the British loss was over 400, killed, wounded and prisoners; ours, 24 killed, 115 wounded and 75 prisoners. This is on Engineer Latour's authority.

Meanwhile, in the city, great anxiety was felt, owing to a report that Jackson had given orders to blow up the powder magazine and set fire to the houses if the enemy were successful; and also that the British were inciting the slaves to rebellion. Confidence in the General, however, returned with the morning.

After the battle of the 23rd, Jackson complimented: "The 7th, led by Major Pine, and the 44th, by Colonel Ross; the battalion of city militia under Major Planché, who behaved like veterans; Savary's brave colored men; the city riflemen, and Colonels Butler and Piatt, Major Chotard, Colonel Haynes, Messrs. Livingston, Duplessis and Davezac, Colonel de Laronde, Major Villeré of the Louisiana Militia, Major Latour of the engineers, and Drs. Kerr and Flood."

Jackson decided at daybreak to retire to his position behind Rodriguez Canal, in reality an old mill-race, partly filled and covered with grass.

On the 27th the British, by hot shot, set fire to the Carolina, and after she

had been abandoned by the crew, her powder magazine blew up. On the 28th, their artillery played on the Louisiana, but she answered with such tremendous fire that after seven hours of cannonading, the enemy's columns were broken and forced to retire, to the great credit of the Louisiana and of Lieutenant Thompson. The British were forced to abandon several batteries which they had erected on the river the night before. Rockets were thrown all day, but while terrifying at first to the American forces, unaccustomed to such means of warfare, they did little damage to troops drawn up or behind ramparts. On the 28th we lost 7 men killed, 10 wounded, among the former Colonel Henderson of Tennessee. The British lost perhaps two or three hundred.

On the 1st, as soon as a heavy fog had lifted (about 8 A. M.), three batteries of the British opened fire on General Jackson's headquarters, but were answered so vigorously that about 1 P. M. two were abandoned. The swampy ground interfered greatly with the progress of the British.

About this time the second division of the Louisiana militia, under Major General Thomas, arrived from Baton Rouge.

The culminating battle of the war occurred on the 8th, which is to-day celebrated as a legal holiday. Jackson had intrenched his forces behind the ancient mill-race that ran, in appearance, like an old draining ditch along the Rodriguez and Chalmette plantations, five miles below the city. A parapet was raised, which on the 8th extended cannon proof as far as the woods. The levee had been broken in places, and the water allowed to flow in so as to insulate the enemy as much as possible. In making the embankment, cotton bales were tried, but did not prove cannon proof.

The American troops were stationed as follows:

On the levee road Battery No. 1, under Captain Humphreys of the U. S. artillery; in the most elevated position, seventy feet from the river bank, Battery 2, under Lieutenant Norris; 90 yards from No. 1, and 50 from No. 2, Battery No. 3, under Captains Dominipa and Bluche; 20 yards from No. 3, Battery No. 4, under Lieutenant Crawford; 170 yards from No. 4, Battery No. 5, under Colonel Perry and Lieutenant Kerr; 36 yards from No. 5, Battery No. 6, under Lieutenant Flaujeac; 190 yards from No. 6, Battery No. 7, under Lieutenants Spotts and Chauveau; 60 yards from No. 7, Battery No. 8, under a corporal of artillery. Planche's Battalion was between 2 and 4; D'Aquin's colored regiment between 4 and 5.

At the bend where the woods began, in a miserable mud hole, General Coffee

and General Carroll, with their Tennesseans and Kentuckians, awaited the enemy. There was a redoubt on the river, and a company of the Seventh Regiment, under Lieutenant Ross.

On the British side were regiments 4th, 44th, 21st, 85th, 93rd and 95th.

A thick fog enabled the enemy to approach very close, sixty or seventy deep, before they were perceived. They had repaired their abandoned batteries. When Jackson gave the signal, and his men three cheers, a perfect volley of artillery ensued on both sides.

On the opposite bank of the river, with batteries which Commodore Patterson had erected, was General Morgan with the Orleans contingent, the Louisiana militia and Kentucky troops.

The enemy continued to press forward for an hour in spite of the incessant fire. General Packenham, the commander, General Gibbs and General Keane were mortally wounded, and the command fell to Lambert. It was evident after a while that the British were falling back. Colonel Rennie, the brave commander who, with a detachment, stormed the redoubt, was killed just as he leaped on the wall, and the city riflemen mowed down his men.

But as victory seemed certain on the left of Jackson's line, the right fell back. There is much excuse to be made for this, as they were in an exceedingly difficult position—in a regular swamp, faint with hunger and greatly fatigued. General Humbert with a reinforcement of 400 came to their aid; but it was not until a truce had been sought for to provide for the dead and wounded, and Lambert during its negotiation had crossed the river, that Jackson was able to retake the former excellent position of his right-hand troops.

Across the river General Morgan was attacked by the British, under Colonel Thornton, and, being taken by surprise, his men were routed. But the British did not follow up this victory, and it did not benefit them.

The day was really ours when, at 10 o'clock A. M., General Lambert requested a temporary truce that the dead and wounded might be cared for. The actual fighting is said to have lasted only about an hour. The detachment which Lambert expected as a reinforcement failing to pass Fort St. Philip, the British commander decided to evacuate, and on the night of January 18th the enemy silently stole away, leaving, according to Dimitry, their huts and flags, with stuffed uniforms for sentinels. Much credit is due Jackson for the fact that he did not attempt to pursue the enemy, wisely concluding that the lives of his brave soldiers were of more account than the glory which might accrue to him from taking a number of prisoners.

The American loss during the entire campaign consisted of 55 killed, 85 wounded, 93 missing; total 233. Only 13 were killed and wounded on the 8th.

The entire British loss, according to Major-General Lambert, was as follows: Killed, 1 major-general, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 5 captains, 2 lieutenants, 11 sergeants, 1 drummer and 266 rank and file; wounded, 2 major-generals, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 18 captains, 38 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 1 staff officer, 34 sergeants, 9 drummers and 1,126 rank and file; missing, 3 captains, 12 lieutenants, 13 sergeants, 4 drummers, 452 rank and file; in all, 289 killed, 1,242 wounded and 484 missing, an aggregate loss of 2,015.

In the brief relation of the foregoing battles I have followed rather closely the accounts of Major Latour and of Judge Martin, both of whom are careful historians and were present on the scene of action. Major Latour speaks poetically of the laurel and cypress growing in such abundance among the swamps near the scene of these events. The laurel seemed to wave for the Americans; the cypress for the brave British soldiers, who, after fighting against the famous army of Napoleon, fell before our inexperienced militiamen.

In reality, the Battle of New Orleans was fought after the War of 1812 was at an end; for the Treaty of Ghent had been signed on the 24th of December, but the news did not reach this country till the 18th of February. It was not till March 13th that Jackson was officially notified of the conclusion of the war, and in the meantime, being determined to preserve martial law, he had become involved in controversies with the editor of the Louisiana "Gazette," whom he "muzzled" for publishing premature news of peace; with the French consul, who dispensed certificates of French citizenship to assist in evading the military rule, and whom Jackson ordered to leave the city in three days; with Louis Louiaillier, who published in the Louisiana "Courier" an article criticising these high-handed proceedings; with Judge Dominie A. Hall, who granted to Louiaillier a writ of *habeas corpus*; and with Mr. Hollander, who expressed disapproval of the general's actions. The three last offenders were arrested, but on the arrival of news from Washington were released. Afterwards Jackson was fined \$1,000 by the United States District Court, which fine he paid without complaint. At the close of March he left the city.

On January 23rd a solemn Thanksgiving was held in New Orleans. There was a grand procession of soldiers, and in Jackson Square, under a triumphal arch erected where his statue now stands, the great commander was crowned with laurel by a young girl representing Louisiana.

Congress afterwards passed resolutions congratulating Louisiana on her brave part in the contest with Great Britain, and extending a full pardon to the Lafittes and their gallant Baratarians.

When Texas asserted herself as a free republic; when the United States determined to adopt her into its own dominions; when the Alamo and Cross atrocities, and the outrageous behavior of Santa Anna, had precipitated war between this country and Mexico, Louisiana did not prove backward in assisting her neighbors. Many reasons made this seem right and wise. One was the suspicion afloat that England, desiring the emancipation of slaves in the United States (for her own financial advantage), had "bought" Mexico, and would furnish that country with funds necessary for carrying on a war with the United States. Of course, anything that tended to interfere with slavery would be obnoxious to the Southern States. But this was only a rumor, though, in view of coming events, an interesting one. The real cause of the enthusiasm of New Orleans during the Mexican War, and her zeal in sending troops to take part in the struggle, is to be found in her sympathy for Texas, her indignation against the Mexican atrocities, and the natural courage and love of adventure among her young sons. So when General Sam Houston, "president of the new republic," visited this city May 24th, 1845, and spoke in behalf of his country, he found a ready and enthusiastic response to his eloquence.

A meeting at the "Banker's Arcade," Dr. D. Bullard, chairman, and Alexander Walker, secretary, was held April 22, 1845, at which a committee of twenty-five was appointed to form resolutions in regard to the question of Texas annexation, which resolutions were to the effect that the proposed annexation of Texas was "a great American measure," and that "the doctrine which would exclude a new territory because slavery exists in it, conveys . . . an injurious imputation upon the slaveholding states already in the Union."

Texas became a part of the United States by "joint resolution," which passed Congress, and was signed by President Tyler March 1, 1845.

About this time General Edmund P. Gaines, stationed in the vicinity of New Orleans, sent a request to Governor Mouton that he might raise in Louisiana two regiments of volunteers and two companies of artillery with eight field pieces. This request was immediately granted, and \$100,000 was voted by Legislature to the assistance of Texas. It may as well be here mentioned that General Gaines had not the proper authority for acting as he did; that he showed great officiousness; that the matter was afterwards brought before the administration

at Washington, and that his conduct was finally excused on account of the patriotic if somewhat exaggerated, zeal he had displayed.

During August, 1845, excitement in New Orleans became intense. "The war" was a constant topic. Volunteers came forward readily. On the 19th Captain Forno's first company of volunteer artillery (100) was mustered into service of the United States. Various troops passed through the city on their way to the scene of action, adding to the general interest. On the 21st Major Gally's company of volunteer artillery, the cannoneers (123 in number) was mustered in. It was officered as follows: Captain, E. L. Bercier; senior first lieutenant, Thomas Trelford; junior first lieutenant, Gustave Pereaux; second lieutenant, F. H. Henriqueux.

"The Native American Artillery Company" was officered by Captain Henry Forno, Senior First Lieutenant J. E. Ealer, Junior First Lieutenant W. J. Lewis, Second Lieutenant David A. Bickel.

In November Hon. John Slidell, being appointed by the president envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico, visited the capital of that country, but was refused a hearing, and returned to the United States.

In the early part of May Captain Forno and Colonel Doane opened lists for the enrolling of volunteers, and by the evening of the 2nd had secured seventy. On that evening was held a meeting of the officers of the Louisiana Legion to discuss the raising of volunteers, at which Brigadier-General Augustin presided; one by the Louisiana Volunteers, and one by the Washington Battalion, which was addressed by General Persifer Smith, so untiring in his efforts and afterwards so gallant a soldier.

Business and public meetings were also held. On the 4th a cash bounty of \$10 being given each recruit, the work went on briskly, and about 1,000 men were enrolled. The citizens of New Orleans were indefatigable, and Mr. Benjamin Story placed \$500,000 at the disposal of the state for use in the war.

During this month Captain Marks raised three companies and part of a fourth, Colonel Hunt two, and Colonel Langdon reported that his ranks were rapidly filling. By May 7th these companies were organized.

Clinton Guards, Captain Chase; Orleans Boys, C. F. Hunt; Company A Orleans Riflemen, Captain Head; Louisiana Grays, Captain Breedlove; German Yagers, Captain Soniat; two companies Louisiana volunteers, Captains Glenn and Stockton; Company B Orleans Invincibles, Captain White; Native Americans, Captain Stockbridge; Eclaireurs No. 1, Captain Crevon; company

of Tigers, Captain Emerson. On the 10th that fine brigade the "Louisiana Legion," offered themselves. General Lafayette Sanders received a commission from General Gaines to raise a regiment of mounted infantry.

By May 15th, the four regiments asked for by General Taylor were organized, and contained the following numbers of men:

Colonel J. B. Walton's regiment, colonel and staff, 3; Captain Isaac F. Stockton's company, 66; Captain R. C. Stockton's company, 63; Captain J. W. Bryce's company, 61; Captain Thomas Glenn's company, 64; Captain J. B. Breedlove's company, 72; Captain George Tobin's company, 61; Captain H. B. Case's company, 82; Captain P. Soniat's company, 64; Captain J. M. Vandergriff's company, 65; and Captain G. W. White's company, 67; total in the regiment, 668.

Colonel J. F. Marks', the Jackson regiment, colonel and staff, 11; Captain S. C. Head's company, 66; Captain C. S. Hunt's company, 75; Captain R. G. Comstock's company, 98; Captain R. H. Fountain's company, 75; Captain Real's company, 100; Captain M. Willard's company, 104; Captain G. M. Graham's company, 96; Captain J. W. Keene's company, 68; Captain R. A. Stewart's company, 96; Captain Staple's company, 93; total in the regiment, 882.

Colonel James H. Dakin's regiment, colonel and staff, ; Captain A. F. Rudler's company, 65; Captain Smith's company, 64; Captain McNemara's company, 65; Captain E. Crevon's company, 61; Captain G. S. Rosseau's company, 112; Captain A. G. Blanchard's company, 63; Captain Sewall's, 65; Captain Woodland's, 60; Captain Gryce's, 90; and Captain Ricardo's, 71; total in the regiment, 716.

The Montezuma regiment, colonel and staff, ; Captain Depasher's company, 64; Captain P. Wirth's, 82; Captain C. K. Johnson's 64; Captain George Doane's, 77; Captain J. F. Girault's, 63; Captain George Price's, 62; Captain Buhler's, 62; Captain Galbraith's, 61; Captain Ozier's, 62; and Captain John R. Smith's, 71; total in the regiment, exclusive of staff, 668, and in the four regiments, 2,934.

May 13th William de Buys, late major-general, but enrolled as a private soldier, was appointed inspector-general of volunteer troops on the Rio Grande; Lewis Texada was appointed volunteer aide de camp to General Gaines.

On the 17th a fine sword was presented to General Smith by the Washington Guards.

War was announced by President Polk May 11th to have actually begun. On the 13th Congress, declaring that "by act of the Republic of Mexico," such was the case, called for 50,000 volunteers.

In New Orleans, during the month of May, Colonel Peyton's regiment, the Taylor Guards, Orleans Blues, California Guards and various companies from the parishes of Mobile were formed, a total of about 500 men. On the 18th, in the Place d'Armes, was held a review of the Louisiana Legion, with the following companies: Orleans Guards, Captain F. Gardere, 60; Musqueteers, Captain Mondelle, 70; Catalan Guards, Captain Veosca, 63; Cazadores de Orleans, Captain Trigo, 64; Eclaireurs d'Orleans, Captain Desrargue Lambert, 70; and Major Gally's battalion of artillery (200), which alone could be mustered into United States service.

On May 19th five companies of the Fourth Regiment left on the *Mary Kingsland* for Brazos St. Iago; two of Colonel Dakin's and two of Colonel Davis' on the *Ondiaka*. On the 22nd General de Buys was presented with a sword, and on the 24th various dissatisfied officers resigned.

On November 30th another requisition for troops was made upon Louisiana, limited to five companies of infantry of sixty-four men each, New Orleans being the place of rendezvous.

On Saturday evening, May 15, 1847, there was a grand illumination of the city; its hotels, private residences, court house and cathedral all brilliantly lighted and decorated with transparencies in honor of recent victories in Mexico. The first municipality was said to outdo the rest of the city.

New Orleans was kept constantly in touch with the military spirit of the times by the passing and repassing through her streets of United States troops, both on their way to the scene of war and returning from it. On the 11th of June the bodies of Colonel Henry M. Clay and Colonel McKee, who had been stabbed to death while wounded on the field of Buena Vista, and that of Captain Lincoln lay in state at the arsenal on St. Peter street. November 25th Generals Quitman and Shields and Colonel Harney were entertained at the St. Charles Hotel, and December 3rd a large procession formed in honor of General Taylor, on his way home from the "War."

When the Louisiana troops returned a splendid triumph was given them (July 8, 1848), 10,000 people having collected to watch them march up St. Charles to Tivoli Circle. And in the evening, at the corner of Canal and Carondelet, a patriotic address was made them by the governor, to which Colonel de Rusey replied, and a fine collation served them at the Place d'Armes.

Some complaint was made by the local newspapers that the Louisiana troops were not given a chance to distinguish themselves. But we should not forget the valor of General Smith, in whose brigade was Captain Blanchard's company of Louisiana volunteers, and who distinguished himself at Monterey, Contreras, Churubusco, Chapultepec and the capture of the City of Mexico; he was made brigadier-general in 1856, while Zachary Taylor himself, who became president November, 1848, had been for years a resident of this state.

It is hardly worth while to touch upon the causes of the Civil War, except in so far as is necessary to make the courage and patriotism of the Southern soldiers well understood. It was not a conflict between the oppressors of a virtuous injured race, and the noble rescuers of that race, who came, like angels from heaven, with the flaming sword of war; neither was it a struggle between pure and disinterested patriots on one side and cruel, unjust tyrants on the other. We are beginning at last to understand the virtues and failings of both North and South. While slavery is an evil, its abolition a part of the world's progress, it is nevertheless a phase itself of evolution. It is the only condition possible at a certain stage of development, and the follies, atrocities and general worthlessness of the negro evinced at certain periods since his attainment of citizenship make it very doubtful whether he was quite ripe for freedom in 1863. Moreover, while slavery was by no means an easy or a happy state for the negro, it was better and higher than the wild savagery and cannibalism of his native Africa. Again, if the North was violent and insolent in its manner, the South showed a tendency to take fire readily. No one can deny that the war was a struggle of interests. If slavery had been as advantageous in Massachusetts or Maine as it was in Mississippi or Louisiana, all the abolitionists in the world would have been unable to shake the determination of a sagacious and not unmercenary government, and the Southerners while defending their homes, and what they considered sacred rights, had also an eye to their pockets. The following extract may be cited from the New Orleans "Daily Crescent," January 3, 1861, in speaking of secession:

"In the results which it will accomplish it will cause our city to advance rapidly in the path of commercial greatness; it will secure this by concentrating the slave power from which nine-tenths of our wealth is derived. If a Southern Confederacy result, New Orleans must become its great emporium and mart, exporting its vast productions, and importing—which she does not do at all now—the foreign commodities for which they are exchanged. The manufactures

and mines and internal improvements of the South in their great development will have their agencies and marts in our midst. Our population will augment rapidly, hands will multiply with ample remuneration, and real estate attain a value it has never reached before. Prosperity will prevail in all channels and avenues of business, and over \$200,000,000 by Northern authority, which are now expended annually by the South in Northern states, will from necessity be expended in our own cities and towns."

The two sentimental events that influenced the people of the North, while the government was preparing its own line of conduct, the publishing of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and the John Brown Raid, are now acknowledged to be the work of ignorant, unreasoning fanatics, who, like children playing with matches, and absolutely indifferent to the welfare or lives of others, were ready to set fire to anything for the gratification of their own narrow and fatal desires.

But while we deny to John Brown and Harriet Beecher Stowe the martyr's crown, which so many would award them, it would be unjust not to acknowledge that they believed themselves in the right, and acted with unselfish and perhaps charitable motives. Many of the extreme abolitionists of the North were noble-minded men and women, whose views had been distorted and whose heads were somewhat turned. As for the Southerners, men and women, they showed during the great conflict a courage, a cheerfulness, a patriotism, a perseverance, unsurpassed and perhaps unequalled in the military history of the world.

From the time of the annexation of Texas slavery became a vexed question. The laws concerning fugitive slaves became more and more troublesome. The acquisition of California increased the difficulty of the position. The United States increased, expanded almost daily. What should the new states be—slave-holding or free? All these things can only be touched upon. The split in the Democratic convention held at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860, was the beginning of the political ruin of the South, and when the Republican party elected Abraham Lincoln in November, secession was bound to follow.

South Carolina left the Union December 20, 1860. This began the movement that ended with the Civil War. The people of New Orleans were attached to the Union, and for some time public sentiment wavered. But it was bound to turn at the end toward secession. Various meetings were held and societies formed. At a "Grand Rally for the Union," held in Lafayette Square, Tuesday, May 8, 1860, and addressed by Isaac E. Morse, Michael Hahn and Judge Riestand, the call for Union men was signed by 107 names, beginning

with E. W. Huntingdon and ending with Michael Hahn. This was, of course, previous to the secession of South Carolina. So was a mass meeting for state's rights four days later at Odd Fellows' Hall, the call being signed by 600 citizens, headed by the name of W. R. Miles and ending with that of E. B. J. Stuart; a meeting at the same place May 17, presided over by J. W. Zacharie and addressed by J. Madison Day, to ratify the Citizens' ticket for municipal offices, Lucius W. Place being candidate for mayor and J. Milton Relf for street commissioner; and a meeting May 30, also at Odd Fellows' Hall, in favor of John Bell for president of the United States. The call to this meeting was signed by 679 persons, and speeches were made by Mr. C. Roselius, Hon. Randall Hunt, Mr. Jones and others.

After South Carolina's bold move it was felt that some decided measures must be taken. A meeting was held January 2 at Odd Fellows' Hall by the "Southern Rights Association," and addressed by H. D. Ogden, Lieutenant-Governor H. M. Hyams, Professor J. D. B. de Bow, A. Fabre and Captain St. Paul. The next evening the Second Ward Southern Rights Association held a large meeting at No. 9 New Basin and at Dryade's Market; J. M. Reid presided over a similar meeting, at which B. S. Tappan and others made addresses. A meeting at Concert Hall by the Young Men's Southern Rights Association followed, at which Colonel Lockridge and H. J. Leroy made speeches approving the action of South Carolina. The desire for secession grew stronger, and was evinced with great enthusiasm at a meeting in Odd Fellows' Hall January 4, 1861, addressed by C. M. Bradford, B. S. Tappan, C. Clinch, John Claiborne, Harry Hayes, T. J. Semmes and T. Hunter, and at another meeting at the Ninth Street Market, addressed by Judge Walker, General Miles and Dr. Austin. Finally, when, on January 7, 1861, an election was held for delegates to the state convention, the results were as follows:

Co-operation.		Secession.	
Durant	3,918	P. E. Bouford.....	4,321
Hoot	3,936	F. Labotut.....	4,325
Soulé	3,848	W. R. Adams.....	4,279
Dufour	3,963	T. H. Kennedy.....	4,320
Jonas	3,902	J. J. Michel.....	4,290

Members of the convention elected from the several representative districts in New Orleans were as follows:

First District, T. J. Semmes, J. N. Marks, B. S. Tappan, secession; second,

J. A. Rozier, secession, W. T. Stocker, co-operation; third, J. McClosky, E. W. Estlin, A. H. Gladden, J. B. Slonson, secession; fourth M. O. H. Norton, secession; fifth, J. Hernandez, B. Aregno, secession; sixth, J. Pemberton, secession; seventh, G. Clarke, J. Bernaudes, co-operation; eighth, O. LeBlanc, co-operation; ninth, P. S. Wiltz, secession; tenth, W. R. Miles, W. M. Perkuss, A. Walker, secession.

The 8th of January, 1861, was celebrated with great enthusiasm by all the military bodies in New Orleans, as follows: General Tracy's brigade, including the Washington artillery, the Louisiana Guards, Louisiana Grays, Orleans Cadets and Sarsfield Guards, Jefferson Rifles and General Palfrey's Brigade, including the Orleans Artillery, Louisiana Foot Rifles, German Yagers and several other companies.

The following day, by order of Governor Moore, the Crescent City Rifles, forty-nine men, under Captain Gladden, Washington Artillery, seventy-two men, Captain Oscar Voorhies, second company, *Chasseurs a Pieds*, Captain S. Meilleur, forty men, Orleans Cadets, Captain Chas. Dreux, thirty-nine men, Louisiana Guards, Captain S. M. Todd, forty-five men, and Sarsfield Guards, Captain O'Hara, in all 261 men, setting out for the United States Arsenal at Baton Rouge, captured 50,000 stands of small arms from that place, four howitzers, twenty pieces of heavy ordinance, one battery of six-pounders, one of twelve-pounders, 300 barrels of powder, and a quantity of ammunition. Col. J. B. Walton was in command of the whole expedition.

On the tenth two companies of the Orleans artillery, under Captains Gomez, V. Hebard, first company of *Chasseurs a Pieds*, Captain St. Paul, *Chasseurs d'Orleans* (1814-15), German Yagers and Lafayette Guards, 166 men altogether were ordered by the Governor to demand the surrender of Forts St. Philip and Jackson, and hoist the Pelican flag in place of that of the United States. About this time forty other men went up to Baton Rouge, and companies were organized by Captains Fremaux and Abodie, and Lieut. Mark L. Moore, Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Jacques organized a company of 100 men. Volunteers came forward rapidly.

In the convention at Baton Rouge, Ex-Governor Mouton presiding, the secession of Louisiana was decided upon, and January 26, 1861, went into effect. The committee of fifteen reporting was composed of Jno. Perkins, Madison, A. Dechuet, Ex-Governor, A. B. Roman, E. Sparrow, F. Gardere, L. J. Dupre, C. Roselins, W. R. Miles, G. S. Lewis, G. Williamson, A. Talbot, T. J. Semmes, A.

Provosty, W. R. Barrow and J. K. Elgee. The vote for secession was 113 to seventeen. The convention came to the City Hall, New Orleans, and took charge of municipal affairs, which were immediately reconstructed to suit the new condition. On this occasion the Louisiana flag was raised for the first time over the City Hall. An inventory of the Custom House and Mint, made February 11, 1861, shows value to the amount of \$3,420,984.15. Seven delegates were sent to the convention of southern states held at Montgomery.

On the 11th of April, 1861, four companies of about 400 men, commanded by Major C. M. Bradford, among them the Orleans Cadets, under Captain Chas. D. Dreux, left for Pensacola to join Colonel Gladden's regiment, and General Tracy's brigade, General Palfrey's Louisiana regiment and Major Augustin's battalion of Orleans Guards were ordered to assemble at their armories by Major-General Lewis.

Company B of the Crescent Rifles was Dreux's Louisiana Battalion. Company A was officered by Captain S. W. Fisk (killed in the war), First Lieutenant, Thad. A. Smith, Second Lieutenants, N. T. N. Robinson and T. A. Fairies; Sergeants M. C. Gladden, W. E. Huger, D. D. Logan, W. M. Bridges; Corporals W. Norton, W. G. O'Regan, W. P. Clark and S. R. Garrett. Military organizations were formed rapidly. Garibaldi Rifles, second company of Louisiana Foot Rifles, Captian Cornish's Southern Cadets, Walker's Rifles, Louisiana Guards, Crescent Blues, Major Coppen's Zouaves, who owed so much to the generosity of J. W. Zacharie; later the Jefferson Light Guards, "*La Turcos*," *Chasseurs de Bayou*, Bienville Guards and Montgomery Guards. But this is somewhat anticipating matters. The fall of Fort Sumter, under General Beauregard's attack, was celebrated April the 14th by the Orleans Artillery, who fired 100 guns at Jackson Square. In April also the fourth company of Louisiana Guards, with eighty-five men, prepared themselves for the defense of the city. The Pelican Fire Company No. 1 organized for the same purpose. Other companies organized in April were the "Rough and Ready Rangers," ninety men, Orleans Cadets, Tiger Rifles, Perritt Guards, a company of sappers and miners. The purchase and equipment of the "Sumter" first confederate warship, was an important event of this month and so was the fair for the benefit of the soldiers, held by the indefatigable women of this city in Odd Fellows Hall. The proceeds were \$12,516.35. A fair was held afterwards at the St. Louis Hotel which netted a much larger sum. Toward the close of April Camp Metairie, at the Metairie race course was established, the name being afterwards

changed to Camp Walker. It held about 4,000 men, and being unhealthful, was abandoned for a camp in Tangipahoa Parish. There was also a camp at what is now Audubon Park, then called Camp Louis.

Companies formed in May were Company A of the Irish Brigade, and A of the American Rifles, Louisiana Rifles, Mercer Rifle Guard, Coast Rangers, Polish Legion, Violett Guards, named after W. A. Violett, and wearing a violet-colored uniform, Southern Pilot Guards, Taylor Cadets, Stephens Guards, Washington Light Guards, Orleans Rifle Rangers, Lafayette Rifles, Perseverance Guards, Orleans Home Light Guards, Civic Guards, Crescent City Guards, Chalmette Rifle Guards, Jefferson Davis Cadets. About 2,000 men had now left the city, and from 10,000 to 15,000 in or around it were ready for action. On the 27th of the month the famous Washington Artillery left for Virginia, after an ovation at the City Hall and addresses by Rev. Dr. Leacock and Rev. Dr. Palmer.

In June was formed the French Legion of five companies, composed of French citizens living in New Orleans, who generously offered their services to the government; and in the following month, Lieutenant-Colonel Chas. Dreux, the first Louisiana officer to die for the South, was buried near the Bayou St. John, the address being delivered by Lieutenant-Colonel Adolphus Olivier. During this month was held a sale of property captured by Confederate privateers, amounting to \$30,000.

July 29, at Merchants' Exchange, was held a large meeting of citizens, at which \$1,800 were contributed for the relief of wounded Confederate soldiers. Wm. A. Elmore presided at this meeting and Dr. Palmer and Judge Ogden made earnest and energetic addresses, the former referring to the great power of cotton and its influence upon the world. A standing committee of twenty-four was appointed.

On the 30th of July, the new iron Water-Works Building at the foot of Canal street, was given to the people by the City Council to be used as a depot of supplies, many planters having offered to send articles of produce if they could be properly disposed of. This noble charity, managed largely by Thos. Murray, came in the nick of time, for by the first of August the pittance of \$10 per month, which had been paid to families of volunteer soldiers, had to cease, owing to the poverty and embarrassments of the city. The blockade of the Gulf coasts caused great suffering among the poorer people and the generous gifts of the planters prevented actual starvation. For eight and one-half months the free market was open twice a week (beginning August 16), and the number of families re-

ceiving help, from 723 the first day, reached a maximum of 2,000. When, April 29, 1862, Commodore Farragut reached the city and the storehouse was closed, 1,940 families came for the last generous donation. On this day were distributed eight bullocks, 140 bushels of cornmeal, six tierces of rice, four hogsheads of sugar, fourteen barrels of molasses, two barrels of mackerel, two boxes cod-fish, 400 cabbages, 800 bunches of leeks, twenty-four sacks of peas, one sack of turnips, two barrels of mess beef, one tierce of bacon, two sacks of beets and two barrels of sauerkraut. Perhaps the average number of families receiving help the entire time may be stated as about 1,875. No finer or truer charity ever existed, for those who gave were beginning themselves to feel the hardships of war.

There were other charitable organizations at work in the city. One association of twenty-five gentlemen at 58 Gravier street distributed supplies for the wounded soldiers. The women were indefatigable in their work, and the energy, determination and patriotism they displayed during these wretched years, has made them immortal. They urged the men to fight, sending old hoop skirts to those who preferred home comforts to battlefield hardships. They displayed unflinching patriotism, sometimes foolish and exaggerated, but the outcome of true courage; and in charitable work they were untiring. A Soldiers' Aid Society, officered by Mrs. P. G. Laidlaw, president; Mrs. L. A. Whann, vice-president; and Mrs. H. M. Smith, secretary, sent clothing and delicacies to camp; and later was formed a society, of which Mrs. Parnele was secretary, for clothing the children of soldiers. This society by January 7, 1862, had received \$1,247.50 and a quantity of clothing.

\$100,000 was appropriated August 9, 1861, for the defense of the city, which sum was placed in the hands of Major-General David Emmanuel Twiggs. The following month there was another public sale of property brought into port by privateers. The ship, *American Union*, \$15,500; J. H. Jarvis, \$14,250; C. A. Farwell, \$17,500; *Ariel*, \$18,250; Lemuel Dyer, \$1,150; bark *Chester*, \$3,500; State of Maine, \$11,000; schooner *E. S. James*, \$500; a total of \$81,650.

On the 23rd of November, 1861, a great military review was held, in which 25,000 soldiers took part, and which as many ladies enthusiastically witnessed. At this time William Russell, an Irish correspondent of the *London Times*, stated in an article, that if the Confederate finances were as sound as their fighting, they would have a great chance for success. The New Orleans papers replied that a country which could send 400,000 to 500,000 men into the field and

maintain them there as long as was necessary, must be in a sound financial condition.

In December were organized the Carondelet Light Infantry Company, the Edward Thompson Guards and the Crescent City Guards No. 3, composed of 118 men.

In January came a rumor of General Butler's arrival, but this was somewhat premature, though a few soldiers had landed from "The Constitution," at Ship Island. But at this time the capture of New Orleans was in contemplation and had been assigned to General Butler.

On February 15, 1862, nearly all the fighting forces were ordered out of the city; the Louisiana Legion Brigade (General Buisson), consisting of two companies of artillery and three regiments of infantry; the First Brigade, of four regiments, an Irish regiment and several unattached companies. These were organized into the militia of Louisiana, and on the 23rd, Buisson's Brigade and the Second Brigade, under General Labuzan, went into camp, and the First Brigade, Second Volunteer Brigade, General Tracy's and General Powell's Brigade were also called into service a little later.

The European brigade, composed of French, English and other companies, was organized February 21, 1862, Major C. T. Buddecke, colonel; Major G. Della Valle, lieutenant colonel; Captain D. W. Sherman, major.

About this time Beauregard issued a call for 5,000 men from Louisiana. Great confidence was felt in this general, while Albert Sidney Johnston, whom we now acknowledge one of the greatest southern soldiers, was censured for the flanking of Bowling Green, Ky., the advance up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers of the Union men, and the capture of Fort Donelson and Nashville. The general feeling just then, was that the South must be defended in Western Tennessee, and every thing was done to obtain volunteers, the companies of which were more popular than those of the militia, a private of the former occupying a much higher social position than one of the latter.

Here may be inserted a list of Louisiana troops in the Army of Tennessee, when troops from the same state were brigaded by order of the War Department.

First Louisiana regular infantry, under command of Col. D. W. Adams, succeeding Colonel Gladden (killed at Shiloh); 11th Louisiana, Col. S. F. Marks; 12th Louisiana, Col. S. M. Scott; 13th, Col. R. L. Gibson; 16th, Col. Preston Pond; 17th, Col. Hurd; 18th, Col. Mouton; 19th, Col. B. L. Hodge; 20th, Col. Reichart; 25th, Col. S. W. Fisk; 21st Louisiana, Col. Kennedy.

Three companies of Clack's Battalion of Confederate Guards.

Fifth Company Washington Artillery: Captains, W. I. Hodgson, C. H. Slocomb; 1st lieutenants, W. C. D. Vaught, J. A. Chalaron; 2nd lieutenants, Thos. L. Hero, Thos. M. Blair, A. J. Leverich, Chas. G. Johnson; orderly sergeants, A. Gordon Bakewell, John Bartley; surgeon, J. C. Legare.

Orleans Guards Battery, Miles Legion of Artillery, Watson's Battery, Point Coupée Batteries, Boon's Battery, Guy Dreux Cavalry Co., Orleans Light Horse (Lee's), Scott's 1st Louisiana Cavalry Co.

On March 15, 1862, the city was placed under martial law by General Lovell, and all men refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States were ordered to leave that district, which was placed under martial law. Wm. Freret, Cyprian Dufour, Pierre Soulé and Henry D. Ogden were appointed provost marshals. The price of provisions was lowered, beef being from eleven to seventeen cents a pound, and corn from \$1.10 to \$1.25 per bushel. Measures were also taken to prevent the use of gold and silver in place of Confederate currency.

Albert Sidney Johnston having been killed in the Battle of Shiloh, was buried on the 11th, in the St. Louis cemetery, Rev. Dr. Leacock officiating.

In this battle (Shiloh) thousands of brave Louisiana troops took part, and many of our men lost their lives.

We now come to a very painful passage in the history of New Orleans. The passage of our forts by Admiral Farragut, was, it is true, a great naval manœuvre; but we should not forget the heroic defense made by Forts Jackson and St. Philip; the wretched, flimsy gunboats opposed by the Confederates to Farragut's magnificent forces and well equipped fleet; nor the unprepared condition of New Orleans, from which General Lovell had wisely withdrawn his small forces, rather than lose them entirely to the Union Army.

At noon, April 24th, the Union admiral was before New Orleans. Terrible dismay and excitement prevailed. The cotton in the city "the King" on which so much was supposed to depend, was burned—\$1,500,000 worth. So were other things that might serve as booty to the "Yankee" army. Thanks to the European brigade, order was kept in the city, and the more violent were prevented from setting fire to everything.

The hanging of young Mumford, which occurred about this time, is still referred to with grief and indignation by those who recall the sad event. The small Confederate army, under General Lovell, had wisely retreated, so that resistance to the enemy was of no avail. Still the mayor refused to surrender, and

no agreement had been made, when on April 27, the Commodore had the United States flag hoisted over the mint, and when a few daring men (Vincent Hefferman, William B. Mumford, N. Holmes, John Burns and James Reed) tore it down, and brought it to the ground. This fact renders the subsequent execution of Mumford, by Butler's orders, cruel and unjust.

A bitter day for New Orleans was the 1st of May, 1862, and it was with anything but a holiday spirit that the people watched Butler's landing, and his grand street parade, the order of which was as follows: First Lieutenant Weigel of Baltimore, who was capable of leading the way, having been through the streets; the fife and drum corps of the 31st Massachusetts, the band of the 4th Wisconsin, General Butler awkwardly trying to keep step, and his staff, all on foot; Captain Everett's battery of artillery, the 31st Massachusetts, Col. O. R. Gooding, Gen. Williams and staff, and 4th Wisconsin. They marched along the levee to Poydras, then to St. Charles, to Canal and to the Custom House, where the 31st Massachusetts remained that night. The "*True Delta*" refusing to print Butler's proclamation, two of his officers, with a file of soldiers, took possession of the printing office and were able to produce a few handbills, which were distributed.

A controversy shortly began between Butler, in his headquarters at the St. Charles Hotel and Mayor John T. Monroe, owing to the question as to which should call upon the other for the purpose of discussing matters (New Orleans, since the secession of Louisiana, had been the seat of government in the state). Finally the mayor yielded, and with the Hon. Pierre Soulé and various prominent citizens, called upon the general. A street riot, however, broke up the conference for the time being. It was finally agreed that the mayor should continue to exercise his civil authority.

There is no more delicate or dangerous subject for the handling of American historians, than the character of General Butler. He was looked upon so long in the South, and is still looked upon by many, with such loathing, horror and detestation, and there is so strong a tendency with some northerners to make a hero and a saint out of him, that it is very difficult to choose the medium which shall present this man as he really was. It is certainly not the task for a work of this kind. Yet the period of his occupancy here cannot be passed over in silence. That he was coarse and rough is an undoubted fact; "brutal," add those who lived through his rule in New Orleans. Of course, the views of our people must necessarily have been colored by their sufferings, their passions,

their misfortunes, and, of course, they were prepared to regard unfavorably any Union commander who might be imposed upon them. Yet it is doubtful whether an absolutely just or generous man would have inspired with hatred, even the most gentle and charitable natures, so that after all these years the mildest and sweetest of the older men and women of New Orleans, will flash into rage at the very name "Ben Butler." A little courtesy, a little kindness, a little grace of manner would have done much to lighten the sorrows of a vanquished and heart-broken people. In reading Butler's orders issued at this time, one is struck by their plausibility and seeming virtue. Yet there is an ugly ring to them, and one cannot but realize that they fairly bristle with hatred, and a very unchristian feeling of triumph and pride. As to the order concerning the women of New Orleans, that is something no Southerner can ever forgive. The exact feeling of a New Orleans man towards his wife, sister or daughter is something that Butler was probably incapable of understanding. He has, no doubt, received more blame than he merited, for there is little reason to believe that he intended the literal carrying out of his horrible command. The Southern women, as has before been stated, were crazed with patriotic enthusiasm. In their warmth, zeal and courage they went to lengths that were foolish and extravagant. There is no doubt that the soldiers were sometimes inconvenienced and humiliated by the behavior of the women in the street, but if Butler had shot or had executed the cause of his infamous order (who was said to have "spit in the face of a soldier"), it is doubtful whether he would have aroused the storm of hate and indignation that he did by these words:

"As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subjected to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans, it is ordered that hereafter when any female shall, by word, gesture or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town, plying her avocation."

This order (No. 28), which, if carried out, would have given unbounded license to the soldiers, who could interpret as they pleased, the conduct of a host of defenseless women, has properly covered with odium the name of its perpetrator. With husbands, brothers and fathers away fighting, what misery might not come upon the refined, delicately nurtured women of New Orleans. Yet no harm did come, and it is doubtful whether Butler intended anything more than a cruel sneer at the refined New Orleans society, which he so detested, because he was so far beneath it.

We should not deny the fact that Butler fed the starving poor of the city, or that he thoroughly cleaned the streets and drove out the scourge of yellow fever, though it may be stated that any conquering general is forced to do the one, and that the other was a measure for the protection of his own soldiers. We cannot exonerate him, however, from the charge of permitting the indiscriminate robberies and depredations of his soldiers upon our people, and the fact that he himself came into possession, about this time, of an immense amount of silver-ware, does not add to his credit. He was, perhaps, not altogether wicked. He was simply low and coarse, and like all men of that nature, when put in a position of power, fairly revelled in petty tyranny.

A controversy between General Butler and Mayor Monroe arose upon the issuing of the order just referred to, which ended in the mayor's leaving New Orleans. There were also controversies between the general and various foreign consuls. But these subjects belong to another division of New Orleans history. So does the "handkerchief battle," in which a number of ladies, innocently waving farewell to a boat-load of Confederate prisoners on their way to be exchanged, pertinaciously continued to wave their handkerchiefs in honor of the "Rebels," even when charged upon by Union troops, and forced back at the point of the bayonet.

Some mention should be made, however, of the six prisoners (from Forts Jackson and St. Philip), who, towards the end of May, attempted to escape from New Orleans and joined the Confederate army, who were captured and condemned to death, but reprieved and sent to Ship Island, an act of clemency for which we should give General Butler his due.

On the 16th of December, 1862, General Butler left New Orleans, his place being taken by Major General Nathaniel P. Banks. On the first of January, 1863, General G. F. Shepley became military governor of the city, Commodore Farragut being commander of the Gulf squadron. In the spring a large number of loyal Southerners, refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, were forced to leave New Orleans.

Following are some military statistics of New Orleans during the Civil War, and a brief glance at officers in commission before the war, according to the report of Adj. Gen. Ben. M. Grirot, in 1860:

First Division.—Maj. Gen. J. L. Lewis, Col. L. E. Forstall, Lieut. Col. Chas. A. Labuzan, Lieut. Col. Thos. Cripps, Maj. W. P. Williams, Maj. U. Lavillebeuvre, Maj. A. Trudeau, Maj. N. Gunari, Maj. L. Stein, Maj. L. Hay, Maj. Jos. M. Kennedy, Jr.

Louisiana Legion Brigade.—Brig. Gen. H. W. Palfrey, Maj. J. F. Chatry, Capt. R. Beltran, Capt. P. O'Rorke, Capt. W. B. Cook, Capt. Chas. A. Janvier.

Orleans Battalion of Artillery.—First company, Captain F. Strong; second, Captain F. Stromeyer; sixth, Sen. First Lieut. Theo. Morans; fourth, Captain J. L. Lamothe.

Regiment Light Infantry.—Col. Chas. F. Sturcken, Lieut. Col. C. L. Mathes, Maj. H. Blaize, Lieut. E. H. Boelitz, Lieut. Herdsfelder, Lieut. G. Lugenbuhl, Lieut. Loisenger.

Chasseurs (1814-15).—First Lieut. F. Ecrot.

Yagers.—Capt. F. Peters.

Sharpshooters.—Capt. F. Christen.

Fusiliers No. 1.—Capt. F. Sievers.

Fusiliers No. 2.—Second Lieut. Hy. Walbrech.

Lafayette Guards.—Capt. F. Koenig.

Jefferson Guards.—Capt. F. Wollrath.

Battalion Chasseurs a Pied de la Louisiane.—Maj. 1st company, Capt. Hy. St. Paul; 2nd company, Capt. Sim Meilleur.

First Brigade.—Brig. Gen. E. L. Tracy, Maj. I. F. Walker, Capt. R. Hooper, Capt. I. J. Daniels, Capt. J. G. McLearn, Capt. J. F. Caldwell.

Washington Artillery.—Capt J. B. Walton.

Washington Regiment.—Maj. Jno. Cavanagh.

Louisiana Greys.—Capt. E. Kennedy; Regiment National Guards, Col. H. Forno, Maj. G. Stith; Company C, National Guards, Capt. Chas. Drew; City Guards, Capt. W. T. Dean; Orleans Rifle Guards, Capt. John A. Jacques; Continental Guards, Capt. Geo. Clark.

Mississippi Rifles No. 2.—Capt. F. Camerden.

First Regiment of the First Brigade.—Col. Louis Lay; 2nd regiment, Col. J. J. Daniels; 4th regiment, Col. John Price; 8th regiment, Col. Chas. De Choiseul, Lieut. Col. Jas. De Baum; 9th regiment, Col. R. Hooper, Lieut. Col. C. C. Miller.

Second Brigade.—Brig. Gen. D. Cronan, Maj. Jno. Stroud; 4th regiment, Col. Dan Edwards, Lieut. Col. Sam McBurney, Maj. Chas J. Murphy.

Second Division.—Composed of troops from the parishes, as third, fourth and fifth divisions.

In third division, Pelican Rifles, Capt. W. F. Tunnard.

It must not be concluded by any means, however, that all these belonging to military organizations went out as "real soldiers" during the war.

Forces in field from Louisiana, November 22, 1861, 23,577. At a review, held November 23, 1861, under Maj. Gen. John L. Lewis, of all volunteer and regular militia of 1st division, the troops assembling on Canal street, the force out numbered 24,551; absent 6,402.

From the annual report of 1861 for Louisiana we obtain the following:

Regiment of artillery, Col. P. O. Herbert; regiment of infantry, Col. A. H. Gladden.

LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. A. G. Blanchard. | 10. Mandeville Marigny. |
| 2. Louis G. De Rucsy. | 11. Sam. Marks. |
| 3. Louis Herbert. | 12. Thomas M. Scott. |
| 4. Robert I. Barrow. | 13. Randall Gibson. |
| 5. Theo. G. Hunt. | 16. Preston Pond. |
| 6. I. G. Seymour. | 17. S. S. Heard. |
| 7. Harry T. Hayes. | 18. Alf. Mouton. |
| 8. H. B. Kelly. | 19. B. L. Hodge. |
| 9. Richard Taylor. | |

Wheat's Special Battalion Louisiana Volunteers; Maj. C. R. Wheat.

First Special Battalion Louisiana Volunteers.

Orleans Cadets, Chas. Dreux, captain. Other companies from parishes.

Battalion of infantry, Maj. Reichard battalion of artillery.

First Company Orleans Artillery, F. Gomez. captain; second, Capt. J. P. Merlot; third, Capt. G. Stromeyer; fourth, Capt. J. T. Theard.

Companies for active state service: Perseverance Guards, Capt. Jno. Rareshide; Black Yagers, Capt. C. Rabenhorst; Co. A, Sappers and Miners, Capt. Jno. Ryan; Washington Light Infantry, Capt. J. L. Plattsmeier; Co. C, Orleans Cadets, Capt. Jos. Collins; Co. A, Screwman Guards, Capt. Sam G. Risk; Marion Guards, Capt. R. L. Robertson, Jr.; Yager Company, Capt. F. Peters; Scotch Rifle Guards, Capt. Purvis; Co. B, Screwman Guards, Capt. J. C. Batchelor; Allen Guards, Capt. S. Jones; Twigg's Rifles, Capt. H. D. Marks; St. Mary Cannoniers, Capt. F. O. Cornay; Co. A, Orleans Blues, Capt. R. Herrick; Florence Guards, Capt. H. Brummerstadt; McCall Guards, Capt. Chas. Herrick; Co. B, Orleans Blues, Capt. Sam Boyd; Traillieurs d'Orleans, Capt. A. Tissot; Co. B, Twigg's Rifles, Capt. Wash. Marks; Ventress Life Guards, Capt. Jos. Goldman.

In the annual report made December 10, 1862, we find mentioned twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh regiments, from parishes, Battalion Louisiana Defenders, Maj. Juan Miangohara, and Battalion Yellow Jackets, also from parishes. Forces Volunteer State Troops transferred to Maj. Gen. M. Lovell, commanding Department No. 1, C. S. A. First Brigade Volunteer Troops, Brig. Gen. Ben. Brusson; Orleans Guards, Col. W. Augustin; Chasseurs a Pieds, Col. J. S. Meilleur; Chalmette, Col. Szymanski; Cazadores Espagnoles, Lieut. Col. N. Soulé. Second Brigade: Beauregard, Col. F. A. Bartlett; Jeff Davis, Col. A. Smith; Continental, Col. G. Clark; Sumpter, Col. G. A. Breaux. Battalions: Johnson Special, Lieut. Col. W. W. Johnson; King's Special, Lieut. Col. J. E. King. Third Brigade: Confederate Guards, Col. J. F. Girault; Louisiana Irish, Col. P. B. O'Brian; Leed's Guards. Col. Chas. J. Leeds.

Recapitulation of forces: First Brigade, 2,815; Second, 3,818; Third, 2,480; total, 9,113.

These regiments were disbanded when the gun-boats passed the forts, on Butler's arrival. Those who did not take the oath were exchanged as prisoners of war, being sent to Vicksburg, October 8, 1862.

The Washington Artillery was first founded by General Persifer Smith, of Mexican War fame. In 1839 he encouraged the formation of volunteer companies in New Orleans, organizing the Washington Regiment, really the foundation of the present Washington Artillery, in 1840. It grew in importance and strength, obtaining a fine armory. In May, 1861, its services were accepted by President Davis, it was mustered into service May 26th, a sermon being delivered to the soldiers by Dr. Leacock at Christ's Church, and received \$7,000 from the citizens of New Orleans, the Ladies' Association contributing \$500. On that morning (the 26th) the roll call for Confederate service was as follows:

Staff: Major, J. B. Walton; Surgeon, Dr. E. S. Drew; Adjutant, Lieut. W. M. Owen; Quarter Master, Lieut. C. H. Slocomb. Non-commissioned staff: Sergt. Major, C. L. C. Dupuy; Quarter Master Sergt., Stringer Kennedy; Color Sergeant, L. M. Montgomery. Color Guard: Corporals, G. W. Wood, A. H. Peale, I. L. Jewell, J. H. Dearie. Buglers: F. P. Villavasana and Jo. Kinglow.

First Company: Captain, H. M. Isaacson; First Lieut., C. W. Squires; First Sergt., Ed. Owen; Second Sergt., J. M. Galbraith; Third Sergt., C. H. C. Brown; First Lieut., J. B. Richardson; Second Lieut., H. G. Geiger; First Corporal, F. D. Ruggles; Second Corp., E. C. Payne; Third Corp., W. Fellows;

Fourth Corp., F. F. Case. Artificers: S. G. Stewart, W. D. Holmes, Israel Scott.

Second Company: First Lieut., C. C. Lewis, commanding; First Lieut., S. J. McPherson; Second Lieut., C. H. Slocomb; First Sergt., J. H. DeGrange; Second Sergt., Gust. Aime; Third Sergt., H. C. Wood; Fourth Sergt., C. Huechez; First Corp., J. D. Edwards; Second Corp., C. E. Leverich; Third Corp., J. Freret; Fourth Corp., B. V. L. Hutton. Artificers: J. Montgomery and L. Craig.

Third Company: Capt., M. B. Miller; First Lieut., J. B. Whittington; Second Lieut., L. A. Adam; First Sergt., F. McElroy; Second Sergt., A. Hero; Third Sergt., L. Prados; Fourth Sergt., J. I. Handy; First Corp., E. L. Jewell; Second Corp., A. H. Peale; Third Corp., W. H. Ellis; Fourth Corp., W. A. Collins. Artificers—Jos. Blanchard and Jas. Keating.

Fourth Company: Capt., B. F. Eshleman; First Lieut., Jos. Norcom; Second Lieut., H. A. Battles; Second Sergt., W. J. Behan; Third Sergt., G. E. Apps; Fourth Sergt., J. D. Reynolds; First Corp., G. Wood; Second Corp., J. W. Dearie. Artificers: L. Callahan and J. McDonnell. Band leader, J. V. Gessner.

Fifth Company: Captains, W. J. Hodgson and C. H. Slocomb; First Lieutenants, W. C. D. Vaugh and J. A. Chalaron; Second Lieutenants, Chas. L. Hero, Thos. M. Blair, A. J. Leverich and Chas. G. Johnson; Orderly Sergts., A. Gordon Bakewell, John Bartley; Surgeon, J. Cecil Legare.

Fenner's Louisiana Battery, noted as being the only Louisiana body of militia to remain volunteer till the end of the war, without coming under conscript law, was organized May 16, 1862, being officered as follows: Chas. E. Fenner, Captain; Thos. J. Duggan, First Lieutenant; W. T. Cluverius, Jr., First Lieut.; G. P. Harris, Jr., Second Lieut. Discharged for disability—C. J. Howell, Jr., Second Lieut.; Fred Ernest, First Sergt.; S. R. Garrett, Second Sergt.; J. F. Early, Third Sergt.; S. H. Copeland, Fourth Sergt.; A. P. Beers Fifth Sergt.; E. W. Finney, Sixth Sergt.; R. Woest, Seventh Sergt.

The history of the following ten years (from 1863) in this city is a history of hard and disheartening struggle. The people had to shake off the burden laid upon them by unsuccessful war, and begin again. New Orleans is to-day as devoted to the Union as any city in America. It is in a prosperous condition and beginning to take a front stand in the world of commerce, of wealth, and of scientific improvement. But while all rancor, all bitterness, between North

and South is and should be at an end, it is not well that the troubles and hardships of the past should be forgotten, nor the men and women who bore them so bravely and cheerfully.

The Union men in the city became more and more powerful. The "carpet-baggers" from the North took the management of affairs into their own hands. In 1864 there were two governors elected in Louisiana,—Michael Hahn, chosen by that district under control of the Union soldiers; General Henry W. Allen by the rest of the state. The latter is still remembered for his good deeds. In 1868 Louisiana once more became a part of the Union, but her troubles were by no means at an end. A time of corruption, of debt and of tyrannical rule followed. The Metropolitan Police were always at hand to enforce obedience to the Union men. Finally, when Warmouth was followed by Kellogg as governor, when all other attempts to extricate the state from its position proved vain, the White League was formed, spreading from Caddo Parish to New Orleans, a secret society which became immortal, September 14, 1874, when a battle was fought of great importance in New Orleans annals, its hero being General Frederick Nash Ogden. The conflict was hastened by the fact that the Governor seized and retained certain guns that were on their way to the White Leaguers. On Monday morning, September 14, 1874, at 11 o'clock, a mass meeting was held at Clay Statue, Canal street, where resolutions were adopted requesting the abdication of Governor Kellogg. This being refused, the White Leaguers dispersed to arm themselves, and about 4:30 the battle commenced in that portion of the city bounded by Custom House Street, Poydras, the Levee and St. Charles Street. The Metropolitan police, about 1,000 in number, were formed into a regiment under Gen. A. S. Badger, and under the supreme command of General Longstreet. They were stationed around the Custom House. One wing of about 200 men and one cannon kept up a fire on Tchoupitoulas Street, the only crossing not barricaded, and five citizens were there wounded; 250 men with four guns and General Badger, commanded the south side of the Custom House. At quarter past four the Metropolitan advancing to the Levee, were attacked by the White Leaguers and completely routed, and next morning the 3,000 colored militia occupying the State House surrendered quietly.

The White Leaguer commands which took part were as follows:

CRESCENT CITY WHITE LEAGUE, COLONEL W. J. BEHAN, COMMANDING.

Section A—Captain W. T. Vaudry.

Section B—Captain George H. Lord.

Section C—Captain H. S. Buck.

Section D—Captain Archibald Mitchell.

Section E—Captain R. B. Pleasants.

Section F—Captain Thomas McIntyre.

Section G—Captain D. M. Kilpatrick.

The Eleventh Ward White League—Captain F. M. Address.

The Tenth Ward White League—Captain Edward Flood.

The Sixth District White League—Captain H. E. Shropshire.

The Sixth District White League—Captain Columbus H. Allen.

The Sixth Ward White League—Captain George W. Dupre.

The Seventh Ward White League—Captain O. M. Tennyson.

The Washington White League—Captain A. B. Philips.

The St. John White League—Captain Charles Vautier.

Second Ward White League—Captain R. Stuart Dennee.

The Third Ward White League—Captain J. R. S. Selleck.

Major Gustave Le Gardeur, with Captain A. Roman's company (the remainder of his battalion present being unarmed).

Captain John G. Angell, commanding the First Louisiana Infantry, composed of the following companies:

Company A—Captain Euclid Borland.

Company B—Captain Frank McGloin.

Company C—Captain Blanchard.

Company E—Lieutenant Frank L. Richardson.

Besides these there were two companies of artillery, one under command of Captain John Glynn, Jr., the other under command of Captain H. Dudley Coleman.

In the charge on the Metropolitan Police the White Leaguers lost twelve men killed and thirteen wounded, several of whom afterward died. Following is a list of the killed and wounded:

Killed—A. M. Gautier, A. Bozonier, Chas. Bruland, of Colonel Glynn's command; John Graval, of Captain Vautier's company; E. A. Toledano, S. B. Newman, Jr., of Captain Vaudry's company; Wm. A. Wells, of Captain Flood's company; James Crossin, of Captain Lord's company; J. M. West,

Adrien Ferrilan, J. K. Gourdain, unattached; Michael Betz, of Captain Phillips' company; F. Mohrman, of Major Allen's command; James Considine, of Captain Blanchard's company; Wm. C. Robbins, of Captain Buck's company; and R. G. Lindsey, of Captain Pleasants' company. *Wounded*—General F. N. Ogden, Captain Andrews, Lieutenant Schiedel, John McCormick, James Davis, P. McBride, Francois Pallet, Andrew Close, J. R. A. Gauthreaux, Chas. Kit, John McCabe, J. H. Keller, D. Soniat, Martin Long, L. Fazende, P. Bernos, R. Swanson, F. Fossetelyon, Minor Kenner, W. Matthewson, Ernest Buisson, J. Bruneau, J. Savage, J. C. Potts, Emmanuel Blessey, R. Aby, W. H. Kilpatrick, M. R. Bricon, W. C. H. Robinson, W. C. Taylor, Thomas Boyle, Mike Betts, Frank Owen, J. H. Cross, John Meru, James McCabe, Wm. Orimond, Chas. Kill, J. M. Henderson, J. P. Dalmy, — Pollock, W. J. Butler and Henry Peel.

The killed of the Metropolitan Police were as follows:

C. F. Clermont, corporal; J. Kennedy, patrolman, died September 24; J. McManus, sergeant; W. Thornton, corporal; M. O'Keefe, patrolman; E. Simonds, patrolman; F. E. Koehler, supernumerary; I. H. Camp, patrolman; D. Fisher, patrolman; R. Zipple, supernumerary, unattached; and Armstead Hill, volunteer civilian.

The contribution of Louisiana to the late war with Spain consisted of two full regiments of infantry, three batteries of artillery, about 250 men to the Navy, from the Louisiana Naval militia, and a number recruited for a regular term into the Navy. The first Immune Regiment was organized at New Orleans. Duncan N. Hood being Colonel and contained a number of Louisianians. About 5,000 men went out from this state, and while, unfortunately, none of them were ordered to the scenes of warfare, they made excellent soldiers, and were eager for fighting.

In April, 1898, before the war had begun, a meeting was held of committees from the Fourth and Seventh Battalions, Major William C. Dufour, of the latter being anxious to form a regiment of the two. The Fourth was represented by Cooper, Waterman and Jacobs, the Seventh by Favrot, Friedrichs, Livaudais and Elmore Dufour.

The regiment was afterwards formed of the Fourth and Seventh Battalions, and of the Third, necessary to make the full complement of 12 companies, and the attempt failing to secure permission from the War Department to make Lieut. Jacque Lafitte Colonel, Major Elmer E. Wood was chosen Colonel, William G. Dufour being Lieutenant-Colonel.

On May 1, 1898, Col. Wood appointed his staff as follows: Captain H. L. Favrot, adjutant; Captain C. T. Madison, quartermaster; Major J. J. Archinard, chief surgeon. Captains M. W. Rainold and F. J. Chalaron assistant surgeons, and Captain H. R. Carson chaplain. On the preceding evening at Memorial Hall was held a meeting of confederate veterans, Gen. Lombard presiding; J. Y. Gilmore, secretary; J. A. Chalaron, of Camp No. 2, Army of Tennessee, chairman; Edw. Marks, Camp No. 1, Army of Northern Virginia, F. G. Freret, Camp No. 9, Cavalry Association, B. F. Eshelman, Camp No. 5, Washington Artillery, A. B. Booth, Camp No. 16, and Henry St. Paul, being appointed a committee for drawing up resolutions approving of the war, and expressing the determination of the veterans to stand by their country in a crisis.

On the first of May the new regiment went into camp at the fair grounds (Camp Foster) where already were the First Louisiana and a couple of regular regiments. Col. Ovenshine, heard from in connection with the Philippines, commanded one of the latter. Thanks to the tarpaulins donated by Mr. A. A. Maginnis, the boys were supplied with tents, but there were many inconveniences connected with Camp Foster, the water being particularly bad. The regiment (850 strong) was mustered in by Major Edmund of the Regular Army, the last company being mustered in May 25th. On the 30th, the Second Regiment was ordered to Mobile, and after a march through the central part of this city, to the delight of numerous admiring friends and relatives, took the cars at the foot of Canal street. They reached Mobile the next morning, remained in the cars till the next day, and then went into camp about 7 miles from the city, by the side of the First Alabama regiment. Soon after, the First Louisiana arrived. When Col. Wood had reported to Gen. Coppinger, the Second Louisiana was assigned to the first division of his corps; subsequently it was brigaded with the Second Texas and Second Alabama, under Col. Oppenheimer of Texas. Afterwards, when the law authorized each company to contain 106 men, 300 additional recruits were obtained for the Second Louisiana, but on account of yellow fever breaking out, strict quarantine regulations being necessary, the greatest number attained by the regiment was 1,250.

On June 26, 1898, the regiment was ordered to Miami, Florida, arriving there June 28, and soon followed by the First Texas and First Louisiana. On July 7th, Gen. Schwan, who commanded the brigade to which the Second now belonged, was ordered to Porto Rica, but was not permitted to take his brigade

with him, and his troops being transferred from the Fourth corps to the Seventh became a portion of the First division of the army, commanded by Gen. Fitzhugh Lee. Gen. J. Warren Keifer being in command of the division. On July 5th, on account of the exceedingly unhealthy condition of the camp at Miami, the division was ordered to Jacksonville, leaving for the latter place August 5th, a number of soldiers having died on account of their experiences at Miami.

On October 22, 1898, the camp, with the hope of soon being sent to Cuba, was ordered to Savannah, Georgia, where, December 5th, it was visited by President McKinley. The president reviewed the troops, and was pleased with their soldierly bearing. On December 24th, the regiment was conveyed on the transport, Mobile, to Havana, reaching there on the 27th. Here they were assigned by Gen. Lee to the excellent camping ground of Buena Vista, on Panorama Hill, seven miles from Havana. On the first of January, 1899, the regiment was among the first American troops to enter Havana. They marched down the Prado, and were reviewed by Gen. Brooke and Gen. Lee in front of the Hotel Inglaterra, the honors done our Louisiana boys that day being one of which they will always be proud; that is, the rank given them among the first troops.

At Camp Buena Vista private Hughes was killed by private Buckley, who is now serving a life sentence at Fort Leavenworth. This was a very sad event.

On March 18th the regiment was ordered to Savannah, where, on the 18th of April, its soldiers were paid off and mustered out. They returned to New Orleans April 20th, regretting that they had not been permitted to see actual war.

Following is the roster of the regiment, the names of the several captains, and the death roll in full:

Field and Staff—Elmer E. Wood, colonel; William C. Dufour, lieutenant colonel; William L. Hughes, major; George M. Hodgdon, major; Frank J. Chalaron, major and surgeon; Henry L. Favrot, captain and adjutant; Mozart W. Rainold, captain and assistant surgeon; Allen Jumel, Jr., first lieutenant and assistant surgeon; Rufus E. Foster, first lieutenant and quartermaster; Edward Dinkelspiel, second lieutenant Company F, commissary; James S. Rankin, sergeant major; John E. Kearney, quartermaster sergeant; Charles L. Babled, hospital steward; Peter Wilson, hospital steward; Leonce P. Thibaut, hospital

steward; John W. Sherwood, chief musician; James L. Segar, principal musician; and Louis Fatzer, principal musician.

Captains—Company A, Harry A. Mackie; company B, Harry A. Ben-ners; company C, Arthur W. Jacobs; company D, Placide M. Lamberton; company E, F. W. Matthews; company F, Carl C. Friedrichs; company G, Frank Oriol; company H, George A. Cooper; company I, Samuel McC. Hern-don; company K, Andrew J. Boissonneau; company L, John B. Waterman; company M, Robert G. Guerard.

The list of those who died is as follows:

Bugler A. L. Mugnier, Company H, died July 18, 1898; Lieutenant John D. Nelson, Company K, died July 19, 1898; B. Muldoon, Company H, died Aug. 3, 1898; E. J. Lassere, Company M, died Aug. 7, 1898; Archie Parker, Company H, died Aug. 14, 1898; Joshua Davis, Company C, died Aug. 15, 1898; E. O. Burrows, Company H, discharged Sept. 4, died Sept. 9, 1898; Albert Lasch, Company H, died Oct. 13, 1898; J. P. Seigler, Company D, died Oct. 12, 1898; Lieutenant S. B. McClure, Company K, died Oct. 17, 1898; Captain Elmore Dufour, Company I, died Nov. 13, 1898; J. D. Hughes, Com-pany E, killed Jan. 7, 1899; Louis Grelle, Company K, died Feb. 19, 1899; Julius Keller, Company G, died Feb. 24, 1899; Albert Quint, Company M, died Feb. 25, 1899; and W. G. Waterman, Company E, died March 28, 1899.

Lieutenant Gordon L. Sneed, who died at Miami, was buried in New Or-leans with military honors.

The following statistics concerning the Naval Battalion of New Orleans should prove of interest:

This important organization was mustered in with two companies Septem-ber 11, 1895, chiefly owing to the efforts of Mr. J. S. Watters. There were then 110 on roll. In the next three months, two more divisions were added. The battalion first appeared in uniform January, 1896, and gave a ball that year, and on Mardi Gras "turned out" 150 strong. In this year, also, the bat-talion visited the U. S. battleship Raleigh, camping out at Fort Eads and drill-ing on the Raleigh. In August, 1897, the U. S. cruiser Montgomery came to Ship Island and the battalion went over on three schooners to visit it. The officers' reports concerning this military body were very flattering.

In 1896, an engineer division was added to the battalion, making five divisions.

In 1898, at the outbreak of war, the command just mentioned was ready

for service, three parties being organized for coast signal service at Fort Eads, Mobile and Galveston. About 115, officers and men, were detailed as a crew for the Monitor Passaic, and served on her during the war, at the close of which the Government loaned the U. S. "Stranger," a yacht purchased during hostilities, for the use of the battalion.

The officers at the time of organization were as follows:

Captain, J. S. Watters; Lieutenants, J. W. Bostick, H. P. Carroll, J. C. Ford, J. T. Harris, L. W. Bartlett; Lieutenants, junior grade, W. Mc L. Fays-soux, A. C. Bell, A. M. Haas, J. H. Parker; Ensigns, H. G. Shaw, R. Marcour, A. W. Socola, S. St. J. Eshelman; Passed Assistant Surgeon, Will. H. Woods; Assistant Surgeon, E. C. Renaud; Passed Assistant Engineer, R. C. Wilson; Paymaster, A. Fourchy.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIGHT AGAINST HIGH WATER.

BY A. G. DURNO.

ACCORDING to the estimate of the Mississippi River Commission, there are in the delta or alluvial lands of the Lower Mississippi, 29,790 square miles, or 19,065,600 acres of territory subject to overflow. This includes portions of seven states, and extends from the head of the St. Francis Basin to the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of over eleven hundred miles. This vast area is apportioned among the seven states as follows:

	Square Miles.	Acres.
Illinois	65	41,600
Missouri	2,874	1,839,360
Kentucky	125	80,000
Tennessee	453	289,920
Arkansas	4,652	2,977,280
Mississippi	6,926	4,432,640
Louisiana	14,695	9,404,800
Total	29,790	19,065,600

"This," says Mr. Norman Walker, in his report to the Treasury Department on the "Commerce of the Mississippi from Memphis to the Gulf of Mexico," "is twice as large as the Kingdom of the Netherlands, twice as large as Switzerland, larger than many of the historic states of Europe, and larger than the combined areas of Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. It is seven times as great as the arable lands of Egypt now or at any former period."

The first white men who entered the Mississippi Valley found the river in flood. Both LaSalle, who descended the stream in 1684, and Bienville, who explored it in 1699-1700, found the banks under water at several points, and the last named, who was in search of a site for his projected settlement on the river, fixed upon the location now occupied by New Orleans as the nearest point to

the Gulf which was at that time above water. It happened, however, that the flood of that year did not reach the usual high water mark, and when, in 1718, he came to lay the foundations of his city, the swelling tide so interfered with the work that his men were compelled to stop it, and devote themselves to the construction of a rude levee in front of the town and some distance above it in order to keep it clear of water. This was the first levee in Louisiana, and was constructed under the supervision of *Sieur Le Blond de la Tour*, a Knight of St. Louis, and chief engineer of the colony. This temporary levee was worked upon every year, being raised and strengthened from time to time, and finally completed in 1727, under the administration of Governor *Pérrier*, when it presented an 18-foot crown and 60-foot base, with a length of 5,400 feet, or slightly more than a mile. This was more than the city front, and afforded it ample protection. It was continued above the city for a distance of 18 miles by a smaller levee, and below it by another which extended 14 miles, for the protection both of the farmers and of the city.

As the country around New Orleans was settled the levees were extended, and by 1735 they stretched a distance of 42 miles, from English Turn, below the city, to a point 30 miles above it. With the exception of that in front of New Orleans, however, they were low and weak, and unable to resist the great flood of that year which lasted from December to the end of June, 1836, causing great loss, and seriously interfering with the season's planting. They were patched up, but in so slight and insufficient a manner that they afforded little resistance to the flood, and crevasses became so frequent that the government took the matter up, and issued an edict requiring proprietors of land fronting on the river to improve their levees and have them in good condition by January 1, 1744, under penalty of confiscation. This stringent measure seems to have had the desired effect, and during the next half century Louisiana suffered but little loss from overflow. The levees were gradually extended and became the basis of the present levee system of the Lower Mississippi Valley,—indeed it is possible that some of them exist to this day in those sections where there has been but little change in the course of the river. These levees were constructed by the proprietors, the government reserving a supervisory power, and permitting no neglect on the part of planters. The land so protected was all under a high state of cultivation, and in 1752 nearly the whole population of the colony was concentrated within an area of 200 square miles.

The levee continued to advance slowly northward, at the rate of about a

mile a year, though the cost of building then was relatively much greater than at present, the planters being without proper facilities for the work. The slow settlement of the country is doubtless due to the outlay imposed by the necessity of building these dikes, which was many times greater than the cost of the land and the stock required for its cultivation. In 1782 occurred the greatest flood of the first century of the settlement of Louisiana, but there were only a few slight crevasses, which were soon repaired, and the planters escaped serious loss, as they did also in the years 1780, 1785, 1791, and 1796, though New Orleans was flooded. This experience firmly convinced the inhabitants of the value of levees, and the work of construction went on with increased energy. In 1812 the levees on the east bank extended from *Pointe à la Hache* to *Pass Manchac*, a distance of 155 miles, and from the lower *Plaquemines* settlement on the west bank to *Pointe Coupée*, a distance of 185 miles. This 340 miles of levee had been built mostly with slave labor, and at a probable cost of \$6,500,000, a very heavy expense for so young a country. The first serious disaster to the Louisiana levees occurred in 1813, with the breaking of the *Pointe Coupée* levee, since known as the *Grand Levee*, which protects seven parishes from overflow. This levee, the largest and most important, as well as the most exposed in the State, has broken several times, each time causing great damage, as the overflow extends to the basins of the *Atchafalaya*, *Bayou Têche*, and *Grand Lake*. In 1813 the water in *Grand Lake* rose from 4 to 5 feet higher than any previous year since 1780. Three years later there was another notable overflow, confined almost wholly to the city. The *Maraté* levee at *Carrollton* gave way, and the rear portions of the suburbs were flooded to a depth of from 3 to 5 feet. The water ran off, however, within twenty-five days, and all damages were repaired. By 1828 a continuous line of levees, except at points where they were not needed, extended from New Orleans to *Red River Landing*, 195 miles above the city, and 65 miles below it.

In 1845, in an appeal made by the *Memphis river convention* to the Federal Government for aid in the matter of levee building, it was proposed that the flooded lands be given to the States to aid in the building of levees, and in reclaiming the swamps. As a result of the appeal Congress in this year, for the first time, granted assistance in the construction of levees, and in 1849 passed an act donating to Louisiana all the swamps and overflowed lands found unfit for cultivation. In 1850 the grant was extended so as to include all the other States in the Union in which such swamps or overflowed lands were situated, and pro-

vided that the proceeds of said lands, whether derived from sale or from direct appropriation in kind, "should be applied, exclusively, so far as necessary, to the reclaiming of said lands by means of levees and drains." The funds derived from the sale of these lands have been generally turned over to boards of swamp commissioners, to be used by them in levee building. The lands received by the three river States of Louisiana, Arkansas and Mississippi aggregate 18,545,270 acres. Of these States Louisiana has secured the best results from the donation. It is still possessed of a considerable revenue from this source, the Morganza levee in Pointe Coupée having in 1883 been constructed from funds realized from the sale of swamp lands. The assistance thus given by the Federal Government lent a new impetus to the work of levee building, and the following ten years were fruitful in good results. In 1860 there were 2,184 miles of embankments on the Mississippi, with an average height of from 8 to 10 feet and a width at the base of from 50 to 75 feet, their width at the top being something less than their height.

As has been stated, the levees, under French rule, were constructed and kept in repair by the front proprietors. Later the police jury, corresponding to the county commissioners of other states, took charge of the levees in Louisiana, though in times of danger the riparian proprietors within seven miles of the river, whose lands were subject to overflow, were required to aid in warding off the threatened crevasse. At such times the farmers and planters met and formed a plan of action. Each gave the labor of a number of slaves, according to his means,—one giving ten slaves for twenty days or less, another thirty slaves for fifteen days. Afterwards districts were formed and taxes imposed for levee purposes.

The manner in which the work was done renders it difficult to arrive at the cost of these dikes previous to the war. In 1860 the State engineer estimated the cost of the levees then standing in Louisiana at \$12,500,000. This estimate was based upon the value at ruling prices of the number of cubic yards of earth entering into their construction. According to another report the cost of all the levees in the river States from the beginning of levee building up to 1862 was \$43,759,000, those of Louisiana alone costing \$25,000,000. In 1871 a levee company was formed in Louisiana, charged with the entire work of levee construction, a tax of 2 mills on the dollar being voted for the purpose of raising the necessary funds. The tax was increased to 4 mills and then dropped again to 3. The company was under obligation to build at least 3,000,000 cubic yards

of levees per year, at 50 and 60 cents per cubic yard, which would have made the expense of levees \$1,650,000 per year. In 1876 the chief engineer of the State reported that the work done by the company for the preceding three years would not replace the wear and tear of the levees, and that they were losing ground every year. A tabulated statement of the work done upon the levees from 1866 to June 9, 1887, with the cost of the same, shows that under the administration of the company, lasting from 1871 to May 11, 1877, only 7,256,469 cubic yards of levee were made, 3,586,060 of which were constructed before October 1, 1872. Since 1877 the work has been done by the State board of engineers, under the direction of the governor, and the boards of levee commissioners of the several districts. With the improved methods now in use the cost has steadily decreased from 73 2-5 cents per cubic yard in 1867, to 19 1-3 cents in 1886.

The levee fund is provided by a one mill tax imposed by the State, and by the sale of the swamp lands voted to the State by the Federal Government. The districts are also empowered to tax themselves 5 mills for levee purposes, and have done so for several years. In the Tensas district, created by act of the Legislature, bonds may be issued for the purpose of levee building, and a tax laid on lands and crops—so much for each bale of cotton and bushel of corn raised in the section subject to overflow and protected by the levees. In addition to the money provided by the State and the levee districts, some of the parishes have taxed themselves for levee purposes. The railroads subject to inundation have also contributed to a levee fund, particularly the Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Pacific, which subscribed liberally to the building of the great Bonnet Carré dike. Between the years 1866 and 1877 it is estimated that there have been expended on levees in Louisiana:

By State and levee districts.....	\$13,745,148.57
By Federal Government	1,342,807.00
By parishes, railroads and planters.....	800,280.17
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Total	\$15,888,235.74
Amount estimated as previously spent.....	\$25,600,000.00
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Total cost of levees in Louisiana.....	\$41,488,235.74

Adding to this the amounts expended in the states of Mississippi and Arkansas during the same period we have a total of \$25,704,482.44 as the cost of

levees from Memphis down for twenty one years and a half. The \$13,750,000.00 previously expended swells the sum to a grand total of \$69,154,482.44, the cost of levees from the earliest times down to April, 1887.

Notwithstanding all this labor and expense the Lower Mississippi Valley has suffered severely from the effects of high water. The constant changing of the river bed offers one of the greatest difficulties in the way of the maintenance of the levees in an efficient state. Chief Engineer Richardson estimated that 75 per cent. of the cost of levee work in Louisiana was due to these changes, and the consequent caving of the banks. In addition to this source of damage, the boring of crawfish, and the tunneling of rats must be taken into account, as well as the disintegration caused by heavy and long continued rains.

Besides the floods of 1812, 1813 and 1816 already alluded to, there have been during the present century something like a dozen years in which the water has broken through all restraining bonds, and caused more or less damage to the adjacent plantations. The most notable of these are the floods of 1874 and 1882. In the first named year heavy rains prevailed in March throughout the lowland below Cairo, filling the swamps and swamp rivers, and producing a rapid rise in the Mississippi. In April these rains became excessive, extending eastward over the valleys of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. Between Commerce, Mo., and the Louisiana line there were 136.5 miles of crevasses and breaks. In the White River there was a destructive overflow, and in the Yazoo, the greatest freshet on record, due to rain-water alone. In the Ouachita also the flood broke all previous records; a crevasse in Carroll Parish flooded the bottom lands of the Tensas; the Atchafalaya basin was in extreme flood, and the Teehe district deeply inundated from Saint Martinsville down. A crevasse at Bonnet Carré raised Lake Pontchartrain suddenly about two feet. Great suffering prevailed in lower Louisiana, and large sums of money were contributed in New York, Boston, and other Northern cities and States for the relief of the starving population. Boston alone contributed \$230,000 to this fund.

The flood of 1882 was even more disastrous. The river was unusually high during the early winter, but no serious apprehensions were entertained of a general overflow. With the beginning of the year, however, the rains set in and continued without cessation during January, particularly in the valleys of the Tennessee and Ohio, and about Vicksburg. The rivers in East Tennessee were out of banks by the middle of January. In Mississippi, and Alabama also, serious floods were reported, while the Atchafalaya overflowed its banks

to such an extent as to stop the work on the New Orleans Pacific R. R. Still the rains fell daily, and the river rose. A thorough inspection was made of the levees and much work was done on them, but the rain greatly impaired its effectiveness. On the 28th of January two breaks occurred, one in Madison Parish, and one below the city in Plaquemines Parish; on the 30th there was another at Lockport on the La Fourche. February 2d Red River rose, flooding the bottom lands below Shreveport, and on the 9th the levees in the Yazoo valley broke. After that every day brought a new crevasse, and by the middle of the month all the bottom lands of Mississippi, Arkansas, and much of Northern Louisiana were under water. On the first of March there were fifteen crevasses in Louisiana on the Mississippi, Atchafalaya, and La Fourche. Great destitution prevailed, and appeals to the Government were made from Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The number of sufferers by the flood was then estimated at 43,000. On March 8th the Pointe Coupée levee gave way, changing the scene of destruction to central Louisiana. The water poured down the Atchafalaya, overflowing the Attakapas district, and ruining the finest sugar plantations of the state.

The water from the Mississippi began to run off during the last two weeks of March, but in lower Louisiana the flood continued to swell through the greater portion of April, and even when the rise ceased it subsided so slowly that it was late in June before many of the plantations were quite free from water. The flood may therefore be considered as having lasted fully five months. Over a hundred breaks or crevasses were caused by it, and 22,000 square miles of territory, with a population of 400,000, were overflowed. Relief bureaus were established by the Government during the early days of the disaster, and several hundred thousand dollars worth of rations were distributed. In Louisiana this aid was supplemented by a relief commission which sent a fleet to the upper portion of the State to remove the people to safe ground, and to furnish forage for the stock, which was perishing by thousands. This fleet rescued many people from death by starvation or drowning.

According to the reports prepared by the police juries at the request of the governor, for the purpose of estimating the loss entailed upon Louisiana by the flood, it was shown that 28 out of 56 parishes were involved in it, the damage to crops of all kinds amounting to \$11,408,000; that to stock, fences, houses and household goods, levees and railroads, to \$3,596,000; making a grand total of \$15,004,000 loss in Louisiana alone. In Mississippi the loss was figured at

\$6,701,000; in Arkansas, at \$4,033,000; in Tennessee and other States, at \$1,300,000; the amount for all being the pretty sum of \$27,038,000.

The lessons of 1882 so forcibly demonstrated the necessity for good levees that since that time the work has been carried on with a vigor and persistency which has resulted in giving a nearly complete system of levees to Mississippi and Louisiana. In 1884 the flood caused but one important crevasse, which, however, was a very serious one. It occurred at the Davis plantation 22 miles above New Orleans, and was caused by the imperfect refilling of a rice flume cut in the old levee—a fertile cause of trouble now practically abolished—through which the water rushed, cutting out in a short space of time a gap of 1,000 feet. Through this immense opening the tide flowed in a converging stream that forced its way inland to the distance of several miles, spreading destruction in its path. The tracks of the Texas Pacific, and of the Morgan lines of railway, were soon submerged, and all traffic stopped. The two companies united in the effort to close the crevasse, but the force of the powerful current, and the masses of driftwood and debris which it hurled like a battering ram against the work, so blocked and impeded it as to compel its abandonment. The gap widened, the water spreading itself in a vast sheet of devastation over the country, invading adjoining parishes, pouring into the town of Gretna, driving families from their homes, and carrying destruction and misery wherever it appeared. The richest sugar district in the State was submerged, the flood extending almost to the Gulf, and entailing a loss of over \$5,000,000.

From 1866 to 1887 the cost of high water is computed to have been:

To the building and maintenance of levees.....	\$25,704,482.94
To crevasses and loss from floods.....	71,827,600.00
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Total cost of high water in twenty-one years.....	\$97,532,082.94

The Mississippi River Commission, created by act of Congress in 1879, and charged with the duty of suggesting a plan for the improvement of the river, and of supervising the work, has recognized the importance of levees as a factor in river improvement. From the early days of levees in Louisiana it has been observed that the river in the section where these were maintained was always deep and unobstructed by bars. The Commission, in its first report, insisted forcibly upon this point, and it has since lent liberal aid in the work of levee building. As a result of the greater care bestowed upon them the levees

have been able to withstand the force of the floods of the past fourteen or fifteen years, and so to protect from serious loss the property along the river. In 1893 the water reached a higher reading on the gauge than had ever before been recorded, but it was kept well within control, and the few slight breaks were repaired quickly and with comparatively little loss. The fight against high water may therefore be considered as won—though in this as in other contests against natural forces eternal vigilance is the price of security.

The following table, abridged from one included in a report of the Mississippi River Commission, gives the probabilities as calculated from the floods occurring within periods of from eighteen to twenty-five years, of high water at various points along the river where gauges are established:

Once in every ten years there may be expected:

	Feet.
At Cairo, a flood of.....	51.5
At Memphis, a flood of.....	34.5
At Helena, a flood of.....	46.5
Mouth of White River, flood of.....	47.5
At Vicksburg, flood of.....	49.0
At Natchez, flood of.....	48.0
At Red River Landing, flood of.....	47.0
At Carrollton, flood of.....	15.6

The wharves are wooden structures, built against the levee, which is protected by a bulkhead of plank. They are, in fact, stagings of plank, supported by piles twelve feet square, and fifty feet in length, which are driven down into the bed of the river by huge pile-drivers as far as possible, and cut off to the proper level. Caps of twelve foot timber are laid upon these, parallel with the bank, and bound together by stringers of 6x12 timber. On these, again parallel with the bank, are laid and firmly secured the planks which form the staging.

Since 1891 the wharves have been leased to a company known as the "Louisiana Improvement Company," which, in consideration of the revenues collected at rates fixed by the ordinance granting the lease, bound itself to expend during the first two years of its contract \$465,000 in wharf improvements, to construct and keep in repair wharves, bulkheads and landings between Toledano and Piety streets, a distance of four miles, and to light the whole front by electricity, the lights to be placed not less than 250 feet apart. They are also required to maintain a depth of twenty-five feet of water at the extremes of their line, where sea-going vessels lie, and of twelve feet at the central portions which are used by river-craft. This lease expires in May, 1901.

The following information in regard to the wharves is derived from Mr. Gervais Lombard, engineer of the Orleans Levee Board:

"In 1893, in fact until May, 1897, when the water in the Mississippi river broke all previous records at New Orleans, reaching a stage of 19.5 feet on the Canal street gauge, the wharves and the levees immediately behind them were required to be kept up to a grade of 18.5 feet according to Canal street gauge, the zero of which is 2.5 feet below Mean Gulf Level. The Louisiana Improvement Company, who are the lessees of the wharves and landings, are bound by their contract with the city of New Orleans to maintain the wharves and approaches to the same at said grade of 18.5 feet. When the water rose above this grade and completely covered the wharves in 1897, it was kept out of the city by a temporary levee or embankment constructed of sand bags. The immense shipping and commercial interests suffered great inconvenience for nearly a month, or until the water subsided.

"The Orleans Levee Board and the Port Commissioners adopted a new grade of 20.5 feet for the levees and wharves, and the wharf lessees, though not bound by contract to conform to this new grade, have raised the greater portion of the levee and a small portion of the wharves to 20.5 feet, and as any new work is done, or any repairs become necessary, the new grade is conformed to.

"In the latter part of 1897 the Orleans Levee Board, considering that something must be done about the banks of the river in the lower Third district, which were caving and sliding into the river, because of the encroachment of the channel and the consequent steepening of the bank, employed an engineer of considerable repute to devise some feasible plan for staying the encroachment. An elaborate system of continuous wharves was recommended, it having been observed that the wharf system had improved the commercial front of the city. Years before, the Third district had been considerably used as a landing place for the commerce of the city, but owing to the rapid and continued caving of the banks, and the consequent destruction of all wharves and improvements made upon them, the district was abandoned as a place of landing, and in obedience to the unwritten but universal law which governs such matters in all great cities, the improvements were moved farther up the stream. The wharves were at first built in the form of piers, projecting out into the river at right angles to the shore, but great trouble was experienced in maintaining them, owing to the fact that the resistance offered to the rapid current by the projecting ends created eddies which attacked and undermined the bank, causing the whole thing to

cave in. Later the plan of making the wharves continuous, and parallel to the bank, was adopted. By this method the wharves do not extend so far out into the stream, and so, offering less resistance to the current, are found to be more stable. Another, and perhaps the principal, reason for the diminished caving of the wharves may be found in the fact that the river has ceased to encroach upon the eastern banks where they are constructed, and is actually beginning to recede, according to the habit of the great Father of Waters,—which is to first eat away the banks on one side for a generation or two, then to replace them with interest during another one or two generations, while devouring large slices from the other side.

“The elaborate system of wharves recommended for the Third district has been duly constructed, thus extending the wharf system some $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles down stream, making a continuous stretch of wharves from the upper end of the Stuyvesant docks, at Peniston street, to a point 100 feet below Egania street, a distance of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The success of the Third district wharf system, which was constructed in an unusually substantial manner, is still in the balance, some signs of failure having become apparent after the flood season of 1898, although the United States government had gone to great expense to assist in protecting the banks by means of mattresses of woven willow brush, loaded with rock, and sunk along the shore line.”

The width of the river in front of New Orleans varies from 1,500 to 3,000 feet, and the length of the harbor in actual use for steamers and shipping is about seven miles on either shore. In 1880 there were on the left bank, where the greater part of the active commerce is carried on, 66 wharves capable of accommodating large steamers two abreast, or sail vessels four abreast, and a wharf for river and coasting steamers and barges of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles front. This central wharf or levee forms a large plaza several squares wide, and extending from Julia street to St. Louis, and is what is usually meant when “the levee” is spoken of. It consists of three divisions, the Grain levee, at the head of Poydras street, the Cotton levee, at the head of Canal street, and the Sugar levee, at the head of Conti street. In former years, before the establishment of commercial exchanges, much of the buying and selling was transacted on this great levee, which, during the busy season, presented a scene of bustling activity. It is often remarked that the wharves are no longer crowded as they once were with cotton bales, barrels and hogsheads of sugar and molasses, and with other produce of fields and factories. This, however, does not indicate that the cotton

and produce no longer come to New Orleans, or come in reduced quantity. On the contrary, they are brought in vastly increased quantities, but the methods of handling have been so improved that the wharves never appear crowded. Formerly, for instance, cotton was brought down the river by steamboats, of which there were great numbers, and which, during the height of the season, would arrive piled to the hurricane deck with tiers of bales. These were all unloaded upon the wharves, and reloaded upon drays or "floats," which transferred them to the presses. When ready for shipment they were all again loaded upon floats and hauled back to the wharves where the ocean steamers lay waiting for their cargo. Now the greater portion of the produce is brought in by rail, and each railroad has a port or terminal dock facilities, with great elevators and all the modern machinery for handling freight in the cheapest and most expeditious manner.

Reference has been made to the "making" of the bank on one side of the river. The ground thus added is called "batture," and the city front has been extended considerably between the old *Place d'Armes*,—now Jackson Square,—and the foot of Felicity street, since the settlement of the city, amounting, at its greatest width, near the foot of Delord street, to nearly 1,500 feet. The custom now is to follow up the batture by an annual extension of the wharves, the earth being filled in behind them to the level of the levee.

Several law suits have grown out of disputes between the proprietor to whose land the batture has been added, and the corporation, as to the ownership of the alluvion, or newly-made ground. The most notable of these suits is that brought by John Gravier for possession of the batture in front of his property in the Faubourg Ste. Marie. This batture had long remained open to the public, and persons wishing for sand and earth wherewith to fill up their own low lots, had been accustomed to obtain it from Mr. Gravier's alluvion without even the ceremony of asking leave. When, therefore, Mr. Gravier fenced in a portion of this ground, and went even to the length of selling other portions, the public felt itself aggrieved, and the proprietor was compelled to have recourse to law in order to establish his title. He engaged Mr. Edward Livingston, the celebrated constitutional lawyer, who had recently become a resident of New Orleans, to defend his claim, which Mr. Livingston thought so good that he himself purchased a portion of the disputed ground, and proceeded to improve it. This excited the community to such an extent that, notwithstanding the decision of the court in favor of Gravier, they determined to drive off the intruder by force

of arms. Rallying by thousands to the beat of a drum they marched to the disputed territory, and were only dispersed by the appeals and entreaties of Governor Claiborne, who promised to have the whole matter referred to the United States government. This was done, with the result of bringing on a long and acrimonious dispute in which Jefferson took an active part both as President and as attorney for the government after his retirement from office. The case was finally decided in favor of Gravier and Livingston, but neither of them derived much benefit from the property in dispute, as other heirs of Bertrand Gravier, from whom John claimed to have inherited his title, put in a claim, and the litigants were forced to compromise both with these new claimants and with the corporation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CREOLES.

BY HENRY RIGHTOR.

AN intelligent understanding of the meaning of the word Creole, as used in Louisiana, must hark back, through bewildering etymological mutations, to the original and genuine sense, the *etymon*, of the word as used in the Spanish colonies years before the complex society of the earliest settlements at New Orleans and vicinity decreed the necessity for a differentiating nomenclature, describing the different kinds of peoples, and gave rise to its employment. Etymologists are agreed that the word, in its remotest philological analysis, comes from the Latin *creare*, to create (Spanish *criollo*) implying, in a sense, creations of the mother country in a new clime, Creoles; yet, whatever be the genesis of the word, it will come home to one who laboriously studies the writings referring to the subject (I will not say authorities, for, in all sincerity, there are none) that, while etymologically the word has a very distinct and, to the impartial philologist, unequivocal meaning, to the great body even of well informed writers as well as to the mass of mankind, the word means nothing. Nor is this to be wondered at when we consider how few words possess narrow and explicit meanings, even the word *man*, describing originally the ideal type, intellectually and physically symmetrical, having come to be the common symbol for athletes and cripples, philosophers and pickpockets.

The general misunderstanding of the word, prevailing even among scholars, is exemplified in the definition given in the Century Dictionary, wherein the following appears: "In Louisiana: (*a*) originally a native descended from French ancestors, who had settled there; later, any native of French or Spanish descent by either parent; a person belonging to the French-speaking portion of the white race. (*b*) A native born negro, as distinguished from a negro brought from Africa."

To the first part of this definition, namely, that the original signification in Louisiana of the word "Creole" was that of a native descended from French



Felicien Wagnerspach

ancestors who had settled there, exception is to be taken on the score of its being incorrectly restrictive. One of the earliest writers upon matters pertaining to Louisiana, M. Bossu, a French captain of marines, who visited Louisiana during the time of the governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil (1743-53), a scientist trained to definiteness and accuracy of statement—botanist and ornithologist—has said: "The Creoles are those that are born of a French man and a French woman *or of European parents.*" Even in those early days we have the testimony of a scholar to the indefinity of the word. Again, the second statement of the Century definition is incorrect, for the same reason applicable to the first; it is too restrictive. There are, and have always been in Louisiana, since a period so nearly contemporary with the beginning of the use of the word "Creole" in the territory as to admit of no argument on the accuracy of the assertion, Creoles of German descent, and of Irish descent, and there are progeny of these whose names would inevitably be mentioned by the informed in an enumeration of representative Creole families of the state, such are the Waguespacks of St. James (German), the McCarthys of New Orleans (Irish), Pollocks (Scotch-Irish).

The last sentence of the Century definition is, in respect of the significance of the word in Louisiana (and I take it to be axiomatic that the meaning of a word must be sought among the people, the exigencies of whose social life gave rise to its employment), an injustice to the Creoles, to whom the title properly belongs, and an injury as pronounced as it is difficult to explain. In plain truth, no white Louisianian ever calls a negro a Creole. Therein lies the key to the whole misunderstanding. It is the negroes themselves who delight in the title, who seek by every means to gather to themselves something of the dignity of their masters, who adroitly turn to the account of that ambition for identification with the whites, which is at once one of the most marked and sinister characteristics of the race, every turn in the confusion which this unfortunate word creates. And there are circumstances in league with this tendency which it may be well to examine: First, the misinformation (I hesitate to ascribe it to anything so petty as prejudice) of writers; second, the fact that the dominant lexicographical meaning imputed to the word embodies the idea of its referring to negroes.

That most sincere, prudent and painstaking examiner, Lafcadio Hearn, has left, among other monuments to his genius in these parts, a quaint little

volume bearing the title "Gombo Zhèbes," in which are preserved proverbs from "six Creole dialects," enumerated as those of French Guayana, Hayti, New Orleans, La., Martinique, Mauritius and Trinidad. Hearn uses the word in its Islands sense, in its general application throughout the volume, but in the introduction he is careful to prefix the adjective *colored* when he refers to negroes. If the word of itself implied the possession of negro blood *even in the Islands*, this most careful and selective etymologist would not have used the *superfluous* prefix *colored*. Yet the fact remains—despite Hearn's curious observation, that even in the Islands and Colonies the word does not *necessarily* involve the idea of negro blood—that in those places and as of these places, the word means, in its quickest use, negro.

Gayarré, in his scholarly and indignant pamphlet, "The Creoles of History and the Creoles of Romance," wherein he inveighs against the fictionist trifling with matters too close to fireside honor for any but the calm and honorable portrayal of the faithful pen, has made the same point as that made by Hearn. He says: "The word Creole in the course of time was so extended as to apply not merely to children born of European parents, but also to animals, vegetables and fruits, and to everything produced or manufactured in Louisiana. There were creole horses, creole cattle, creole eggs, creole corn, creole cottonade, etc. The negroes born within her limits were creoles to distinguish them from the imported Africans and from those who, long after, were brought from the United States."

Here, then, is the sharp point: that the negro, ever in Louisiana a chattel, was but given the distinguishing name of his master, and his master's effects. As the eggs of his master's hens were creole eggs and the kine of his master's field were creole cattle, so he was a creole negro. There were creole Negroes, not negro Creoles; and upon the bald fact represented by this ultimate analysis, corruption and all the vices and vagaries of the languages of a polyglot country have labored to rear the bewildering fabric of confusion into which this most unfortunate of words has resolved itself to-day.

Gayarré himself, the passionate champion of the Creoles of Louisiana, gives us a plain, rational definition: "Creole means the issue of European parents in Spanish or French colonies." P. F. de Gournay, in a scholarly article published in the Magazine of American History, and obviously deriving its inspiration from Gayarré's pamphlet, sharply defines Creole, "The descendant of a Colonist." An old lexicon published at Philadelphia in 1835, The Encyclo-

pedia Americana, edited by Francis Lieber, based upon the seventh edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon, gives a definition, which, carrying with it the warranty of German carefulness, as well as that of having been written at a time nearer the birth of the word, is of interest as verifying what has already been said. The definition is as follows: "Creole (from the Spanish *criollo*) is the name which was originally given to all the descendants of Spaniards born in America and the West Indies. It is also used for the descendants of other Europeans, as French, Danes, in which we say French-Creole, Danish-Creole * * *." It is significant that no reference is had to negro Creoles, though there were thousands of human beings in the West Indies, contemporary with this writing, who might have been so called had not the unyielding distinctiveness of the word prevented its being so employed. Further along in the same writing, is found the following: "In the West Indies the Creoles have always enjoyed equal rights with native Europeans. Before the declaration of independence by the colonies of Spanish America, there existed marked lines of distinction between the different classes, founded on differences of birth. The *Chapetones* were European by birth and first in rank and power; the Creoles were the second; the *Mulattoes* and *Mestizos* (descendants of white and black or white and Indian parents) formed the third class; negroes and Indians the fourth."

The word in Louisiana has suffered from abuses difficult and dangerous to analyze. Those entitled to the name have, with a generosity and hospitality characteristic of their class, admitted to the honorable privileges of the title, families in no sense entitled to its distinction. Such have been persons coming here since the colonial period, speaking French, taking up their residence in the Creole section, adopting the manners and customs of colonial descendants, yet no more entitled by any valid argument to be called Creoles than a Louisianan taking up his residence in Staten Island after the colonial period, might lay claim to the distinction of Knickerbocker. So it is that, with negroes, bastard children and ill-informed writers and lexicographers on the one hand seeking to Africanize the honorable word, and greedy tradesman, or ambitious or obscure vulgarians, planning to elevate themselves commercially and socially under the magical mantle, it would be strange, indeed, did not a confusion exist, which the splenetic and the designing have not been slow in turning to account. Yet the fact remains that, at this late day there is no stemming the tide of misuse to which the word is a victim, and the old and genuine Creoles, admitting to

their ranks the newcomers—with a proper moderate reserve to themselves—are themselves contributory towards the destruction of a term which, in its Louisiana sense, has been accepted throughout the civilized world as among the proudest warranties of a gentle, cultured, patrician people to be found on the Western Hemisphere.

The home life of the Creoles has ever been one of repose, affection and refinement. They are an intensely domestic people, loving their homes and their families, cherishing the tenderest and most considerate affection for their kinsmen to the remotest degree, and recognizing them with no diminution of respect and esteem, even when adversity may have widely separated their ways of life. It is not surprising that a people so affectionate, coming of Latin blood, heated by the warm suns of a semi-tropical country, should be endowed with violent prejudices and passions. So it was that the duello flourished among them as a favorite institution, and many is the proud scion of the race has fallen upon the field of honor. The favorite duelling place of the Creoles was at "The Oaks," now the Lower City Park, and the more immediate scene of some of the most famous encounters was at a collection of oaks known as "Les Trois Soeurs," situated near where is now a Jewish burying ground at the intersection of Gentilly Road and the track of the old Ponchartrain railroad.

Partly as a consequence of the custom of duelling and partly as a cause of that custom, the Creole's inherent respect for women became a reverence. Wives, sisters and sweethearts shared with the church the holiest respect of the Creole gentleman's daily life. Courage, activity and endurance have ever been characteristic of the Creole men, as distinguishing as the beauty and virtue of the women. In every war in which they have been engaged they have won the name of being the most patient and enduring under hardship and fatigue, and the most gallant, daring and unconquerable in action. They possess a fine faculty of adaptability, their cheerful, buoyant, merry nature, making the most of repose and perpetually fortifying itself for the surprising expenditure of energy they are able to put forth when occasion arises.

Leaving care to slaves, the Creoles of the prosperous days before the Civil War, at once kept an eye to the material wants of life, and cultivated the most princely and refined society of the day, educating their sons in Paris, their daughters in the refining and spiritualizing atmosphere of Catholic convents, and so producing a race of fiery, spirited, chivalrous, cultured men and delicately beautiful, modest and charmingly feminine women.

A significant and instructive event in connection with the Creoles of New Orleans occurred on the twenty-fourth day of June, in the year 1886, when by act before Charles T. Soniat, notary public, was chartered the Creole Association of Louisiana. The objects and purposes of the association are set forth in the charter, by-laws and rules of the association, as follows: "Literary, social, charitable, and mutual benevolence; to give one another mutual aid, assistance and protection within the powers of this organization; to disseminate knowledge concerning the true origin and real character, and to promote the advancement of the Creole race in Louisiana." Article third of the charter authorized the association to organize branches in each of the parishes of the state, and as an earnest of the determination of purpose of the organization, Article Nine provided that no dissolution of this association shall take place so long as ten members in good standing shall remain willing to continue. This charter was originally signed by the following gentlemen: A. Schreiber, F. P. Poché, Charles J. Villeré, And. L. Romain, G. A. Lanaux, A. C. Landry, John Augustin, Paul E. Théard, L. And. Burthe, Octave Morel, Frank D. Chrétien, Geo. H. Théard, J. B. Levert, Chas. Letellier, Ete. Camille Mire, James M. Augustin, Louis Burthe, L. V. Porché, Chas. de Lassus, Chas. T. Théard, D. Burthe, Alcée Fortier, Chas. F. Claiborne, Jno. L. Peytavin, Ete. Blanc, P. L. Bouny, Just. Comes, Charles Parlange, Anthony Sambola, Hugues J. Lavergne, L. E. Lemarié, B. Sarraat, Placide J. Spear, C. E. Schmidt, Albert Paul, Horatio Lange, Geo. W. Hopkins, F. Leonce Fazende, A. Mendes, Thomas Layton, J. O. Landry, Wm. Sanchez, Dr. A. B. de Villeneuve, C. A. Phillippi, Leon Fazende, A. J. de l'Isle, F. Formento, M. D., C. M. Isley, Henry Chiapella, Jno. C. Delavigne, Th. Soniat du Fossat, Cyrille C. Théard, Adolphe Calonge, E. J. Méral, E. Surgi, Jas. Thibaut, Paul Fortier, R. La Branche, J. E. De Wint, U. D. Terrebonne, Thos. J. Cooley, Jr., P. Alb. Roquet, Raoul Dupré, Alex. Laroque Turjeau, B. M. Nebrano, Chas. Laudumiey, Chas. Fuselier, Geo. Staigg, Lamar C. Quintero, James Legendre, J. N. Augustin, Dr. A. H. Parra, James L. Lemarié, E. Bermudez, G. T. Beauregard, R. T. Beauregard, George W. Dupré, Geo. Guinalt, Ernest Miltenberger, Jules J. d'Aquin, H. J. Malochée, Wm. J. Graham, Jas. Freret, John A. Betat, J. T. Morel, Oct. Robert, Charles de Gruy, Charles Fourton, F. C. Fazende, C. T. Soniat.

A piece of private history, not heretofore divulged, explains why so distinguished and typical a Creole name as that of the historian, Charles Gayarré, should not have been signed to the charter. The letter is now given, not only

because it is typical of the sensitiveness of the race of which Louisiana's illustrious historian was so distinguished an exponent, but because it casts a quiet side-light upon the proud and self-sacrificing character of Gayarré himself. The letter is addressed to Charles T. Soniat, notary public, under date of June, 1886, and reads as follows:

Dear Sir:—I lately received a postal card requesting me to call at my earliest convenience at your office, No. 13 Carondelet Street and sign the charter of the Creole Association of Louisiana. The postal card is not signed, but presuming that it comes from your office, I address my reply thereto.

I regret to say that, being uncertain of my daily bread, I cannot join any association that would entail any expense on me, and without being in that respect on a footing of equality with all its members.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES GAYARRÉ.

The meeting at which permanent organization of the Creole Association of Louisiana was accomplished, was held at the old Grunewald Opera House, June 20, 1886. At the meeting the following officers were elected: President, F. P. Poché; vice-president, Charles A. Villeré; recording secretary, A. L. Romain; financial secretary, Major John Augustin; treasurer, A. C. Landry.

The president of the association, a late Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, being absent from the city at the time, the address of the occasion was delivered by Col. Villeré, a lineal descendant of the Villeré of the Lafrénière insurrection, and vice-president of the association. This speech was widely reproduced in journals throughout the country at the time, being accepted as an authoritative enunciation by the Creoles, through their own selected mouth-piece. The speech which was very long is here reproduced in its more important parts:

Ladies, Gentlemen and Brothers:—The object of this meeting is to lay before the Association the by-laws and rules adopted by the Board of Control. It has also a greater object—to spread fuller information with regard to our intentions. To those who have not stopped to study our organization, let me give the assurance that they and their children are to receive benefits from its success. We are working for all, "and it shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water that brought forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither."

As your presiding officer, allow me a few remarks on the spirit, the scope and purpose of the Association you are requested and urged to join. * * *

They (the press) realize that we, as Creoles, are combining, not for the advancement of the few to the detriment of the many, but having seriously at heart the prosperity and aggrandizement of the whole State controlling a might, which, strong in favor of good government, could and should, at the proper time, be utilized.

If such an organization is indispensable, the very attacks it has received evidence. It is also clear that Creoles have a dormant power which, if vivified, would be a factor of no mean significance. We shall strive to emulate others. We hope to do, in our sphere, as much good as the New England, the Hibernian, the German, the French, the Swiss, the Italian and other organizations long in existence, and of which numbers of us are members in the best standing.

We have adopted the appellation of Creoles in no exclusive sense. To have rejected it would have been a confession of weakness; it would have been a retreat, and we are mutually pledged to forward march. As Creoles we are known; our manhood revolts against an unfavorable discrimination. As Creoles we entered the race, and we see plainly great results for all, for ourselves, for our posterity.

Let no craven heart enter our ranks. Let no man, repudiating the tongue in which his first prayers were lisped, join us. Let no one so lost to shame, so miserably mean, so abject as to curse his fathers, come to us. But come the brave, patient, the industrious—come, come, crowd our phalanx, and engage in the great work so splendidly inaugurated.

We, Creoles of Louisiana, claim our share of pluck, energy, intelligence and patriotism. Our ancestors colonized the thin, vast limits of Louisiana; they were the first on this continent to sow the seeds of independence and to water it with their life's blood, and from sire to son a most chivalrous spirit was transmitted. We wish to write the history of our people, to hold them up to the light of day, to draw them out of their blameable retirement, to keep fresh in the memory of all, not only the names of the early settlers, but to hold up as exemplary of great citizenship, the careers of Claiborne, Livingston, Johnson, Walker, Porter, ^{Daniels} Boyd, Ogden, Guion, Nicholls, Morse, Thurmman, Fenner, Minor, Nott, Palfey, Baker, Gordon, White, Martin, Urquhart, Rost, Eustis and hosts of others who have made of this State a garden spot and controlled her destinies in their day and generation.

Where now stands an incomplete and neglected monument, Creoles, unarmed, faced the veterans of England, defending all that is most sacred to man.

Ed. not at home N.T.

From Texas to the halls of the Montezumas they acted a glorious part. In the late war, how sublime their record! every battle field is an historic tale of their unsurpassed valor. They were not mere soldiers—stipendiaries of power—they were educated men, who knowing their rights, dared maintain them.

On the 14th of September, a date which should ever be memorable and dear to freedom, and especially so to this great and hospitable city, Creole boys rushed to the front and vied in heroism with veterans of many a hard fought battle. * * * Who dares assert that Creoles have been unworthy of public trust—who dares assert that they have not been jealous of their country's honor as of their own! Have they not given proofs of common sense, practical knowledge, and of the highest order of talent! I refer to the records—they speak in authoritative tones * * * The Creoles of Louisiana have, for this state at least, an interest; they have adopted principles of such liberality; they are prompted by desires so laudable, that they feel confident of the support of all classes, having within the State material or sentimental interests. * * * We have launched an argosy freighted with influence on the true position to be occupied by all those, either of Creole origin or connected with the valiant race by sympathies, ties of blood or affinity. The necessity of this Association, organized under auspices so favorable to its full and proper development, has long been felt, and the minds of our best and truest men were occupied how to combine the shattered forces. "There is a tide in the affairs of men—" To-day we are a corporate body, and we point with exultant pride to the names of our members—soldiers with untarnished fame, jurists and lawyers honored by erudition, unrelenting labors, and integrity of a noble profession; physicians whose acquirements, researches and abnegations should thrill the heart of any community with admiration and gratitude. * * * We are battling for our rights, and under a name, scoffed at, ridiculed, blackened, tortured, deformed, caricatured; our vindication is of importance far and wide. This is our soil; we are in the house of our fathers. It would take the eloquence of Gratton or of Emmet, the persuasive power of Parnell, to convey a feeling as deep as it is natural to the human heart. We have an abiding confidence in the discernment of the generous community in which we live, and I feel assured of the influence and kind services of the pure, self-sacrificing, intelligent women of our State, and in the name of the Creole Association, I express the respect and gratitude of strong and proud men to the fair and accomplished daughters of our beloved Louisiana.

The following letter from the Secretary of the Association was published at the time (June, 1886), in the *Picayune*, and is interesting as explaining somewhat more in detail than the speech of Col. Villeré, the aims and ambitions of the Creole Association:

“Editor *Picayune*: The very kind notice given of the birth of the ‘Creole Association’ by the *Picayune*, the *Times-Democrat*, the *State* and the *Bee* is thankfully acknowledged by the founders of that society. It has encouraged the members of the Provisional Board of Control to crave a space in your columns, so as to further elucidate whatever may seem to be still obscure or mysterious, and in order to develop more fully the exact scope and purpose of the organization.

“As clearly indicated in its declaration of principles, its paramount object, in fact, the very cornerstone of the whole structure, is to disseminate knowledge—not sporadically, but continuously—concerning the true origin and real character of the Creoles of Louisiana, hoping thereby to destroy the many prejudices still existing against them—begotten, no doubt, by ignorance, but fostered by hate—one of the most painful and revolting of which is, that they are of an inferior race and not the equals, as a class, of their fellow-American citizens of another ancestry.

“It is truly amazing that the descendants of the earliest settlers of the Southwest, who are to Louisiana what the descendants of the Dutch and the Huguenots are to New York and South Carolina, should be so persistently misrepresented as the Creoles, whose ancestors, be it remembered, bore that name and received it with becoming pride, as letters patent of nobility issued to them in commemoration of numerous deeds of endurance, valor and industry; while on the other hand, the Knickerbockers of New York and the French Protestants of South Carolina are considered to-day as the very best in the land and eagerly cling to the traditions of the past.

“Yet such is the stern, palpable fact, which is to be met squarely and not evaded, and which cannot be denied, for the evidence is overwhelming; and that, in spite of the occasional efforts of the press of this city to throw light upon the subject, and even while that great congress of American nations, the late Exposition, had thrown open to view the earlier records of Louisiana’s history, and could and did point with particular pride to the ‘Creole Exhibit’ as one of the most complete, as it was assuredly the most replete with gems of artistic and historic value, that could be found therein.

“To correct erroneous impressions, to refute falsehood and to prove by well authenticated history that the origin of the Creoles is as pure and honorable as that of any other race in the land, is a purpose which challenges the approval of all Creoles, who venerate the memory of their ancestors; and which must, as it

already does, meet with the encouragement and the assistance of all patriotic Louisianians, of any ancestry, who should scorn to live on terms of social equality with a race of men which would tamely submit to abuse and slander.

"Our brethren of a different ancestry have the assurance that we do not propose to be exclusive, and that their co-operation is not only acceptable, but earnestly desired and respectfully solicited.

"Another prevalent prejudice against the Creoles is, that as a class, they are ignorant, indolent, dull of intelligence and callous to progress. Thus, in our time we read from correspondents of the press, who are now describing the resources of Western Louisiana, the bold assertion that the tardy advancement of that section of the State is attributable to the character of its early settlers, who were typical Creoles and Acadians, and too indolent for the exigencies of a rising country.

"It is far from our purpose to deny that among the Creoles, as well as with all other races, there are ignorant and slothful people. On the contrary, one of the objects embraced in the programme is to awaken that very class of our people to the necessity of education and to the demands of progress. But at the same time we intend to demonstrate and to protest against the injustice of selecting the weakest element of a race, and to hold it up as a type of that race. Why should writers of romance and of contemporaneous history seek their models of Creoles from the wild and unimproved prairies of the Attakapas and of the Opelousas, while they turn their faces from the many representative Creoles of this city and of other portions of the State, who yield to none in intelligence, in patriotism, and in refinement?

"In contrast with the benighted Creoles, who are unjustly described as types of our race, we turn our eyes to those same parishes, which have given birth to and reared the Montons, de Blancs, de Clouets, Olivets, Grevembergs, Fuseliers, Delahoussayes, Lastrapes, Simons, Gerards, Debalions, Garlands, Dupres, DeJeans, Voorhies, Chretiens, LeBlancs, Martels, Dumartrats and a host of others, whose names are synonymous with intelligence, valor and honor in that region and throughout Louisiana.

"These and many other similar objects are the land-marks of our fields of labor, and we suggest that they are as foreign to the formation and promotion of a political party as science or political economy; and we respectfully submit that all insinuations to the contrary are as unfounded as they are unauthorized.

"By order of the Board of control,

"A. L. ROMAN, Recording Secretary."

Commenting upon the organization of the Creole Association, the *Times-Democrat*, of June 21st, had the following to say:

"Such a movement, so plainly indicated, should have been started long be-

fore this, for it appears fully time, now that the whole country is busy talking and inquiring about them (the Creoles), when writers pretending to say what they are, have stated that they are not, for themselves to rise to a point of personal explanation, as it were, and let the world know something authentic. Owing to these and many other considerations, the meeting to-day, at which the ladies have been invited, will be of great interest, and we heartily welcome this inaugural movement of our native-born."

In connection with the organization of the Creole Association, an effort was made to establish a paper, "*Le Trait d'Union*," which should be, in a way, the official organ of the body. The late A. L. Roman was director of this projected paper. It was to have been published by the Creole Publishing & Printing Company of Louisiana, of whom the following gentlemen composed the board of directors: A. L. Roman, Emile Rivoire, Alcée Fortier, John Augustin and Lamar C. Quintero.

The Creole Association proved to be a chimera and was short lived. It contained within it what was the inevitable germ of dissolution, to wit: political aspiration. The late Hon. P. F. Poché was spoken of as Governor, and an effort was made to focus the influences of the Creole Association upon his candidacy. Internal differences ensued, and in the course of a short while the Creole Association had passed out of existence, and with it, the *Trait d'Union*, which was to have been its organ.

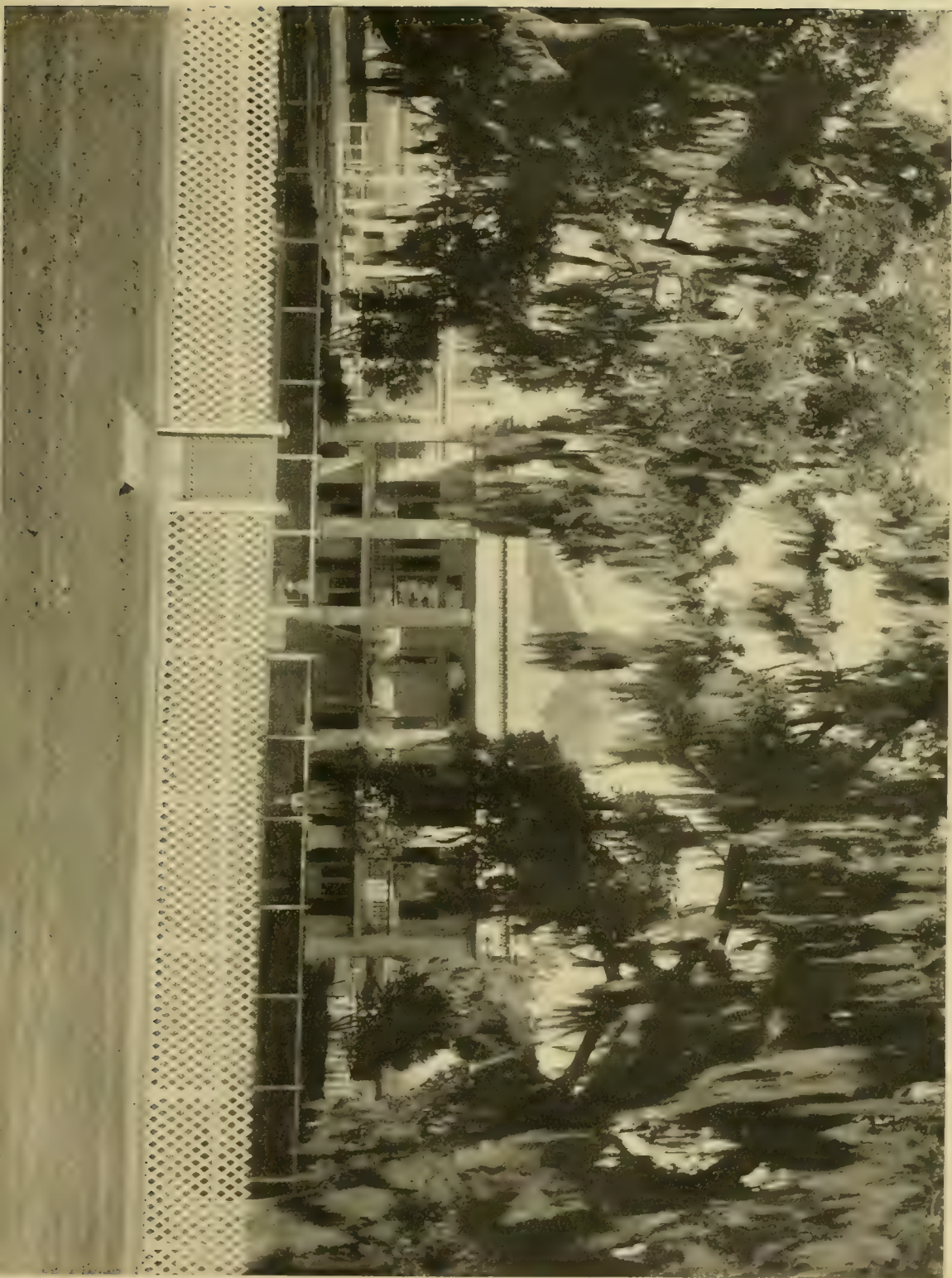
Among some old documents found in the archives of Charles T. Soniat, who was one of the prime movers in the establishment of the Creole Association, and the notary who drew up all the papers, I found upon a yellowed piece of paper an almost undecipherable scrawl which possesses a peculiar interest. It is much interlined and changed, and evidently represents the idea of Mr. Soniat and his friends as to the true meaning of the word Creole. It reads as follows: "None but white Louisiana Creoles shall be admitted as members in this organization. The Louisiana Creole is one who is a descendant of the original settlers in Louisiana under the French and Spanish governments, or, more generally, one born in Louisiana of European parents, and whose mother-tongue is French." Beneath this and on the same piece of paper, scribbled in lead pencil in another handwriting, is the following in French: "*Un natif descendant de parents Européens parlant la langue Française ou Espagnole.*"

Glued, undated, into an old scrap book lent me by a sweet-eyed Creole lady, is the tribute to Creole women, which follows. It is the truest and most sym-

pathetic appreciation of the inspiring subject I have seen. No alien pen could have written what is at once so modest and so faithful, so I make sure it was written by one of themselves. The article is signed simply E. P., and I would I knew who wrote it, that the name might be here set down:

“Not obvious nor obtrusive, but retired, and with but few traces of architectural display, the Creole's home is, nevertheless, the Creole's delight, and the pleasantest realization he has had of the poet's dream of Arcadia. It is so, as well to others than its merry-hearted inmates who may have been so fortunate as to be welcomed within its guarded penetralia, whether they find it located near the whispering waters of one of the beautiful bayous of Louisiana, on the skirts of the waving grass of its prairies, by the music-haunted shores of the Gulf, or scarcely seen through the foliage of oaks and magnolias overshadowing quiet, out-of-the-way villages, or in some of the quaint old streets of the almost deserted *quartier Français* of the ancient city of the Creoles. As these old Creole homes have been, from father to son, inhabited by persons similarly educated and endowed with the same peculiar tastes, the only changes which they have undergone are such as were adapted to the needs of each successive occupant, without materially altering the original design of the homestead. Their reverence for it as the home of their fathers has prevented them from making such additions even to its immediate surroundings as might offend the *genus-loci* of it, or disturb the repose of the sequestered, unsuspected paradise. The old trees—venerable centenarians of the forest—remain to this day where they were planted, untouched and unchanged only in their pendant moss-growths which hang from limb to limb like so many gray beards. The same expansive parterres, with curiously ornamental beds, in which flower the prolific vegetation of southern climes; the same shell garden walks, bordered with trailing ivy and violets, are still there as they were arranged by the cunning hands of their ancestors. Winds, dews, and sunshine, indeed, seem to have leagued with each generation, as it came, against such influences as would mar the beauties of the old homestead, or steal from the revered demesne any of its wealth of flower or foliage, or in any way disturb the peaceful harmony of form and color which have been so pleasantly preserved in the long lapse of years.

“And so the charming old Creole homestead comes down to its occupants of to-day one of the few memorials of olden times, worth preserving, that has been well preserved. There are so many pleasant things all about its rooms and galleries and gardens that one wonders if there be any nook or corner to stow a



new one in. There comes a time, however, during the warm summer months, when an added charm is bestowed upon the old homestead that comes to its neighborhood almost as a spell of enchantment. The pretty Creole maiden, born to it some dozen happy years before, returns to it, from the convent, where she had gone for her education, to spend the summer vacation at home. Like all delicately-reared Creole children, the little demoiselle is such a creature as Vesta and Venus would have moulded, had they been asked to form a petite model which could be expanded in a given time into mature beauty. One looks at the pretty and playful, yet sedate girl, and realizes in her budding beauties of form and feature the assured expectancy of future loveliness as one may, looking at the well-formed and healthful bud, predict the beautiful flower, or in the blossom anticipate the golden fruit that is sure to come in due season. Although she may not have crossed the flowery borders of young maidenhood, one can realize the fascination slumbering in her dark eyes, as their richly-fringed lids droop timidly over them, softening, but not diminishing their brilliance. Already her petite figure is formed with the subtle grace and lightness of a fairy, and her voice is as musical as the song of a bird, the rustle of forest leaves, or the rippling of waters, touched by aerial fingers. Of course, the little Creole maiden takes kindly to music. Life and melody were twin-born with her. She has been, as it were, cradled into song. It is mother's milk to her. Her earliest lullabies were operatic airs. She comes of a musical family, and, as in infancy, its essence supplied her inward feelings, it has quickened her outward observation as she has grown up. She would be untrue to the traditions of her family, the female portion of it at least, if she were not a lover of the *art musical*. She is fond of the flowers of every hue that decorate the old garden-walks, which in their delicate loveliness, seem akin to her, and of the feathered songsters of the woodlands, who cease their song to listen to hers, when in the long summer vacation she visits their haunts, and feeds them with her own hands.

“ Although the Creole maiden is naturally merry and vivacious, there is none of that wild rompishness about her for which others of the same age, but of different training, are often distinguished. Though, at the sound of her voice, Sisyphus would rest upon his stone and pause to listen, there is none of that boisterous merriment which, in other households, defy the rules of etiquette and the frowns of mothers. And yet in all the merry-makings of the neighborhood demoiselle seems at the summit of girlish felicity. In the gay parties given her as she is about to return to her studies in the convent—the feast which ushers in

the fast—she is the merriest of all the demoiselles assembled, and in the livelier measures of the gay cotillon her tiny feet are scarcely visible in the mazes of the dance, fluttering indistinctly in the air like humming bird's wings.

“A year or two elapses—probably more, as fortune smiles or frowns upon the family. One day there comes into this old Creole homestead, with its oasis of verdure, a young girl, pretty as its flowers, happy as its birds. It is our little demoiselle of the vacation. She has finished her education at the convent, and enjoyed a brief but gay season at home or with some of her schoolmates. Orange blossoms shine like stars in the midnight of her hair, and a single rose-bud nestles in the white wonder of her bosom. She returns to her home with the benedictions of Holy Church, a Creole bride. One who had known her when she conned her lessons in the convent's shadowy aisles, realizes that she has not disappointed the promise of her girlhood. And seeing her now, the pretty bud expanded into the consummate flower, surely it is treason to any of the higher forms of beauty to regret the maturity of that which was so beauteous in its budding glories, and wish

The flower to close,
And be a bud again.

“Travel where you will, you will not meet with one so fair, so fresh, so smiling, so graceful, merry, and easily contented as she. See her once, whether in the happy family circle or in the dancing throng, and it is a picture framed in memory's halls, undimmed forever. The sun of a Southern clime has mellowed and matured what the graces of nature, art and fortune assisted in forming. Hers the charm that gives brilliancy and play to every feature. Hers the manner that purifies and exalts all who come within the reach of its influence. Hers the features that delight the eyes, and gladden the hearts of poets, artists and sculptors. She is a special providence to the little world she moves in.

“Of course hers is at once one of the brightest names of the illuminated page of society. In accordance with the law and custom of her peculiar circle, she selects her acquaintances and makes up her list of visiting friends, and is fastidious in her selection. She could not be more so if the destiny of the republic were at stake. None but the select are to be found at her receptions, and to be admitted at her reunions is a much coveted honor. All of the surroundings of her home, even down to the little bits of porcelain of rare *Faience de Diana de Poitiers*—the heirlooms of honored ancestors—are *comme il faut*, elegant and refined. Her days are passed in fêtes and entertainments of every description.

“Is the fair Creole bride given over to the gauds and fopperies of fashionable life? Nay. The brighter parts of her character, which shine with increasing lustre with each passing year, have had their source in another school. Her unbounding generosity, her true nobility of thought and feeling, her courage and her truth, her pure, unsullied thought, her untiring charities, her devotion to parents and friends, her sympathy with sorrow, her kindness to her inferiors, her dignified simplicity—where could these have been learned save at the altars of her faith? At matins and vespers the profane eye that would disturb her devotions might see la belle Creole kneeling at the *Prie dieu* of her oratory, before the Holy Virgin, of unblemished Carrara, with as much abandonment of spirit as others display before shrines where cardinals officiate, and scores of acolytes fling their censers.

“As the years pass the family tree has added branches to it. And as the family increases does the Creole matron give up her pleasant receptions and *bals dansants*? And has the fashionable world only left to it a memory and a tear for what was so brilliant and *recherché*? Not so. Not for her the recluse life of the household cypher or the nursery drudge—

Retired as noontide dew,
Or fountain in the noonday grove.

“It would be pitiable—worse, it would be false to all family tradition. Beside that, society would rebel. Emeutes would prevail. Madame gracefully resumes the throne she had only temporarily vacated, and the social circle continues to be distinguished for its elegance and refinement. She unites the duties of home with the charms of social life. Her graceful influence is felt in both, pleasantly reminding one of the orange tree of her own sunny groves, which bears in its beautiful foliage in the same month the golden fruit of maturity with the fair blossoms of its spring.

“With all her wealth of maternal affection, the Creole matron is not imprisoned in her nursery to be devoured by her children. She has renewed her youth in her children. With her maternity

Another morn
Has risen upon her mid-noon.

“Born of one, she is in her own person that masterpiece of nature’s work—a good mother. Her motherly virtue is her cardinal virtue. Care for her children seems to have contributed indeed to the number and the sensibility of the chords of sympathy and affection. These tender offices of maternal affection

are, as it were, her field duty, while the other and manifold cares of the household are her repose.

"The Creole matron, however, does not squander upon the infancy of her children all the health necessary to their youth and adolescence, nor does she destroy their sense of gratitude and her own authority, and impair both their constitution and temper by indiscriminate and indiscreet indulgence. She is a good little mother, and bestows her maternal care in quality, rather than in quantity. She economizes her own health and beauty as she adds both to her offspring.

"The Creole matron is all the fonder of what her sterner sisters of the North deem frivolities because of her children. For them the gay reception, and the graceful dance are pleasant and harmless pastime, and recreation even acceptable methods of education. In such indulgences her children learn that ease of manner, grace of movement, and the thousand little prettinesses which are so adorable in after years. She has nursed her babies, prepared them for their studies in the convent school, and she thus finishes an important branch of their education which the school books have neglected to furnish.

"And thus *la belle Creole* grows up almost to womanhood under her loving eye. She is not permitted to form intimacies outside of home, nor yet with the first come friends, the ordinary associates of the family, however good and respectable they may be, unless they are in manner and feeling acceptable. She is a brilliant little gem; one, however, possessing only the brilliancy without the hardness of the diamond, but soft and yielding, and too apt to receive impression from coarser materials. The watchful care of the Creole matron may be somewhat relaxed as the mind of *demoiselle* becomes more perfectly formed though the invisible rein is still held with a firm, though gentle hand.

"The Creole matron is the inevitable *duenna* of the parlor, and the constant attendant *chaperone* at all public assemblies. Outside of the sanctuary of *demoselle's* chamber as important a factor in all her movements as the air she breathes, this, her guardian angel, is at her side, an ever-vigilant guide, and protector against aught that may offend the fine feeling, the noble pride, or the generous heart of *demoselle*. And when the time comes for *la belle* to marry she does not trust her own unguided fancies, although she may have read in story books of gallant knights, and had many pleasant dreams of such heroes as live only in the pages of poetry and romance. The Creole matron saves her all the trouble in the perplexing choice of a husband, and manages the whole affair

with extreme skill, tact and ability, exactly as such things should be managed. The preliminaries arranged, the selected husband *in futuro* is invited to the house, the drawing-room cleared of all superfluities, and the couple left to an agreeable tete-a-tete, during which they may behave like sensible children and exchange vows and rings. The nuptial mass at the church follows, as there is no breaking of engagements or hearts in Creole etiquette, and a series of honeymoons also follow of never ending

Delicious deaths, soft exhalations,
Of Soul, dear and divine annihilations;
A thousand unknown rites
Of joys and rarefied delights.

“ In the Creole matron’s matrimonial experience there are neither marriage automats, nor unpitied wrecks on folly’s shore.

“ The Creole matron grows old, as she does everything else, gracefully. She has not been shaken by the blasts of many passions, or enervated by the stimulants of violent sensations. There is no paled reflex of her youthful warmth in the glance she gives to the past, with its buried joys, or the present, with its all-pervading contentment and happiness. She defies care, determines that the torch of friendship shall be inextinguishable, and demonstrates, in her own experience, that the loves of capricious youth can be perpetuated in frozen age.

“ Although the vile spirit of avordupois has added magnificence to her embonpoint, and her waltzing days are over, her pretty well-shaped feet still beat time in unison with the spirit of its music. Although hers is stateliness to the very summit of humble pride, it is yet softened by the taste of its display. She is an artiste of conversation, and her bon mot is uttered with such natural avoidance of offense, and the arch allusion is so gracefully applied that she gives one the idea of a new use of language, and yet she is a marvelous listener. Her complaisance is ever ready; words come of themselves upon your lips merely from finding themselves so obligingly listened to; and whilst others seem to follow the conversation, it is she who directs it, who seasonably revives it, brings it back to the field from which it has strayed, restores it to others without showing it, stopping at the precise point where they can resume it, and never going beyond it, lest her marvelous tact in its skilful management should betray itself. And thus, without perceiving it, she has led the thoughts of others, helped to elicit them, guessed them before they were expressed, supplied them with words, and gathered them on the lip, as they come into happy utterance. And

the gay world may not know how much of the stately dignity the polished ease, the refined elegance that reign supreme in her household is the inspiration of its gay mistress, who remains, in age as in youth, the life and ornament of it.

“And so with the snows of many winters on her head and the sunshine of many summers in her heart, surrounded by three or four generations of children, blessing and blessed, the Creole matron is at length gathered to her fathers. And the beautiful flowers of the earth tell where she, the still more beautiful flower—in life—lies buried in the consecrated ground of the Holy Church, and sunlight and starlight are not the only visitors to its ever fragrant and welcome shade.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MEDICAL HISTORY OF NEW ORLEANS.

BY DR. GAYLE AIKEN.

THE gradual development of medicine in the city of New Orleans is a subject of peculiar interest. We see before us a battlefield, on which a gallant little army of devoted men contended with gigantic forces of disease, pestilence and death. To trace the unselfish and heroic lives of some of the physicians of the past and of the present, to describe the environment in which they labored, the successive visitations of epidemic maladies which they combated, and thus to give some idea of their tremendous life work, will be the purpose of the present chapter.

The city of New Orleans, situated in latitude 29 degrees, 57 minutes and 15 seconds, and in longitude 13 degrees, 5 minutes and 45 seconds from Washington, with an elevation of 0 to 17 feet, possesses a semi-tropical climate, and the prevalent moisture of the atmosphere is clearly shown by the following table:

TAKEN FROM THE WEATHER BUREAU RECORDS EXTENDING BACK TO 1870.

Months.	Mean Temp.	Prevailing Winds.	Partly				Rainy Days.	Rain in Inches.	Hygrom- etry.
			Clear Days.	Cloudy Days.	Cloudy Days.	Days.			
January	54.0	N.	9	12	10	11	5.44	74 ²	
February	58.7	N.	9	10	9	10	4.68	71 ³	
March	62.3	S.E.	11	11	9	10	5.46	71 ²	
April	69.0	S.E.	11	12	7	6	4.96	71 ⁴	
May	74.8	S.E.	12	14	5	9	4.95	71 ⁷	
June	80.6	S.E.	9	15	6	14	6.49	74 ²	
July	82.6	S.E.	9	17	5	16	6.88	74 ⁴	
August	81.8	S.E.	8	17	6	14	6.20	75 ²	
September	78.2	E.	12	12	6	11	5.05	74 ³	
October	70.1	N.	16	10	5	7	3.21	72	
November	61.2	N.	12	9	9	9	4.26	72 ²	
December	55.9	N.	9	11	11	11	4.63	74 ⁸	

On February 13, 1899, the temperature fell to 6.8 above zero, the coldest weather known in this city during the century. The river presented a remarkable spectacle, being full of floating ice. In spite of this intense cold the yellow fever germ survived, and quickened into life in the following summer.

It will be seen that for six months of the year the prevailing winds are from the southeast, and during those six months we have the heaviest rainfall. The air is saturated with moisture and the penetrating power of the solar rays is obstructed. In consequence of this the extremes of heat so often felt in more northern latitudes are rarely experienced here, and sunstrokes and prostrations from heat are of infrequent occurrence. For this reason, also, radiation takes place very slowly, and the summer nights are almost as warm as the days; but the winds which prevail during this season, being from the southeast, and passing over the Gulf of Mexico, bring healthful influences, chlorine and other antiseptic properties, and thus render our summers generally healthy, with a smaller death rate than in the winter.

In such an environment, tropical and malarial diseases found a ready foothold, and the early settlers were decimated by these maladies and by small-pox. The first appearance of yellow fever is lost in the obscurity of a past, the records of which have been almost obliterated. This was due to various circumstances. The unsettled, nomadic, and yet monotonous life of a struggling colony presented little that seemed worthy of record, and the transference of Louisiana from France to Spain, from Spain to France, and from the latter to the United States, resulted in the loss of documents of public interest, since they were written in foreign tongues, and have long been hopelessly entombed in the archives of distant lands. The early physicians, too, who came to the colony, often had in view the sole object of acquiring a fortune and returning to their European homes, and while in Louisiana had no thought of collaboration or organization for scientific research and record. It is, therefore, wisest to acknowledge that the introduction of yellow fever is still an unsolved problem, and has been attributed to many different sources. Dr. Dowler avers that yellow fever did not appear in New Orleans for nearly a century and a half after the Northern States had been devastated by many epidemics. Noah Webster, in his work on "Pestilence," says that when white men arrived in New England in 1620, some of the Indian tribes had been reduced in numbers from thirty thousand to three hundred, by a terrible fever two years previously. The survivors asserted that those affected "bled from the nose and turned yellow, like a garment of that color, which they pointed out as an illustration."

It seems probable, however, that yellow fever has had lodgment on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico since the Europeans first settled on them. The sailors of

Columbus were attacked by a violent fever in the West Indies, and Cortez found a similar disease, with the characteristic "black vomit," much dreaded by the Aztecs, whose cities were sometimes half depopulated by its ravages. LaSalle and his soldiers found a deadly fever lurking on the shores of the Mississippi, where many of these hardy pioneers sank into nameless graves. As early as 1647, Mr. Richard Vines, physician and planter in the Barbadoes, records an "absolute plague of fever," and Mr. Hughes, in his "Natural History of Barbadoes," quotes Dr. Gamble's statement that the "new distemper, pestilential fever, or Kendal fever," was most fatal in 1691.

In the French Islands this fever was called "*fièvre de Siam*," and was believed to be a sinister gift from the effete civilization of the far East to the newly planted life of the Western world. It seems certain that yellow fever first appeared in Martinique after the arrival of ships from Siam, but as these vessels had touched at Brazil, where this form of sickness had prevailed for years, it seems doubtful if the disease can be referred to so distant a source. Dr. Joseph Jones, an eminent authority, declares that "yellow fever has been sporadical in two continents since men born under a cold zone were exposed, in low, torrid regions, to miasmatic atmospheres."

It seems probable that the familiar type of fever known as "yellow" was brought to Louisiana by French settlers from the West Indies. The summers of 1701 and 1704 are recorded as most unhealthy, "*la maladie*" being very prevalent. In the latter year the Chevalier Tonti, Le Vasseur, the Jesuit Donge and thirty soldiers newly arrived, died of it. In 1701 Sauvolle succumbed, and the biographers of Iberville declare that he had an attack of fever at Biloxi, in 1702, which affected his constitution to such a degree that he was obliged to return to France to restore his health. It may be doubted whether this was genuine yellow fever, as the famous soldier and pioneer afterwards died of it in Havana in 1706. Bancroft, who, it is presumed, examined carefully into the facts, notes the great havoc made in Mobile by yellow fever in 1705. The depletion of Bienville's soldiers in 1739 by the same pestilence is mentioned by contemporary writers, but nothing further on the subject is to be found until the influx of refugees from St. Domingo in 1791 brought an invasion of the same scourge.

The governors of Louisiana made gallant efforts, according to the limited sanitary knowledge of the day, to improve the health of the little city. As early as 1726, M. Perrier, on being appointed governor, was charged as follows: "Whereas, it is maintained that the diseases which prevail in New Orleans during the summer proceed from the want of air, and from the city being smothered by the neighboring

woods, which press so close upon it, it shall be the care of M. Perrier to have them cut down as far as Lake Pontchartrain." Towards the end of the century, Baron Frances Louis Hector de Carondelet, governor of Louisiana, constructed a canal from the city to the lake for drainage purposes. All the laborers engaged in the work were carried off by yellow fever, and a violent epidemic ensued. This epidemic of 1796 was the first to attract widespread notice, and the first to be authentically recorded in New Orleans, but the total absence of medical works and journals renders it impossible to give statistics on the subject. A small pamphlet was published in 1796, dedicated to Baron Carondelet, bearing the title, "*Medicaments et preces de la methode de M. Masdevall, medecin du Roi d'Espagne, Charles IV, pour guerir toutes les maladies epidemiques, putrides ou malignes.*" This early benefactor of our colony, M. Masdevall, is said to have been very successful with the Spaniards and negroes, but the American settlers yielded less readily to treatment. These same Americans were accused of bringing the fever into New Orleans during the ensuing years, until 1803, for numbers of them came annually, in pursuit of commerce, from New York and Philadelphia, where yellow fever raged at that time. The Count de Vergennes declared Louisiana to be the first country of the world, as to the mildness of its climate and its happy situation, and the yellow fever was emphatically the "stranger's disease." The medical authorities of the day waged a furious controversy over the importation or non-importation, the contagion or non-contagion of the fever; a dispute not always confined to words, since we read in Dr. Dowler's history of the fever that two physicians of Jamaica, Drs. Bennett and Williams, upheld their opinions at the sword's point, fought a duel over the mooted question, and were both killed!

With varying intensity and at longer intervals or shorter, the disease appeared up to 1816. In the following sixty-five years it infested the city every year, although sometimes mildly and sporadically, with only two exceptions, viz., in 1821 and 1861. It was heavily felt in 1817, 1819 and 1820; a fatal epidemic occurred in 1824, another in 1832, and a still more dreadful one in 1847, when two thousand eight hundred and four victims perished.

The year in which New Orleans suffered most severely was 1853; the first two deaths were reported in the month of May, and the number increased in an alarming manner; in July there were 1,521 deaths, and in the month of August 5,133 occurred from it. It declined very rapidly from that time, and lingered in the city until December, four deaths being reported in that month. During the four months when the fever was at its height, 7,849 deaths plunged the community into gloom

and mourning. No satisfactory explanation of the unusual and excessive virulence of the disease during this outbreak has ever been formulated. The mortality from other causes was also appalling, the total number of deaths being 15,787. This shows a total percentage of 102.42 per 1,000. Only one year in the past eighty-five has equalled this fatal '53. In 1832, the terrible cholera year, the death rate amounted to 147.10 per 1,000. Thus 1853 stands at the head of the list for the greatest mortality in yellow fever, and second in the percentage of deaths from all causes in the last eighty years. The improved sanitation and medication of the day induce the firm conviction that '53 will maintain its sinister pre-eminence, and that our city will never again be subjected to such devastation. A notable fact connected with that epidemic is that only *eighty-seven* of the deaths were reported as natives of New Orleans, 3,855 were not classified, and the remaining 3,907 were nearly all Irish and Germans. The year 1858 was the next most malignant fever year. The population had increased to 165,450, and the reported deaths from yellow fever were 4,855—29.30 per 1,000. Next, 1847 follows in order of severity, 2,804 deaths being reported, 25.80 per 1,000. The year 1878 is next in order; death rate from yellow fever, 19.20 per 1,000; 1837, with a mortality of 19 per 1,000; 1833 is sixth in order, mortality 17.30 per 1,000; 1867 is seventh in rank; mortality, 17.10 per 1,000. In this year the fever began in June, slowly increased in July, was declared epidemic in August, raged violently during September and October, diminished rapidly in November and disappeared about the middle of December. The number of cases was much greater in proportion to population than ever before, but the type of fever was much milder, and the mortality less in consequence. The number of cases in the city has been variously estimated at from 40,000 to 60,000. The mortality among the United States troops stationed here was much higher than among the citizens. Dr. Delery comments upon the remarkable fact that many deaths occurred among the native creole population of French descent. Other notable features of this epidemic were its mildness among the negro population, its sad severity among children, the occurrence of many fatal cases after cold weather had set in, and the fact that it was preceded and followed by many cases of cholera and dysentery.

The year 1878 was the last of the terrible epidemics with which this city has been afflicted. From its inception the fever was most malignant in type, attacking all classes indiscriminately, especially young children. The blind panic of the people was increased by exaggerated reports in the newspapers; never was such selfish and unreasoning terror manifested during previous epidemics. The popula-

tion fled in every direction, abandoning friends and kindred; parents even deserted their children, and the little ones were found dead in bed with their shoes on, having died unattended and alone. The number of cases reported was 23,540 and the number of deaths 4,056. Probably the mortality due to yellow fever was larger, for many cases were reported as malarial, hemorrhagic fever, pernicious fever, congestive fever, cerebro-spinal meningitis, etc. The saddest fact connected with this epidemic was the appalling death rate among children under sixteen years of age.

From 1880 to 1897, except for an occasional sporadic case, the city was entirely free from yellow fever. In 1897-98 and '99 it again made its appearance, and although the type seemed to be extremely mild, the great majority of those attacked recovering after a very short illness, yet many of the cases presented the disease in its most malignant form, the patient growing rapidly and steadily worse from the first development of the characteristic symptoms, until death ended the suffering in a few days.

The first case in 1897 occurred at Ocean Springs, Miss., Past Assistant Surgeon Wasdin, Marine Hospital Service, making the diagnosis and announcement. On September 6 the first case was reported in New Orleans by Dr. Sydney L. Théard. The patient was a child, recently arrived from Ocean Springs, and it died after a short illness. The city at this time was full of fevers, autumnal, bilious, intermittent, remittent, etc., which continued throughout the fall. When it is considered that very many of the practitioners in New Orleans had never seen a case of yellow fever, nineteen years having elapsed without an epidemic, it is not unreasonable to suppose that errors in diagnosis were made, and that many cases reported as such were not yellow fever. A very mild type had apparently replaced the malignant fever of former years. The writer treated about ninety cases of fever between September 1 and December 1, with only three deaths; two of these had received no treatment until the end was near, because of fear of house quarantine.

In all cases reported to the Board of Health, flags were tacked on the residences of the patients and guards placed at the doors night and day. The strictest house quarantine was enforced as far as possible, inflicting the greatest hardship, in many cases, and frequently proving utterly valueless as far as the isolation of the patient was concerned, for the other occupants of the houses passed in and out through side and back doors. In one place, where the writer was attending a fever patient, step-ladders were used by the people of the house and their friends, who climbed over the back fence into their neighbors' premises at will, and passed thence into the street, while the guard sat, supremely unconscious of it all, at the front

door. One noticeable and suggestive fact concerning the fever of 1897 was the number of cases occurring on St. Charles and Jackson avenues. These streets are paved with asphalt and kept scrupulously clean; how shall we explain the prevalence of fever on them, whereas on many unpaved and uncared-for streets, notably Galvez street, which has a wide, uncovered, dirty and ill-smelling canal in the center of it, filled with stagnant water, not a single case of yellow fever was reported?

Notwithstanding the terrible reports circulated by some of the Northern papers as to the condition of affairs in New Orleans, the city, during the summers of '97, '98 and '99 was comparatively healthy, and the mortality reports show a smaller death rate than we find for the same period of time in winter.

A backward glance over these three years leads to the conviction that the greatest cause of alarm and panic was the exaggerated rumors and statements with flaming headlines in the public press. The fever of these years was of the mildest type; no disease was ever milder, or occasioned less actual suffering. Epidemics of typhoid, small-pox, diphtheria, scarlet fever or la grippe in other cities, with far greater suffering and mortality, occasion no such alarm and excitement. The ravages of past epidemics, the mortality and loss, have been fairly stated; it is only fair also to add that in the entire valley of the Mississippi, an area of nearly one-third of a million square miles, the aggregate mortality from yellow fever up to the present time will not exceed that of a single year in old Spain, where it has amounted, by official reports, to one hundred and twenty thousand, in localities free from swamps and even mountainous in character. (Dr. Bennet Dowler.)

It is not the province of this paper to discuss the aetiology, morbid anatomy, symptoms, etc., of yellow fever. But it is proper to add that the cause of this disease is the micro-organism discovered by Professor Guiseppe Sanarelli of the University of Bologna, Italy, and named by him "*bacillus icteroides*."

To save the reader the trouble of wading through an account of the fever as it prevailed each year, and as a matter of convenience and reference, I append a table, chronologically arranged, giving the number of deaths from fever each year from 1817 to 1900, and the population of the city during those years. No record of deaths previous to 1817 has been found:

Year.	Popu- lation.	No of Deaths.	Year.	Popu- lation.	No. of Deaths.
1769	3,100	Fever intro- duced by slaves from Africa (Norman)			
1787	5,284	....	1850	129,747	107
1788	5,338	....	1851	138,599	17
1791	6,245	Fever	1852	147,441	456
1796	8,756	Fever	1853	154,132	7,849
1799	8,810	Fever	1854	156,556	2,425
1800	8,940	Fever	1855	158,980	2,670
1801	9,038	Fever	1856	161,404	81
1804	12,165	Fever	1857	163,828	200
1808	17,081	None	1858	165,450	4,855
1809	17,120	Fever	1859	166,500	92
1810	17,242	None	1860	168,670	15
1811	18,235	Fever	1861	169,907	0
1812	19,229	Fever	1862	171,134	2
1813	20,212	None	1863	172,361	2
1814	21,216	None	1864	173,588	6
1815	22,209	None	1865	174,815	1
1816	23,303	None	1866	178,042	185
1817	24,196	823	1867	181,269	3,107
1818	25,190	115	1868	184,496	3
1819	26,183	425	1869	187,723	3
1820	27,176	400	1870	191,418	588
1821	29,441	0	1871	193,412	54
1822	31,706	808	1872	196,406	39
1823	33,971	1	1873	198,900	226
1824	36,236	108	1874	201,394	11
1825	38,501	49	1875	203,888	61
1826	40,766	5	1876	206,382	42
1827	43,031	109	1877	208,876	1
1828	45,296	130	1878	211,371	4,056
1829	47,561	900	1879	213,865	19
1830	49,826	117	1880	216,359	2
1831	52,455	2	1881	218,500	0
1832	55,084	400	1882	220,705	4
1833	57,713	1,000	1883	223,150	1
1834	60,342	95	1884	226,019	1
1835	62,971	284	1885	228,856	1
1836	65,600	5	1886	231,725	0
1837	68,229	1,300	1887	234,160	0
1838	70,858	17	1888	236,578	0
1839	73,487	800	1889	239,123	1
1840	76,116	3	1890	242,039	0
1841	78,745	1,325	1891	247,180	0
1842	81,374	211	1892	252,027	0
1843	84,003	487	1893	258,533	0
1844	86,632	148	1894	264,149	0
1845	89,261	2	1895	275,000	0
1846	102,070	160	1896	280,039	0
1847	108,699	2,804	1897	285,156	298
1848	115,503	872	1898	290,020	57
1849	122,511	769	1899	294,826	23

The first attempt to prevent the introduction of yellow fever by establishing quarantine was made in 1817. Although far from perfect, it was still a pledge of more efficient and scientific development. The first suggestion for quarantine restriction was made by the first American Governor of Louisiana, W. C. C. Claiborne. Public opinion was distinctly unfavorable, however, and an Act of the Legislature in 1819 repealed the Act establishing a Board of Health, and invested the Governor with authority to establish quarantine at discretion by proclamation. Dr. Dupuy de Chambéry wrote a sketch of the yellow fever in 1819, and claimed that the fever was neither contagious or exportable. This was an opinion generally held by the medical faculty of that day, but Governor Villeré and his successor, Governor Robertson, believing strongly in quarantine, urged the Legislature to pass laws for its enforcement. This was done in February, 1821, a Board of Health was created, with full powers to enforce a quarantine based upon the most rigid code, and protected by heavy penalties. The quarantine station, established at English Turn, cost \$22,000. The Board was composed of twelve members, with Mayor Joseph Roffignac as president ex-officio. These measures appeared to be effective, since no yellow fever appeared in 1821, but as the city was visited by terrible epidemics in 1822 and 1824, the quarantine laws were finally repealed in February, 1825.

Another Board of Health was established in June, 1841, consisting of nine members; three aldermen, three physicians and three private citizens, with ample powers to adopt and enforce sanitary measures. In spite of their efforts, the fever raged that year, numbering its victims in the thousands. This Board of Health was dissolved in 1844, and the General Council invited the Medico-Chirurgical Society to take charge of the sanitary interests of the city. A committee of nine members was appointed, and acts were passed from time to time, but the present system of quarantine was not established until 1855, after the terrible years of '53 and '54. An appropriation of \$50,000 was made, and a quarantine station erected about seventy miles below the city, Dr. Sam'l Choppin holding the position of quarantine physician. A State Board of Health was established and a thorough and systematic method of quarantine gradually evolved. In 1859 there were but ninety-two deaths, in marked contrast to the terrible mortality of 1858, when 4,855 individuals died of yellow fever. During the war the blockade of Gulf ports and the enforced cleanliness of the city saved the community from any visitation. In 1870, Dr. C. B. White, president of the Board of Health, introduced the disinfection of premises with diluted carbolic acid. Although the fever had already gained a foothold in the city, it did not spread, and Dr. White, in 1872, recommended the

use of the same disinfectant in cleansing ships and cargoes at quarantine station. In 1874 Dr. Alfred W. Perry designed and constructed a machine for pumping sulphuric acid gas into the holds of ships. The quarantine detention was relaxed by an Act of the Legislature in 1876, and vessels allowed to come to the city after a brief stay of a few hours at the station. The terrible year of 1878 followed and in May, 1879, Mr. William Van Slooten, chemist to the Board of Health, suggested the disinfection of ships by high temperature. It was impossible to carry this out, as the Board was not supplied with sufficient money, but it was decreed that vessels should be detained for twenty-one days, scraped, fumigated, drenched with carbolic acid, whitewashed and painted.

Dr. Joseph Jones, who assumed the duties of president of the Board of Health in April, 1880, devoted his remarkable scientific attainments to the preservation of the health of the community. He, too, constructed an improved machine for pumping sulphur fumes into the holds of ships. Dr. Joseph Holt was the real inventor of the present system of quarantine. In 1884 Dr. Holt substituted a solution of bichloride of mercury for the carbolic acid and obtained from the legislature an appropriation of \$30,000 to put in operation his plan of maritime sanitation. In 1885 an apparatus was erected, consisting of a sulphur furnace, with a steam-propelled fan attached, connected with a twelve-inch galvanized conductor leading to the hold of the vessel. Dr. Holt also built a heating chamber for the disinfection of clothing, bedding, etc. Dr. C. P. Wilkinson, president of the Board of Health in 1888, suggested some improvements in the heating chamber, and an entirely new plant was constructed in 1889. Dr. S. R. Olliphant, president of the Board of Health in 1890, still further improved the mechanism of this plant, perfecting the "Louisiana system of maritime sanitation." Its efficacy is in no way to be questioned, because of the introduction of yellow fever in '97, the disease having originated in Ocean Springs, Miss., and being brought into the city by the railroads.

The presidents of the State Board of Health, since its organization in 1855, have been Drs. Samuel Choppin, G. A. Nott, A. F. Axson, S. A. Smith, C. B. White, F. B. Gaudet, Samuel Choppin, Joseph Jones, Joseph Holt, C. P. Wilkinson, Samuel R. Olliphant and Edmond Souchon.

In May, 1898, an act was passed providing for the establishment of local parish and municipal Boards of Health. The State Board of Health consists of Dr. Edmond Souchon, president; Dr. Hampden, S. Lewis and Dr. C. A. Gaudet, of New Orleans; Dr. J. C. Egan, of Caddo; Dr. R. A. Randolph, of Rapides; Dr. T. T. Tarleton, of St. Landry, and Dr. W. G. Owen, of Iberville. Dr. G. Farrar Patton

is secretary. Drs. Lewis and Gaudet having resigned, have been succeeded by Dr. Arthur Nolte and Dr. P. B. McCutcheon.

The Board of Health of the city of New Orleans consists of Dr. Quitman Kohnke, chairman and health officer; Dr. Paul Michinard, Dr. Alfred C. King and Messrs. Horace N. Beach and John Delery. Dr. Sydney L. Théard is secretary and sanitary officer. This board employs a chemist and a bacteriologist, and has the use of the fine laboratories of the medical department of Tulane University. Dr. Edmond Souchon is of the opinion that these two bodies, if properly supplied with funds, would save the city from further visitation of contagious disease in an epidemic form.

Asiatic cholera has also played a very important part in the history of New Orleans. The first authentic record we have of its appearance in this city was in 1832. An epidemic of yellow fever already prevailed, when the horror of the situation was deepened by the announcement that cholera had been reported, a case having been discovered on October 25. It spread with alarming rapidity, and out of a total of 8,090 deaths that year from all causes, 4,340 were ascribed to cholera. This was the darkest year in the history of New Orleans, the death rate reaching the enormous proportion of 147.10 per 1,000. The population at this time was 55,084, and more than one-seventh succumbed to disease. The following year, '33, was also marked by a cholera visitation; this disease claimed 1,000 victims out of a total of 4,976 deaths. It reappeared in 1848, destroying 1,646 inhabitants. The city was infested with this malady for seven years; in 1849 it raged in an alarming manner, carrying off 3,176 victims. This was its last virulent visitation. In 1850, '51, '52, '53 and '55 it was heroically combated by the medical profession, and many able treatises were written on the subject. The gradual disappearance of cholera has been, at least, one hopeful feature of the pathological history of the city.

Small-pox, also, committed great ravages among the early settlers of Louisiana and before the introduction of vaccination. Thirty-five years after the foundation of the colony, historians notice the prevalence and fatality of this disease. Vaccination was introduced a little later than 1802, and since that time, up to 1861-1865, New Orleans has been almost exempt from destructive epidemics of small-pox. In 1849 the deaths from small-pox were 133; in 1857, 103; in 1858, 108. During the civil war the disease committed greater ravages, the deaths in 1864 being 605; in 1866, 613; and in 1870, 528; 1877 was the year in which small-pox reached its height, 1,099 deaths from it being reported. During the forty years extending from 1844 to 1883, there was a total of 7,070 deaths from this cause.

We have reviewed the devastations caused in our community by various epidemic diseases. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to short sketches of some of those whose duty and ambition it was to foil the attacks of these terrible foes to human life. The earliest physicians who visited the struggling colony and ministered to the sick have left but few names to be gratefully remembered by posterity. In 1710 Dr. Jallot is mentioned; in 1722, Dr. Navarre, and the famous Dr. Masdevall, who practiced in 1796. These are the only three names on record in the eighteenth century. The early years of the nineteenth century are more prolific. Dr. Martin, Dr. Rollins, Dr. McConnell all left distinguished reputations, while Dr. Davidson and Dr. Kerr won distinction in the epidemics of 1817, 1819 and 1822.

Dr. Edward Barton, a Virginian by birth, settled in New Orleans in the first or second decade of the century. He made a careful study of yellow fever and wrote much on the subject, advocating the theory that, under favorable meteorological and terrene conditions (notably, the digging and upturning of the soil in summer), the dreaded disease might *originate* in the city. This was violently opposed by the believers in the invariable importation of yellow fever, and the perfect efficacy of quarantine as a preventive. Dr. Barton filled the chair of *Materia Medica* and *Therapeutics* in the University of Louisiana from 1835 to 1840. He died in 1867.

Dr. William Newton Mercer was a very prominent figure in the New Orleans of ante-bellum days. He was a native of Cecil county, Maryland, born in 1792. He had every educational advantage during his youth, and was, for several years, a pupil of Dr. Benjamin Rush, in the University of Pennsylvania. After graduating with honors, Dr. Mercer was appointed assistant surgeon in the army, about the beginning of the war of 1812. He came to New Orleans with the army in 1816, but was soon ordered to Natchez, where he resided for some years, winning a high position in the community by his sterling character and his lofty integrity. Dr. Mercer returned to New Orleans in 1843, and soon became one of its most honored citizens. He erected a handsome dwelling on Canal street, where he dispensed a courtly hospitality. His deeds of kindness and charity have left an enduring record in this city. St. Anna's Asylum, one of our most worthy charities, was liberally endowed by him in memory of the lovely daughter, who died in her twentieth year of consumption. In conjunction with Dr. Duncan, of Natchez, Dr. Mercer paid an installment due on the home of Henry Clay, who would have been involved in bankruptcy but for the timely aid so generously tendered to him. Dr. Mercer was, in sentiment, loyal to the Union, but he shared all the hardships of his fellow citizens

during the war, and was enabled to assist and protect many unfortunate families, through the respect and confidence he inspired, even in the Federal authorities. He refused to take the oath of allegiance, but gave into the hands of the provost marshal a list of all his property, retaining \$2,000 in gold for his support. This sum he reported to General Butler, who left him in undisturbed possession of it. Dr. Mercer lived in New Orleans for some years after the war, the type of a generation of courteous and noble gentlemen.

Dr. Alfred Mercier shed upon the city of his birth not only the lustre of professional ability, but also the soft radiance of literary talents of a high order. Born in 1816, he lived through the stirring events of the century and died in 1894. Dr. Mercier was a graduate of the College of Louis le Grand, having received his medical education in France. He was the secretary of the *Athénée Louisianaise*, and a leading spirit in literary circles, being a distinguished Latin, Greek and Italian scholar. "The Rose of Smyrna," "The Hermit of Niagara," "St. Ybars Plantation" and "Lidia" are among the most charming productions of his pen.

Dr. C. A. Luzenberg was born of Austrian parents in the city of Verona, Italy, in 1805. His father removed to Germany, where the talented youth received his education, and acquitted himself so brilliantly that the Mayor of Wissenburg is said to have removed his hat in the presence of the elder Luzenberg, saying: "Sir, I must uncover my head before the man who owns such a son!" Dr. Luzenberg emigrated to Philadelphia in 1819. Becoming deeply interested in tropical fevers, he decided to settle in New Orleans, where the field for study would be varied and extensive. He accordingly located in the southern metropolis in 1829 and was shortly after elected house surgeon of the Charity Hospital. Dr. Luzenberg devoted his talent and energy to combating yellow fever, the scourge which then visited the city almost every year. He revolutionized the medical practice of the day. Instead of using calomel and purgatives, he treated the disease by general and local bleeding. This method was met by violent opposition and fierce invective was resorted to in the medical journals of the day to combat this heresy. Dr. Luzenberg was the first practitioner in New Orleans who excluded light from the apartments of small-pox patients, having noticed its baleful influence in the disfiguring effect of the malady. In 1832 the Doctor contracted a wealthy marriage with Mrs. Mary Ford and enjoyed an extensive European tour, visiting all the hospitals, studying, comparing, analyzing with inexhaustible energy. His return to New Orleans was greeted with enthusiasm. The charitable impulses of his nature led him to devote two hours daily to the service of the poor and to offer, during an epidemic, to treat

all indigent Germans gratis. With the wealth now at his disposal he built a private hospital on Elysian Fields called the Franklin Infirmary. The operations performed by Dr. Luzenberg entitled him to rank among the foremost surgeons of the century. In removing a cancer he made a complete extirpation of the parotid gland; the patient, a man of sixty-two, survived and lived, in good health, for several years. He also made an excision of six inches of the ileum, and distinguished himself by tying the primitive iliac artery for the cure of an aneurism of the external iliac. Dr. Luzenberg's specialty was the removal of cataract, and many grateful eyes owed the blessing of sight to his skill. This wise physician was Dean of the Medical College of Louisiana, which he originated, delivering lectures in the old State House on Canal street and giving demonstrations in the Charity Hospital. Dr. Luzenberg also filled the chairs of Anatomy and Surgery in 1835. This man of strong character, fearless and outspoken, was persecuted and maligned by many enemies, and his life was embittered and saddened by their machinations. He withdrew voluntarily from the college, but was expelled from the Physico-Medical Society, and sued for mal praxis in the Criminal Court. The suit was carried to the Supreme Court of Louisiana, where Dr. Luzenberg was triumphantly acquitted. He endured these trials with dignity and courage, turning a deaf ear to those who counselled flight, or withdrawal from the scene of so many labors. He remained, endured and conquered. He now devoted himself entirely to the Charity Hospital, and in spite of opposition was elected an administrator, and afterwards vice-president, a position which he held for the rest of his life. The research and experience of years were to have been embodied in a work on yellow fever, but although he collected much data, it was never arranged and completed. In 1839 Dr. Luzenberg founded the "Society of Natural History and Sciences," and in 1843 he formed and incorporated the "Louisiana Medico-Chirurgical Society." In 1843 he was appointed physician to the Marine Hospital. As there was no government hospital, he appropriated his own, and filled the house with comforts and the garden with curious specimens of vegetable and animal life to amuse the invalid sailors. They were removed from his care for political reasons, and he then received into his hospital the invalided soldiers of the Mexican war. Dr. Luzenberg's health failed in 1848, and he left the city to find strength at some Virginia springs, but died en route in Cincinnati, July 15, 1848.

Dr. Erasmus Darwin Fenner inherited his love of medicine from his father, a distinguished physician of a fine North Carolina family. He graduated at the University of Transylvania, Ky., and commenced to practice in Jackson, Tenn. He

married in 1832, but lost his young wife in 1837, and cherished her memory with unswerving fidelity throughout his long and useful life. In 1840 he removed to New Orleans with his little son, to whose education he devoted all his leisure hours. Then ensued some years of poverty and obscurity, through which the Doctor struggled sturdily towards the prominence and success which he finally achieved. In 1844 he published, in collaboration with Dr. A. Hester, the *New Orleans Medical Journal*. So low were the funds of the two editors that the *Journal* was published on credit, but each number managed to pay its way, until it was absorbed in the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* (1848), a publication to which Dr. Fenner contributed largely and brilliantly. Three of his most valued articles were two accounts of the yellow fever prevailing in 1846 and 1848, and a pamphlet entitled, "History of the Epidemic of Yellow Fever in New Orleans in 1853." Dr. Fenner was an ardent advocate of sanitary measures, but his advice was indifferently received. The earnest object of his life was attained when he established, with the aid of some kindred spirits, the *New Orleans School of Medicine*, in 1856. The faculty of the new school was as follows:

Dr. E. D. Fenner, Dean of the Faculty and Professor of Principles and Practice of Medicine.

Dr. J. M. W. Picton, Professor Diseases of Women and Children.

Dr. Thos. Peniston, Professor Chemical Medicine.

Dr. Samuel Choppin, Professor of Surgery.

Dr. C. Beard, Professor of Anatomy.

Dr. Howard Smith, Professor of Materia Medica.

Dr. I. L. Crawcour, Professor of Medical Chemistry.

Dr. A. F. Axson, Professor of Physiology.

Dr. Warren Brickell, Professor of Obstetrics.

Dr. Anthony Peniston, Adjunct Professor of Anatomy.

Dr. Fenner's eloquence and energy secured to the students and professors of the school all the privileges of the Charity Hospital. He also procured from the Legislature an appropriation of \$20,000 for enlarging the buildings and increasing the museum. The new school opened in 1856 with a class of seventy-six students. It closed its doors at the beginning of the civil war on two hundred and forty-seven, many of whom shouldered their muskets until the close of the fateful struggle permitted the survivors to resume their interrupted studies. The school was used as a negro school during Federal domination, but was reorganized and reopened in 1865. Dr. Peniston being dead, the chair of Anatomy was filled by Professor Henry F. Campbell, of Georgia, and that of Physiology by Dr. Alfred C. Holt of

Mississippi. After a few sessions, and after the death of Dr. Fenner, the New Orleans School of Medicine ceased to exist.

Dr. Fenner originated the Louisiana Hospital in Richmond during the war and proved his devotion to his native South by refusing to take the oath of allegiance. He was banished by General Butler, and went to Mobile, where he remained until the end of the war. He returned to New Orleans when peace was established, resumed his extensive practice, and was pursuing his career with unabated energy, when he suddenly succumbed to fever, May 4, 1866. Dr. Fenner was a man of sociable and lovable character, and was remarkably devoted to children. He left an honored name, which has been worthily borne by his son, Judge Charles E. Fenner.

One of the most widely-known physicians of New Orleans, remarkable alike for great talent and virile and heroic personality, was Dr. Warren Stone. He was professor of Surgery in the University of Louisiana for thirty-five years, and surgeon of the Charity Hospital for thirty-nine, so that his name would seem to be identified with all that is wisest and best in the history of both institutions. He first saw the light in the remote town of St. Albans, Vt., in 1808. A fine mother gave him a frame of superb proportions and iron nerve, and a nature full of lofty ambition and honorable ideals. Dr. Stone's education was conducted by private tutors, as the schools of that day were but poorly equipped, and he became a pupil of Dr. Twitchell, an eminent surgeon and physician of Keene, N. H. He frequently declared that he was indebted to Dr. Twitchell for the most valuable portion of his extensive professional knowledge. He was an ardent student, and when he graduated from the medical school in Pittsfield, Mass., in 1831 he was thoroughly equipped in all the practical branches of medicine. In 1832 he started from Boston, by sea, for New Orleans, but the brig *Amelia* met with violent storms, cholera appeared among the passengers and crew, and the unfortunate vessel finally ran aground on Folly Island, at the entrance to Charleston harbor. The unfortunate passengers were supplied by the generous people of Charleston with all needful and medicines, and Dr. Thomas Hunt, a distinguished physician, rendered devoted attention to the sick. The *Amelia* was burned as a necessary sanitary measure, but another vessel being chartered to convey the passengers and crew to their destination, Dr. Stone at last landed in New Orleans, friendless and poor, at a time when yellow fever and cholera were both raging. Through the kindness of Dr. Cenas, young Stone received some employment in connection with the Charity Hospital. His unusual ability and industry soon made a favorable impression upon all around him.

When Dr. Hunt, with whom he formed a warm friendship during the sad days on Folly Island, removed to New Orleans from Charleston, and was appointed resident surgeon at the hospital, he secured for Dr. Stone the position of assistant to Dr. Picton. So clearly were his abilities demonstrated in this post that he was appointed resident surgeon of the hospital in 1836. One of his biographers says, in reference to this advancement: "Never was so elevated a professional office so meritoriously acquired; never was one so ably and satisfactorily filled. Now was fully inaugurated a career never enjoyed by any surgeon in America. Known and endeared to the people by his services in the hospital, particularly in the free dispensary, which was filled by a large and anxious crowd every mid-day in the week; elected in 1836 lecturer on Anatomy, and in January, 1837, professor of Anatomy by the petition of the admiring class, and, on the resignation of Prof. Luzenberg, lecturer on surgery, he became, at the next session, professor of Surgery, the leading and most eminent surgeon and physician in the city, the most celebrated and popular professor in the school, until his resignation in 1872."

In November, 1849, Dr. Stone operated successfully in a case of traumatic aneurism of the vertebral artery, by incising the sac, turning out the coagulum and controlling the artery by a graduated compress. He also enjoys the humane distinction of being the first to use chloroform for the alleviation of suffering, in New Orleans, on the 25th of February, 1847.

Dr. Stone built and conducted a private infirmary at the corner of Canal and Claiborne, for some years, from 1859 to 1867. Dr. William Kennedy, a prominent physician of the day, was associated with Dr. Stone in this, and although much practical good was achieved, the enterprise was financially unsuccessful and was finally abandoned. At the outbreak of the war, Dr. Stone was appointed Confederate surgeon-general of the State of Louisiana. He was present at the battles of Bull Run and Shiloh, and devoted his fine surgical skill to the alleviation of the wounded soldiers. When New Orleans was in the hands of the Federals, he was sent to Fort Jackson, where he treated the Federal soldiers free of charge. But, gladly as he rendered aid to the suffering, regardless of sectional or political feeling, he was never in the least "reconstructed," but remained to the end an enthusiastic Democrat, the devoted friend of Jefferson Davis. Dr. Stone lost the sight of one eye in 1841 from an inflammation contracted from a little patient. Dr. Stone was a frequent contributor to the Medical Journal. Among his important articles may be mentioned "The Treatment of Wounded Arteries," "Ligation of the Common Iliac Artery," "Inflammation" (1859), and "Pulmonary Tuberculosis"

(1866). The wise physician, so kind of heart, keen of wit, generous of hand, laid down the burden of his earthly cares, and entered into his rest, December 6, 1872.

Dr. T. G. Richardson, born in Lexington, Ky., in 1827, received a complete medical education in the University of Louisville, and afterwards enjoyed years of profitable intercourse with the celebrated Dr. Gross, whose private pupil he was. He was appointed demonstrator of Anatomy in the medical department of the University of Louisville, immediately after his graduation in 1848. He accepted, in 1856, the chair of Anatomy in the Pennsylvania Medical College. He acquired a reputation at the age of twenty-nine, by the publication of a text-book entitled "Richardson's Elements of Human Anatomy." While in Philadelphia, Dr. Richardson edited, with Dr. Gross, the "North American Medico-Chirurgical Review." He removed to New Orleans in 1858, to occupy the chair of Anatomy in the Tulane University of Louisiana, which he retained until 1872. Dr. Richardson then accepted the chair of Surgery, which he occupied for seventeen years. He was dean of the medical department of Tulane University from 1865 to 1885, and was emeritus professor of Surgery until his death. Dr. Richardson was president of the American Medical Association during the year 1877-78, and presided at the session held in Buffalo. As surgeon of General Bragg's staff, Dr. Richardson followed the fortunes of war from 1862 to 1865, returning to his home, with a heart crushed by the defeat of his country and his cause. A terrible domestic bereavement was added to the sorrows of the patriot; he lost his wife and three children by the explosion and wreck of a Mississippi steamboat. These sorrows, endured with courage and submission, probably emphasized the cold reserve and dignity of his manner. His devoted friend, Dr. Edmond Souchon, tells a story which illustrates his courage and devotion to duty. Being called to a patient who was bleeding profusely, he introduced the tiny silver canula into the vein at the elbow, and in the simplest way told Dr. Souchon, his assistant, to introduce the other end into his (Dr. Richardson's) vein, thus giving his own blood to restore the patient, but in vain. Dr. Richardson died on May 26, 1892, but a noble memorial has been erected to him by his wife, Mrs. Ida A. Richardson, in the superbly fitted medical college, for the building of which she donated one hundred thousand dollars.

Dr. Samuel M. Bemiss was of Revolutionary stock. His father was thrown early on his own resources, and acquired a medical education in the face of countless difficulties. He settled in Kentucky, where Dr. Samuel Bemiss was born. He enjoyed the distinction of being the first matriculate of the University of New York,

where he graduated in 1845. He, too, like the other doctors we have mentioned, bore a gallant part in the troubled years from '61 to '65, serving as surgeon in the Confederate army. At the termination of the war, he returned to Louisville, but shortly after, in 1866, he accepted the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Louisiana, which he filled up to the day of his death. Dr. Bemiss was noted for conservative opinion, and careful and painstaking practice. In 1878 he was chairman of a commission appointed to investigate the origin and spread of yellow fever in the interior of Louisiana. He visited a number of infected towns and made an elaborate report of his investigations. Dr Bemiss was for some years senior editor of the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, and his facile pen contributed to numerous scientific magazines. He was a member of the American Medical Association, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Louisville, of the Kentucky State Medical Society, of the Boston Gynæcological Society, and of the State Medical Association of Louisiana. Dr. Bemiss died the 17th of November, 1884.

Dr. Samuel Choppin, born in Baton Rouge, in 1828, graduated at the University of Louisiana, in 1849. He spent two years in Paris to complete his medical education, and while there witnessed the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon in 1851, and but narrowly escaped with his life, on one occasion, being one of a defenseless crowd, which was suddenly and unexpectedly fired upon by soldiers. On his return to New Orleans he was appointed demonstrator of Anatomy in the Medical College, a position which he held for five years, and during the same period he was house surgeon of the Charity Hospital. He devoted much time to the literature of medicine, and was associate editor of the *New Orleans Medical and Hospital Gazette*, which printed his "Notes on Syphilis." In conjunction with Drs. E. D. Fenner, D. W. Brickell and C. Beard, Dr. Choppin took an active part in organizing the New Orleans School of Medicine in 1856. He served as medical inspector, and surgeon-in-chief to General Beauregard and was present at the siege of Charleston and Petersburg. On his return to New Orleans, after the war, he formed a partnership with Dr. C. Beard. His deepest sympathies were enlisted in the struggle of his native State with the radical despotism, and he was one of the leaders and organizers of the revolution of September 14, 1874. Dr. Choppin was president of the Board of Health in 1876. He made a gallant struggle to protect the community from the invasion of yellow fever, but failed in 1878. The treachery of seeming friends, the misrepresentations of the press, embittered his last years. He died of pneumonia, on May 2, 1880.

Dr. John Dickson Bruns was a man of rare culture, who united to professional ability the charm of fine scholarship and poetic talents. Born in Charleston, S. C., February 24, 1836, he graduated at the Medical College of South Carolina in 1857, on which occasion his thesis entitled "Life, its Relations, Animal and Mental," won a prize of one hundred dollars. After traveling in the North, and attending lectures there, Dr. Bruns returned to Charleston, and edited the Charleston Medical Journal in 1858. He was the friend of Sims, the novelist, and of the gentle poet Timrod, delighting both by his youthful enthusiasm and eloquence. He married in 1858. After the fall of the Confederacy, which had been the object of his devoted allegiance, Dr. Bruns spent several months in Europe, and in the autumn of the same year (1866) accepted the chair of Physiology and Pathology in the Medical School of New Orleans. He was afterwards elected professor of Practice of Medicine in the Charity Hospital Medical School. He was associated for several years with Drs. Choppin, Beard and Brickell, in practice. His pen was ever active and his poems are full of chaste and delicate fancy. "Morituri Salutamus" is a poem," said the Times-Democrat, "which we fully believe deserves a permanent place in the gallery of English chef d'œuvres." His most brilliant scientific papers appeared in the Southern Journal of Medical Science (1867) and in the New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal (1880).

A noted name in the list of New Orleans surgeons is that of Dr. A. W. Smyth. He held for many years the position of house surgeon in the Charity Hospital, to which he was elected in 1862. Dr. Smyth's unusual mechanical gifts led to the introduction of many improvements in the domestic arrangements of the hospital. But his fame rests securely upon the fact that he was the first surgeon who successfully performed the operation of tying the innominate, the vertebral, and other arteries for the cure of subclavian aneurism. Dr. Smyth was a graduate of the Medical College of Louisiana. An Irishman by birth, he has returned to his native land to spend his declining years.

The pathos of an early death, a brilliant career brought to an untimely close, is associated with the name of Dr. Albert B. Miles, one of the most esteemed physicians of late years. Dr. Miles was a native of Alabama, and was born in 1852. An education begun in the Gordon Institute of Arkansas was completed at the University of Virginia in 1870, when he graduated at the age of eighteen. Coming to New Orleans in 1872, he began the study of medicine, and became a resident student in Charity Hospital, April 7, 1873. He graduated in 1875, and was at once

elected demonstrator of Anatomy in the medical department of the University. After filling the position of visiting physician to the Hospital and of assistant house surgeon, he was appointed physician in charge of the Hotel Dieu, and in 1882, house surgeon of Charity Hospital, which he remained until his death, of typhoid fever, August 5, 1894. He made a gallant struggle for life, and when gently informed that the end was near, exclaimed, "So soon!" A sentiment soon echoed by the whole community, which had expected so much from this brilliant and useful life! Dr. Miles was a member of the New Orleans Medical and Surgical Association, of the Orleans Parish Medical Association, and of the Louisiana State Medical Society.

Dr. Charles Jasper Bickham resided in New Orleans for thirty-eight years, and enjoyed the respect and affection of his fellow citizens, while his urbanity to the younger members of the profession led to an extensive consulting practice. He was born in Covington, Louisiana; after receiving the degree of M. A. from the Southwestern University of Texas, he studied medicine in New Orleans, and graduated in 1856. He assisted Dr. Stone in surgery, both in the doctor's own hospital and in the Charity Hospital. Dr. Bickham practiced medicine in Shreveport for a time, served as surgeon in the Confederate army during the war, and afterwards settled permanently in New Orleans. He held the position of demonstrator of Anatomy in the University from 1867 to 1872; he was also at different times an administrator of the Charity Hospital, a member of the Louisiana State Board of Health, and of the Orleans Parish Medical Society. Dr. Bickham died February 14, 1898.

Dr. Joseph Jones occupies a notable position as an authority on yellow fever, the malady which has engaged the attention of so many learned minds. Dr. Jones devoted years to the most careful and minute researches, and his work entitled "Medical and Surgical Memoirs" contains a wealth of information, statistics and scientific data. Dr. Jones was president of the State Board of Health, assuming the office in April, 1880. He was also connected with the University for many years as professor of Chemistry. His range of culture was very wide; he was the leading archæologist of the South, and made a collection of rare and antique arms, pottery, etc., which is justly an object of pride to the whole city.

The limited scope of this chapter will not permit more than a mere mention of many well-known and honored names. Dr. John Leonard Riddell, the inventor of the binocular microscope, Dr. Isadore Labatut, Dr. Thos. Hunt, Dr. James Jones, Dr. Brickell, the friend and partner of Dr. Bruns, Dr. Austen, Dr. Holliday,

Dr. Sam'l Logan, devoted their lives to scientific research, or to practical labors among the suffering members of the community. At present the city can boast of many able physicians: Dr. Ernest Lewis stands pre-eminent in Gynæcology, as does Dr. Rudolph Matas in Surgery. Dr. John B. Elliott in the theory and practice of medicine. Dr. Castellano, a writer and scholar, as well as a talented doctor; Dr. Loeber, full of years and honors—all these and many more will leave an enduring mark upon the history of the medical profession in New Orleans. Dr. Stanford E. Chaillé fills with dignity and ability the office of dean of the medical department of the Tulane University. Dr. Chaillé is of fine French lineage. His ancestors settled in Maryland, but his father removed to Mississippi, and Dr. Chaillé has made New Orleans his home for many years.

The School of Hahnemann has been represented in New Orleans since 1841, when Dr. Taxile, of Toulon, France, settled here as the pioneer of homeopathy. He had been an illustrious allopath, and chief physician of the civil hospital in Toulon. He practiced until his death in 1857, and left three disciples to continue his labors, Dr. D'Hemecourt, Dr. Dupaquier, Dr. Cabosche and Dr. S. W. Angell. The ranks of homeopathy were recruited by Drs. Adolf and Jules Cartier, and then by Dr. Julius Matthieu, the first American member of the new school of medicine in New Orleans. Dr. Matthieu was born in this city, and graduated at the Louisiana State University, having since pursued a professional career of marked success for many years. Dr. J. G. Belden, a graduate of the Boston College of Physicians, moved to New Orleans in 1846, and attended to a large clientele with success, until his death in 1897. His son, Dr. Webster Belden, has inherited his father's practice. Dr. Charles J. Lopez, a native of Cuba, located in New Orleans in 1869, graduated at Tulane University in 1873, and is still in active practice. Dr. Gayle Aiken, born in Charleston, S. C., and a graduate of both Tulane University and of Hahnemann Homeopathic College in Chicago, has been a resident of New Orleans since 1882. Dr. S. R. Angell, Dr. Charles R. Mayer, a graduate of Hahnemann Homeopathic College, Chicago, Dr. D. Arthur Lines, a graduate of Pulte College, Cincinnati, David M. Lines, and Dr. Robert D. Voorhies, who took his diploma at Herring College, are among the best known homeopathic physicians of the city.

Dr. William H. Holcombe deserves an extended notice for the services rendered by him to the cause of homeopathy, not only in this city, but throughout the South. He was not only the wise physician, with the genius of diagnosis, but the cultured man of letters, whose versatile pen was constantly employed in the composition of medical essays and pamphlets, poems, novels, and works of a religious character. Dr. Holcombe was born in Lynchburg, Va., May 29, 1825. He was of good old

Virginia family, his grandfather having served in the Continental army. His father was a distinguished physician of the old school, and young Holcombe, who early manifested his taste for his chosen profession, was sent to the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, where he graduated in 1847. He removed to Cincinnati, and it was there, during an epidemic of Asiatic cholera, that he became interested in the study of homeopathy. The marked success he met with in his experimental use of it induced him to devote himself to the new school of medicine, and he became one of its most talented disciples. Dr. Holcombe removed to Natchez in 1852, where he and Dr. Davis, his partner, were appointed physicians and surgeons to the Mississippi State Hospital. In 1864 he located in New Orleans, where he made his home until his death, November 28, 1893. He was chairman of a yellow fever commission in 1878, and published an excellent report of the work done during the epidemic of that year. Dr. Holcombe was for many years co-editor of the *North American Journal of Homeopathy*, and was president of the American Institute of Homeopathy in 1876. In 1852 he published "*The Scientific Basis of Homeopathy*," and in 1856, "*Yellow Fever and Its Homeopathic Treatment*." He was the author of a number of medical treatises, of two volumes of poetry, and of eight religious works, embodying the doctrines of Swedenborg. His last literary composition, "*The Truth About Homeopathy*," was completed only a few days before his death. Dr. Holcombe was a man of lofty and noble nature, and of tenderest charity, a true philanthropist, winning the respect and devotion of all who knew him. In the midst of his labors he succumbed, quite suddenly, to heart disease.

A monthly paper, *L'Homoion*, was published by the "*Société Hahnemannienne de la Nouvelle Orléans*," a society organized in 1859, but soon dissolved. During the yellow fever of 1878, the New Orleans Homeopathic Relief Association was organized, for the purpose of furnishing doctors, nurses and medicines to the sick, and also food and clothing, when necessary. Its headquarters were at No. 132 Canal street, and it published and distributed, free of cost, a pamphlet entitled, "*Guide for Diagnosing, Nursing and Medicating Yellow Fever*."

The Hahneemann Medical Association of Louisiana was organized in New Orleans in 1880, but it was not incorporated, and after meeting in different cities for six years, it disbanded. The Homeopathic Medical Association of Louisiana was organized in New Orleans in November, 1890, with Charles Madnell, president; D. R. Graham, vice-president; Frank Millington, secretary; and Col. George Soulé, treasurer. This association has also been allowed to lapse. There is a Homeopathic State Board of Medical Examiners, appointed by the Governor, and a similar board of the other school.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN NEW ORLEANS.

By JOHN R. FICKLEN, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN TULANE UNIVERSITY.

NEW ORLEANS was founded in the year 1718 by Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Sieur de Bienville, but it did not become the permanent capital of the colony until 1722. At this period the province was under the control of the famous Company of the West, which, though it ended in disaster under the title of the "Mississippi Bubble," was certainly instrumental in making large additions to the population of Louisiana. As the colonists began to pour in, the question of education became a pressing one, and it was only natural that the religious orders, to whom primary instruction during the eighteenth century was chiefly intrusted, should be the first in the field to satisfy the new demand.

The Capuchin monks, to whom had fallen the ecclesiastical control of the lower part of the province, are said to have given to Louisiana her first teacher. This was a certain Father Cecil, who in 1724 opened a school for boys in the neighborhood of the present St. Louis Cathedral; but what was the fate of this first school in the new city by the Mississippi, is not recorded.

As schools for the two sexes were generally separate at this time, Governor Bienville soon became interested in providing instruction for the female youth, and in 1726 the Company, at his suggestion, signed a contract with some Ursuline nuns to come over from France, and to assume the care of a charity hospital, and at the same time to undertake the education of young girls. This contract has come down to us, and in it we find the Company agreeing to support six nuns, with a salary of six hundred livres (francs) a year to each, until they could draw a sufficient income from a plantation to be donated by the Company. The Mother Superior was to appoint one of the nuns as housekeeper, two others to be continuous nurses in the hospital, one other to be a teacher in a girls' school, and the sixth to take the place of any sister that might fall ill. The actual number of Religieuses that came over in 1727 was eleven, one being a novice, two candidates, and eight professed members.

Never was heartier welcome accorded to any colonists than to these holy sisters when, after a tempestuous voyage of several months across the Atlantic, they finally arrived in New Orleans. Bienville had been supplanted as governor by Perier, and his late residence near the levee was given to the nuns as a temporary home. It was the finest house in the little city, but it was still surrounded by the primeval forest. Here the Sisters remained until 1734, when their convent, the Archbishop's palace of to-day, was, after many delays, completed, and it became their permanent home, until ninety years later they removed to their present spacious buildings in the lower part of the city. Their early experiences in the new city on the banks of the great river are recorded in the charming letters of the novice, Sister Marie Madeleine Hachard, who was one of the original band, and who for thirty-five years aided with rare devotion her associates in caring for the sick and in educating the female youth of that day. She has recorded the humble beginnings of the long history of the Ursulines, and has left us a vivid picture of the *pensionnaires* or boarders and of the day scholars that soon began to crowd their schoolroom. Their devotion to their work knew no bounds, for Sister Hachard tells us that during two hours of the afternoon they also gave instruction, spiritual and mental, to negresses and Indian girls, who were eager to learn from these gentle sisters. The negresses, she adds, were easy to teach, but not so the Indian girls, who, "on account of their sinful passions are baptized with fear and trembling on our part." It seems that the inhabitants expected to have to pay for the instruction of the day scholars, and when they discovered that this class of pupils was to be taught gratuitously, they showed their gratitude by overwhelming the nuns with presents of everything that was necessary for their comfort. In 1728 there were, besides the day scholars, several slave girls to be prepared for baptism and the first communion, and twenty *pensionnaires*. It does not appear that these last were required to pay more than was necessary to meet the expenses of their food and lodging. Thus the educational plan of the Company was broad enough to include gratuitous instruction for the female youth of the three races found in the colony. Nay, a few years later we find that the Ursulines have taken charge of the female orphans whose parents perished in the Natchez massacre, and that they receive from the Company a regular stipend for their support. Finally, to cap the climax of what was expected of the nuns, Bienville, in 1735, wrote to his government: "Two women in the colony raise silk worms for amusement and succeed very well. Eggs should be sent by the government to the Ursulines, so that they could teach this industry to the orphans intrusted to their charge."

However, those of the nuns who devoted themselves to teaching were so zealous in their labors that the colonists felt that they had an additional reason for remaining in the province, and the Company perceived that it had taken not only a charitable, but a wise step. The admiration of the scholars for their teachers reached such a point that they all wanted to take the vows and become nuns, but Father Beaubois frowned on this, and declared that he wanted them to become Christian mothers, and spread the cause of Christianity in the colony. The girls at this period generally married at the age of thirteen or fourteen and were very ignorant; "but henceforth," says Sister Hachard, "no girl was allowed to marry until she had been instructed by the Ursulines." How this wise social regulation was enforced we are not told. It may have been left to the discretion of Father Beaubois, who was the constant friend of the Sisters, and who was doubtless able to control the marriages of the colony in the interests of mental and spiritual education. Such, then, was the beginning of educational training for girls in New Orleans, as recorded in the fascinating pages of Madeleine Hachard.

If Father Cecil's school was still in existence in 1742, it must have been found inadequate to the training of boys, for in this year we find Bienville, once more governor, and his intendant, Salmon, addressing the following communication to their government: "For a long time the inhabitants of Louisiana have been emphasizing the necessity of establishing here a college for the education of their children. Impressed with the importance of such an establishment, they proposed to the Jesuits to undertake it, but the Fathers refused on the ground that they had neither the lodgings nor the materials to support a college. Yet it is essential that there should be such an institution for instruction in the humanities, in geometry, in geography, in pilotage, etc. Besides, the children would learn lessons in religion, which is the basis of morals. It is only too apparent how useless young men become when they are reared in self-indulgence and idleness; and how much those of the colonists who are able to send their children to France to be educated have to spend for this purpose. It is also to be feared that the greater part of this class of young men, disgusted with their country, will return to it only to gather up the property which their parents have left them."*

Louisiana had now passed once more under the control of the king, and its importance was not considered sufficient to justify the establishment of such an institution; but this last and noblest effort of Bienville for the welfare of the colony on the eve of his final departure from the city he had founded, is worthy of

*Translated from a copy of the letter in the archives of the La. Hist. Soc.

record. More than sixty years were to elapse before such a college as Bienville had planned was to be established in New Orleans.

SPANISH DOMINATION.

Thus far the schools for the training of the young had been confined to New Orleans, and even in the city we have no evidence of further progress until the period of the Spanish domination (1768-1803.) In 1785 the population of the city had grown to 4,980, including blacks and Indians. Three years later Governor Miro writes to his government as follows: "In 1772, under Governor Unzaga, there came from Spain Don Andreas Lopez de Armesto, as director of the school which was ordered to be established at New Orleans. With him came Don Pedro Aragon as teacher of grammar, Don Manuel Diaz de Lara, as professor of Latin, and Don Francisco de la Calena as teacher of reading and writing. In spite of the weight that such names must have carried with them, the governor expressed himself as greatly embarrassed, as he knew that the parents would not send their children to a Spanish school unless under fear of some penalty. Not wishing to resort to violence, he confined himself to making the public acquainted with the benefits they would derive from the education which the magnanimous heart of his majesty thus put within their reach. Nevertheless, no pupil ever presented himself for the Latin class; a few came to be taught reading and writing; these never exceeded thirty, and frequently dwindled down to six." Miro adds that the late conflagration having destroyed the schoolhouse, Don Andres Almonester, who subsequently built the cathedral, "had offered free of charge a small edifice containing a room thirteen feet by twelve, which would suffice for the present, as many families had retired to the country, and the number of pupils had been thus reduced from twenty-three to twelve. * * * Those who have no fortune to leave their sons, aspire to give them no other career than a mercantile one, for which they think reading and writing to be sufficient. They prefer that their children be taught in French, and thus there were, before the fire, eight schools of that description, which were frequented by four hundred children of both sexes."*

In commenting on these words of Miro, Mother Austin Carroll (see her "Essays on Early Education in Louisiana") remarks that the existence of the French schools and of the Ursuline school explains the decline of the Spanish institution, and she adds that, comparatively speaking, the children of New Orleans one hundred years ago were as well educated as they are now—perhaps better. Although

*Gayarre's *Spanish Domination*, p. 204-5.

the phrase "comparatively speaking" qualifies the statement, the opinion of the good Mother seems too laudatory of the past. It is true that the wealthy youths were carefully educated, most of them, like Etienne de Boré, the first successful sugar planter in Louisiana, being sent to Canada and to France for both secondary and higher training. But for the mass of the children there were no such advantages for thorough instruction and discipline as are offered by the institutions of the present day. Our public schools, supported by the self-taxation of the people, find no real counterpart in the governmental and denominational schools of the eighteenth century. We have at the present time as many denominational schools in proportion to our population, and we have in addition, the well patronized public and private schools, capped by the higher education offered in the various departments of Tulane University.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, some of the Ursulines, fearing persecution under the French republic, to which Spain had ceded Louisiana, retired to Havana, but the rest of the Sisters, finding themselves treated with kindness by both the French and American authorities, continued their educational work, as they do to-day, after a lapse of one hundred years. A visitor to New Orleans in 1801, says: "There is here a convent of Ursulines, who receive young boarding pupils. With a grant of \$600 a year made to them by the Spanish treasury, they maintain and teach twelve orphans."* Martin says that in 1802 the nuns received tuition fees from the wealthy, and educated some poor girls gratuitously. During this period of transition, however, a new educational impulse was introduced by the emigrants from San Domingo. After the revolution in that unhappy isle, several thousand French exiles settled in Louisiana, and in New Orleans many of them utilized their talents in the education of the young. "About six months ago," says the author quoted above, "a college was formed for the education of young (Creole) men. A boarding and day school for girls has also been established. The instruction they receive there seems more carefully conducted than that which the nuns formerly gave, and is, therefore, preferable. These two institutions, which are of prime importance, are due to the French refugees."*

UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG.

As we pass over into the period of American domination, we find no diminution of interest on the part of the new government in the subject of education. The impulse given by the Domingoans was not allowed to languish, although many years were to elapse before New Orleans was to obtain a sound and efficient system of

*Quoted by Prof. Fay in his "Education in Louisiana."



L. P. Prata

public education. The city, as well as the rest of Louisiana, followed what Dr. William T. Harris has called the general trend of educational development in the United States. "First, from private, endowed and parochial schools," he says, "there is a change to the assumption of education by the State. When the State takes control, it first establishes colleges and universities, then elementary free schools. Then it adds supplementary institutions for the afflicted; then institutions for teachers, together with libraries and other educational aids. In the meantime increasing attention is paid to supervision and methods. Schools are better graded * * * and so the educational idea advances towards a divine charity." This, amid many vicissitudes and difficulties, we shall attempt to show, has been the line of educational progress in New Orleans.

Under the American rule it will conduce to clearness if we describe separately the public and the private institutions of learning that sprang into being in New Orleans. The history of the public institutions, moreover, falls naturally into three periods. The first, or tentative period, extends from the purchase of Louisiana down to the year 1841; the second, or period of permanent establishment, down to the civil war; and the third, or period of changing conditions and general progress, from the civil war to the end of the nineteenth century.

FIRST PERIOD.

When Louisiana passed under the American flag, it was but natural that the new government should not be satisfied with the old denominational school of the Ursulines or the newly established French institutions of the San Domingoans. Americans were already seeking their fortunes in New Orleans, and more were expected to come. Hence we are not surprised to find that, when the new American governor, W. C. C. Claiborne, was placed in office, his enlightened policy spoke out in no uncertain accents on the subject of public education. His address to the Legislative Council of 1804 contains these words: "In adverting to your primary duties, I have yet to suggest one than which none can be more important and interesting. I mean some general provision for the education of youth. * * * * Permit me to hope that, under your patronage, seminaries of learning will prosper, and means of acquiring information be placed within the reach of each growing family. Let exertions be made to rear up our children in the paths of science and virtue, and impress upon their tender hearts a love of civil and religious liberty. My advice, therefore, is that your system of education be extensive and liberally supported."

This wise suggestion of the governor resulted in a legislative act, establishing the University of Orleans. The regents thereof were to create as parts of the university, the College of New Orleans (afterwards known as the College of Orleans), one or more academies in each parish, and a number of separate academies for the instruction of the female youth. The girls' academy never existed except on paper, and in fact the only portion of this university scheme that took on material form was the College of Orleans. While enjoying the title of college, this institution, as we shall see, soon degenerated to the grade of a secondary school, except, perhaps, in the teaching of the classics. It is not clear exactly when it opened its doors to the public, but in 1812 the honored historian of Louisiana, Charles Gayarré, was matriculated as a boarder at the age of seven. The most interesting account of the "college" is to be found in Gayarré's semi-historical novel, entitled, "Fernando de Lemos."

It was situated at the corner of Hospital and St. Claude streets, where the church of St. Augustin now stands. The first president of this institution, mentioned by Gayarré, was Jules Davasac, who was one of the numerous refugees from St. Domingo. These refugees were often persons of considerable culture, and the faculty of the college were nearly always, if not wholly, drawn from their ranks. The instruction was in French, but English, Greek, Latin, Spanish, mathematics, history and other branches were also taught. The pupils in after years became conspicuous for their attainments, and looked back with affection to the alma mater that had given them their early training. One of the amusing recollections of Mr. Gayarré was the constant conflict between a later president, Mr. Rochefort, who despised mathematics, while he adored poetry, and Mr. Teinturier, who adored mathematics and scorned poetry. The mutual contempt of these two antagonists was a constant source of enjoyment to the pupils.

There was no settled policy as to the support of this institution. The first plan was to establish two lotteries, a method of raising funds that in our early history was sometimes used, not only for the maintenance of schools, but even for the building of churches. No appropriations were to be made by the Legislature, but a proportion of the lottery prizes was to be devoted to that great University of Orleans, in which the College of Orleans was embraced.* Luckily for the subsequent history of education in the State, this pernicious policy was not a success, and we find the Legislature, in a fitful way, coming to the aid of the college from

*The papers of that day contain, also, advertisements of a lottery for St. Mary's College, Baltimore, and another for a Medical College in the same city.

time to time with small appropriations. These sums being found inadequate to uphold the declining fortunes of the first college in the State, resort was had to the proceeds from the licenses granted to the gambling houses of New Orleans. In spite of these desperate remedies, the college would not prosper, and in 1826 it ceased to exist, "a central and two primary schools" being established in New Orleans as a substitute. To these schools the gamblers' fund was continued, and they were further aided by \$3,000 annually from the licenses of the theaters of New Orleans. The population of the city, which in 1810 was 24,552, of whom 16,550 were white, had grown in 1825 to 45,300, of whom, perhaps, one-half were white. In spite of this rapid increase of population, the attendance at the college in 1823 was only forty-four boarding pupils and thirty-five day pupils, the smallness of the total amounting to a confession of failure. The most plausible explanation of the failure of the institution to meet the expectations of its founders is to be sought in the unwise policy of that day in regard to the terms of admission. Pupils whose parents were in good circumstances were required to pay tuition fees, while gratuitous instruction was given only to those whose parents were shown to the satisfaction of the regents to be in destitution. "The sons of the latter," says Mr. Gayarré, "were always dubbed 'charity students,' and thus marked with the badge of poverty, they were treated as the *plebs* of the institution." It is not surprising, therefore, that the pride of the poorer classes was aroused, and that rather than subject their children to such indignity, they preferred to allow them to grow up in ignorance.

In 1808 an act of the Territorial Legislature had been passed to establish public schools throughout the Territory, but this seems to have been rendered nugatory the following year by a provision that the school tax should be collected only from those that were willing to pay it. When the State of Louisiana entered the Union in 1812, the first constitution made no provision for public education, it being probably intended that the whole matter should be left to legislative action.

According to the annual message of Governor Roman of 1831, it was in 1818, just one hundred years after the founding of New Orleans, that the first effective law concerning a system of public schools was passed by the General Assembly. Comparatively liberal appropriations were made in the following years, the amount increasing from \$13,000 in 1820 to \$27,000 in 1824. Unfortunately it was not primary instruction that occupied the attention of the Legislature, but the establishment of a college or academy in every parish of the State, to which, as in the case of the College of Orleans, both paying and non-paying pupils were to be admitted. In the two primary schools of New Orleans, gratuitous instruction was given only

to pupils between the ages of seven and fourteen, with a preference shown to at least fifty pupils of the indigent classes.

Such distinctions would naturally result in injury to any system of public instruction, and we are hardly surprised to learn that one parish of the State refused to accept the money appropriated for schools. "In twelve years," says Governor Roman, "the total expenditure in the State amounted to \$354,000, and it was doubtful whether 354 indigent students had derived from the schools the advantages which the Legislature wished to extend to that class."

The governors of the State, wiser than the Legislatures, often recommended the establishment of wholly free schools, supported by taxation, but the idea was novel in Louisiana, and grew very slowly in public esteem. Moreover, there was a considerable number of the people who maintained that the education of the youth was a family matter, and that it did not concern the State to interfere.

Out of the large appropriations mentioned above, a considerable number of academies, or colleges, had been created in the country parishes to absorb the public funds and offer but scanty opportunities of instruction to the youth of the State. In New Orleans, the central and the two primary schools, poorly patronized, continued to lead a precarious existence until the year 1841, when they were absorbed in the new system. It is refreshing to turn to the legislative act of this year, and to see how the General Assembly had awakened to a sense of the errors of the past, and had determined to offer in New Orleans an enlightened example of what public education should be—an example that was soon to be followed throughout the State. Before taking up this second epoch in the educational history of New Orleans, it will be necessary for completeness to turn back and say a few words about the private institutions that in the early period supplemented the public instruction.

These institutions, though never of a high grade, seem to have been comparatively numerous, and were doubtless well patronized. Almost the only sources of information concerning them are tradition and the files of old newspapers in the archives of the City Hall. Among the latter, Professor Alcée Fortier, with a praiseworthy spirit of research, has delved, and from them has drawn forth some interesting notices of private schools which were established in New Orleans in the first quarter of this century. (See his "Louisiana Studies.") Some of the advertisements contain curious specimens of English solecisms that mark a period when the prevailing culture was French. Following in his footsteps, the present writer has brought to light some additional notices of private schools which may prove of

interest to the modern reader. The first, taken from the Louisiana Gazette of 1805, shows that a teacher of that day expected to bear as heavy a burden as at the present time. It runs as follows: "An English school is opened in Bienville street for the teaching of English pronunciation, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, etc. The hours are from 8 to 12 forenoon and 2 to 5 afternoon. The price of tuition is three dollars a month. Also, an evening school, at which those young gentlemen who wish to devote a few hours in the evening to the attainment of useful knowledge may find rational entertainment. Private lessons upon reasonable terms. Francis Hacket, Teacher."

A more interesting one is to be found in the Louisiana Courier of January 13, 1813. It is in the form of an address to the inhabitants of New Orleans and of the State, and is signed "G. Dorfeuille." This gentleman declares that he had witnessed without alarm the establishment of the College of Orleans, and had flattered himself that the foundation of such an institution by inspiring all the citizens with the desire of procuring the precious advantages of education, would not only not destroy the secondary schools, but would encourage them. In this he had been bitterly disappointed, for the college had derogated from its plan and had become a primary school. "How," he continues, "such elementary exercises can be reconciled with the functions of a college, I shall not try to decide. Such measures, however, tend to deprive teachers of their living, and leave them no resource except that of going back, if they can, to the place where they enjoyed the esteem of the community. Fully convinced, however, that each individual owes the exercise of his talents to all those who stand in need, I intend to establish a school for the education of colored children. Such an institution is entirely lacking in this portion of the country, and the enlightened persons who heretofore were desirous of having their children educated—I refer to the prudent colored people—were obliged to send them to the North. On them I depend for support. Eighteen or twenty pupils having been already promised, the school will be opened on Monday."

No further notice of this interesting experiment has been discovered. The address has been quoted in full, first, because it mentions the low grade that the recently established College of Orleans had adopted; and secondly, because M. Dorfeuille's school and that of the Ursulines were the only ones, as far as the present writer is informed, that ever made an attempt to educate the colored people before the time of the civil war. While there was probably no interference at this time with M. Dorfeuille's school, which was doubtless intended for free people of

color, it would have been suppressed seventeen years later, when the abolition agitation in the North led the South to believe that it was dangerous to allow the negro to learn the "mystery of the alphabet." In fact, the feeling on the subject grew so intense in Louisiana that in the year 1830 not only was it forbidden by law to teach the slave to read, but free persons of color were required to withdraw from the State.

Karl Pösl, who visited New Orleans in 1826 (see his "Tour in America"*) tells us that the institutions of the city at that time were inferior to those of other cities of less wealth and equal extent. After mentioning the College of Orleans and an "inferior institution conducted by the Catholic clergy," he states that the best school is kept by "Mr. Shute, rector of the Episcopal church, an enlightened and clever man." Universal history and the primary branches were taught by this gentleman in his rectory. With respect to the female sex, the Creoles were educated by the Ursulines; the Protestant young ladies by some boarding school mistresses, partly French, partly American, who came from the North. "The better class of Anglo-Americans," he adds, "prefer sending their daughters to Northern institutions, where they remain two years." Poydras Asylum was educating sixty girls, while a second asylum for boys had forty:

SECOND PERIOD.

Let us now turn to the public schools of the second period. It has been noted that this was the period of permanent establishment (1841-1860.) The educational necessities of the city had grown with the increase of population, which had been phenomenal. There were now (1840) 102,000 souls—more than double the number of a decade before. Of these, about 60,000 were white. For this portion of the population the Legislature of 1841 decreed that "the councils of the different municipalities of New Orleans (there were three) are authorized and required to establish within their respective limits one or more public schools for the free instruction of the children residing therein, to make such regulations as they judge proper for the organization, administration and discipline of the said schools, and to levy a tax for the maintenance of the same. Every white child residing in a municipality shall be admitted to and receive instruction in the schools established therein." The State treasurer was ordered to pay over annually a certain sum for the support of these schools, while we find the municipalities making provision in one way or another for the same purpose. For instance, the second municipality

*This work was kindly lent me by Mr. Wm. Beer, Librarian of the Howard Library.

passed an ordinance to the effect that all excess of fees received by the harbor master over and above the salary allowed by law should be devoted to the support of public schools, adding that the only requisites for admission to the schools should be good behavior, regular attendance and cleanliness. Three years later one of the municipalities raised by taxation and other methods the sum of \$11,000 for its schools.

At first the schools met with some opposition, but before two years had passed the pupils came crowding in to enjoy the advantages offered them. High schools were established to supplement the primary instruction. The number of pupils increased from 950 in 1842 to 6,385 in 1850, while the white population increased only about 31,000. Thus, after only a short period of probation, the public schools of New Orleans were established on the sound basis of perfect equality to all whites and of at least a partial dependence on local taxation. The advance in this latter direction was of special importance; for it is safe to say that no community ever failed to patronize schools supported even partly by self-imposed taxes.

The new constitution of 1845, taking its cue from the free public schools of New Orleans, established similar ones throughout the State, though dissimilar conditions in the country prevented them from meeting with similar success. Moreover, it provided for a new system of management. Up to this time the Secretary of State, in addition to other manifold duties, had been required to take charge of the educational affairs of the State; but from this time on we are to see a State Superintendent of Education devoting his time and energies to the establishment of an extensive system of schools and making regular reports to the General Assembly. The first man appointed to this high office was a ripe scholar, an experienced teacher, and a brilliant orator. The schools of New Orleans, as well as throughout Louisiana, soon began to feel the vivifying influence of Alexander Dimitry's strong personality, and the whole State has reason to revere the memory of this first superintendent.*

In his first report (1848), Mr. Dimitry gives an instructive account of the progress of education in New Orleans, as well as in the State at large. In the city, he states, the third municipality (between Esplanade and Lake Borgne) had not carried its public schools beyond the grade of sound primary instruction, but the

*Mr. Dimitry had been superintendent of the third municipality in the city. Among others prominent in the organization of the city schools, Prof. Fortier mentions S. J. Peters, Joshua Baldwin, Dr. Picton, J. A. Maybin, Robt. McNair, Thos. Sloo and J. A. Shaw. The second municipality schools, under Shaw, were the most successful.

first municipality (Vieux Quartier) had maintained a course of instruction in the French and English languages, demanding respective teachers and duplicate text-books for its schools. Moreover, high and intermediate schools for both sexes had been established, increasing the expense for teachers of higher qualifications and requiring text-books of greater cost. In the second municipality (American quarter) Mr. Dimitry calls attention to the ampleness of the school appliances, the organization of its high schools for boys and girls, the outlay for text-books and scientific apparatus procured at the public expense, and adds that these schools would not suffer by comparison with schools of a similar character in any part of the land. The three municipalities were then expending about \$103,000 annually on their prosperous institutions. "Yet," says Mr. Dimitry, "when the schools were about to be established, the announcement was received by some with doubt, by others with ridicule, if not hostility. When the schools of the second municipality were opened in 1842, in spite of the fervor of directors, in spite of personal appeals and exhortations to parents, not more than thirteen pupils appeared on the benches, out of a minor population more than three thousand strong." In 1848 public sentiment had totally changed. "The thousands that now bless the existence of these schools will tell us what vigorous efforts and extended perseverance will do in behalf of a cause noble enough in itself to command friends that will not be balked."

Under Dimitry and his successors, the schools of New Orleans continued to prosper. As early as 1853, Superintendent Nicholas had recommended the establishment of a normal school, declaring that there was none in the United States and only one in Canada. Finally, in 1858, largely through the exertions of Hon. William O. Rogers, then superintendent of the First district schools, now secretary of Tulane University, a normal school, the first in Louisiana, was opened in New Orleans. It continued to be an important element in our educational development until the civil war put an end to its usefulness. It may be well to mention here that in 1852 the three municipalities of the city were consolidated, but the three school districts, with separate boards and superintendents, were kept distinct, and in 1852 a fourth, that of Lafayette, was added. This arrangement continued until the second year of the civil war.

PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.

While the public schools of the city were making rapid progress in numbers and in efficiency, there seems to have been no dearth of private schools. When once the enthusiasm of the people for education is aroused, the private and the public institutions will enter into a generous rivalry, and will be of mutual benefit.

In 1844 Mr. Lewis Elkin, proprietor of the Orleans High School, situated on Esplanade avenue, transferred this institution to Messieurs Mervoyer, Wyndham, and Everett, who had been professors in the defunct Jefferson College of St. James parish. These three gentlemen offered to the public all the branches of a liberal education. Besides the directors, who taught the classics, English and history, there were named in the prospectus Macmanus, professor of Mathematics; Fuentes, professor of Spanish and bookkeeping; S. Rouen, professor of French; Varney, professor of music; Jaume, professor of drawing; and Devoti, professor of dancing.

In October, 1853, one of the New Orleans journals announced that the College of Louisiana, which had been established on Dauphine street at great expense by M. Louis Dufau, had been removed to St. James parish, and had taken possession of the buildings of the ex-Jefferson College. The buildings vacated on Dauphine street, it was added, would be occupied by the Young Ladies' Academy of Mme. Deron. The same journal announced that an institution under the title of Audubon College, was about to be established by Professor Simon Rouen.

Professor Rouen was the most distinguished professor of French in New Orleans at this period. We have seen that he was professor of this language in the Orleans High School. He had also been principal of the Boys' High School in the Second district. In 1853 he opened his college, named in honor of the great Louisiana naturalist, at the corner of Dumaine and Burgundy streets. Here he taught for six years, when, on account of ill health, he transferred the institution to Professor Lavender. Audubon College was opened to pupils all the year around, there being only a brief vacation at the end of August. The institution was so popular that at one time it enrolled as many as three hundred pupils, drawn from the best Creole families. The course of instruction was thorough in every respect, the principal being assisted by Professors Auchmuty in history, English and mathematics; Battier in mathematics, Durel in English and arithmetic, Darot in French, De Tornos in Spanish, Gittermann in German and Greek, Glynn in English, Gaunt in penmanship. The professor of drawing was the distinguished architect, J. N. De Pouilly.

During and after the civil war, Professor Rouen continued to teach French in other institutions of the city.

At this time one of the best institutions for young ladies was kept by Miss Hull. To this excellent school many of the elderly ladies of New Orleans still look back with tender recollections. During the same period the Library and Lyceum Association, established largely by the efforts of Mr. N. R. Jennings, was an important factor in educational development.

THIRD PERIOD.

In 1862 New Orleans fell into the hands of the Federals, and when General Butler took command of the city, he consolidated the four school districts then existing and brought all the schools under one management. Under the new conditions this was doubtless a wise provision, for different text-books were used in the various districts; the French language was used as the medium of instruction in some of the schools below Canal street, and there was much confusion when parents moved from one district to another. From this time on we find a general uniformity in methods and management.

Moreover, the slaves within Federal lines were all freed January 1, 1863, and it was necessary to make provision for their education. The first public schools for negroes were established in 1863 under General Banks, then in command of the Department of the Gulf. In 1864 he issued General Order No. 38, which constituted a board of education "for the rudimental education of the freedmen in his department, so as to place within their reach the elements of knowledge." In 1865 the Freedman's Bureau was created. Besides other extraordinary powers, this board was to coöperate with the military authorities, and free transportation was furnished to teachers, books, and school furniture. Under this Bureau large sums, it is not known how large, were expended for schools in New Orleans.

The first superintendent of the public schools of New Orleans under the consolidated system was J. B. Carter, a Union man, who served until 1865. In this year Mr. William O. Rogers succeeded to the office, and held it for five years. The first report of Mr. Rogers (1867) shows that he had many difficulties to contend with, but that he labored diligently to increase the number of school buildings and to bring order and system out of the existing chaotic conditions. White and colored pupils were duly provided for, and the number of the latter alone rose in 1868 to 4,403, with fifty-two teachers. During the latter part of Mr. Rogers' administration, however, the "carpet-bag" adventurers came into power, and extreme reconstruction measures were put into force. One of these measures was Rule No. 39, passed by the Board of Education April 8, 1870, admitting colored pupils to the white schools, in accordance with a law of the "carpet-bag" Legislature. This rule aroused the bitterest feelings of opposition in New Orleans, and in spite of the exertions of State Superintendent Conway, who rendered himself obnoxious by his ill-advised efforts, it was found impossible to enforce it. The agitation did not cease until some years later, when separate schools were provided for the two races. Mr. Rogers, however, withdrew, and became the founder of a new system of parochial

schools for whites, in connection with the Sylvester-Larned Institute for girls. This venture, which was supported by the Presbyterian churches of the city, proved a success.

His successor as superintendent of the New Orleans schools was Mr. J. B. Carter, who in this second incumbency, served from 1870 until 1873, when he was superseded by Captain C. W. Boothby, who is now (1900) the superintendent of the United States branch mint in New Orleans.

This was a period of storm and stress. Superintendent Boothby was personally opposed to mixed schools, and tried in every way to tide over the troubles that arose under the law permitting this unfortunate condition of affairs. Under Captain Boothby's administration the number of colored pupils rose to 7,000, and the school accommodations were taxed to such an extent that he urged the use of the McDonogh fund for the erection of new buildings. The school board at this time was composed of the Hon. Michael Hahn, Albert Shaw and others. Acting on the suggestion of Captain Boothby, the board erected six McDonogh buildings, having together a seating capacity of 3,600 pupils. This enabled the city to dispense with a number of inferior school houses, for which a high rent had been paid. The superintendent, while exerting himself for this extension of facilities, received efficient aid from Professor J. V. Calhoun, the present State Superintendent of Education, whom he appointed assistant superintendent; and from Professor Warren Easton, whom he appointed principal of one of the important schools under his care. At the close of his term in 1877, Superintendent Boothby left 26,000 pupils in the schools, under 450 teachers.

In 1877 "the Carpet Bag" government ceased to exist in Louisiana. It is needless to repeat here the record of high taxes, enormous debts, and general pillage that marked its career in Louisiana. Under the new Democratic administration we may point with pride to one of the first acts of the General Assembly. It was as follows:

"The education of all classes of the people being essential to the preservation of free institutions, we do declare our solemn purpose to maintain a system of public schools by an equal and uniform taxation upon property, as provided in the Constitution of the State; which shall secure the education of the white and the colored citizens with equal advantages.

"LOUIS BUSH, Speaker.

"L. A. WILTZ, Lieutenant Governor.

"FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS, Governor."

In New Orleans William O. Rogers was once more called to the office of City Superintendent. He continued to render valuable services to the schools until 1884, when he resigned to accept a position in Tulane University. The records of that day show that Mr. Rogers received from the School Board the highest praise for his long and faithful services in behalf of the schools of New Orleans. He was succeeded by Professor Ulric Bettison, now professor of mathematics in the Sophie Newcomb College, who labored zealously for the advancement of the public schools. In 1887 the present incumbent, Hon. Warren Easton became superintendent. The record of the city schools during the past thirteen years is a witness to the wisdom of his management.

The Constitution of 1879 made but scanty provision for the support of public education; but the present Constitution made a most satisfactory change for the better by allowing local taxation to supplement the general tax. This change, which was demanded by the people of the State, insures the future prosperity of the public school system.

The present condition of the schools of New Orleans is better than at any previous time in the history of the city. Much praise is due to the efforts of the School Board under the presidency of the Hon. E. B. Kruittschnitt, who has during many years shown himself the devoted friend of public education.

McDonogh High School* No. 1, for boys, under the charge of Principal F. W. Gregory, offers an excellent course of preparation for Tulane and other colleges; while the two High Schools for girls, under Mrs. Lusher and Miss Suydam, respectively, are doing valuable work. The Normal School, under Miss Marion Brown, has a band of nearly one hundred young women, who are being trained as teachers.

The total enrollment of the public schools in October, 1899, was 23,886, of whom 20,257 were white. Since the beginning of the scholastic year the attendance has largely increased.

*The schools of New Orleans owe a debt of gratitude to John McDonogh, an eccentric old bachelor, who died in 1850, leaving a large amount of property to the cities of Baltimore and New Orleans for free schools. Most of the handsome school buildings that adorn our city have been built from the proceeds of this fund. The history of the donor and of the fund which he bequeathed forms one of the most interesting episodes in the history of Louisiana.

Among the benefactions to education in New Orleans mention should also be made of the Howard and Fisk Libraries, which render invaluable aid to the pupils of public and private schools.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

Under Period II of the Public School System, some mention was made of the various private schools and academies that flourished before the Civil War. The existing institutions of New Orleans are now to be described, and as some of them trace their origin back to ante-bellum days, they will serve further to illustrate the educational advantages of that period.

The College of the Immaculate Conception.—This institution was established in 1847 by the Jesuit Fathers, soon after they returned to New Orleans at the invitation of Archbishop Blanc. The College opened in 1849 with ten professors and one hundred pupils. Up to the Civil War the number of pupils averaged about two hundred and fifty. Some years ago the fine building at the corner of Baronne and Common streets was erected, and at the present time (1900) a handsome building is rising on the north side of Jesuit Church from funds donated to the Fathers by a prominent Catholic family.

The course of study includes the primary, the high school, the college, and the post-graduate department. There is also a preparatory department, to which are admitted pupils that can spell and read, and are familiar with the elements of arithmetic. The Catholic religion alone is taught, but non-Catholics are received, and "their religious feelings carefully respected." The officers of the institution in 1900 were as follows: Rev. John Brislan, S. J., President; Rev. S. F. Bertels, S. J., Vice-President; Rev. Claude Roch, S. J., Secretary; Rev. N. Davis, S. J., Treasurer; Rev. A. Curioz, S. J., Chaplain. There are also sixteen professors of the different branches taught. The College numbers among its graduates a large number of the distinguished Catholic citizens of New Orleans.

The Soule Commercial and Literary Institute.—This institution was established by its present President in 1856, and the course of instruction was at first designed to give only a commercial training. Up to the Civil War the school prospered, but at that period the principal entered the Confederate army, and served till the close of the conflict. In 1865 Colonel Soulé reopened his school. In 1870 a department of English studies was added. Since then the institution has expanded until at present it includes: (1) A preparatory or intermediate school for pupils of 8 to 13. (2) A higher English school for older pupils. (3) An academic school preparing pupils for Tulane. (4) A full high grade commercial school. (5) A school of shorthand and typewriting. In 1884 the school became co-educational. The average attendance is four hundred and seventy-five

annually. There are eleven professors, two of whom are the sons of the president, Albert Lee and Edward E. Soulé, both graduates of Cornell. The institution has grown with the needs of the community, and offers a practical education to the young.

Spencer's Business College and Institute of Shorthand.—This school, which occupies a portion of the Y. M. C. A. building, was established in 1897 by Prof. L. C. Spencer. At first there were but eleven pupils, but the attendance grew so rapidly that at present there are about one hundred and fifty. Though this school is essentially a business college, covering the various branches necessary to a commercial education, there is a preparatory department for the training of those not qualified to enter upon more advanced work. In the commercial course the pupils learn to deal with business papers precisely as in the actual business world. Instruction is also given in shorthand and typewriting. In the Summer of 1899 Professor Spencer adopted a plan of giving free instruction during a portion of the Summer months to as many pupils as he can accommodate.

The New Orleans College of Dentistry.—This college, at the corner of Carondelet and Lafayette streets, was opened November the sixth, 1899, and is the first institution of its kind in the Gulf States. It is incorporated, and is authorized to confer degrees. The Dean is Jules J. Sarrazin, D. D. S., who is assisted by an able faculty.

The Home Institute.—This institution, which is situated at 1446 Camp street, was established in 1883 by Miss Sophie B. Wright. From a very humble beginning the school has grown until it now has an attendance of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five young ladies. It has a day and a boarding department. The institute is designed to give to young women the benefits of higher education. Much stress is laid upon the development of character, while the physical and the social sides of education are carefully looked after. Among the various studies Music and French are taught with special thoroughness.

Miss Wright began a noble work in New Orleans when, in 1887, she opened a night school for boys and men. In this department free instruction is given to those who are self-supporting, but who are unable to attend any day school. This charitable undertaking, supported wholly by Miss Wright and some of her friends, has proved a great success. It is the largest free night school in New Orleans, and twelve hundred men and boys are now enrolled. Only seven hundred and fifty can be accommodated at a time, but by alternating, all are taught a certain number of evenings in each week. One of the most interesting scenes in

New Orleans is presented by this band of earnest students, when they assemble in the evening to enjoy the advantages of instruction under the skilful management of Miss Wright and her corps of assistants.

The University School, No. 1923 Coliseum street, is conducted by Professor T. W. Dyer. It was established in 1882. Employing excellent methods of instruction, Professor Dyer has been very successful, and his school is the largest private school for boys in the city. The course of instruction includes a thorough preparation for Tulane University and other similar institutions. To the regular school curriculum is added a military drill.

Ferrell's School for Boys, at 2717 Coliseum street, was established by Professor L. C. Ferrell in 1890. The curriculum includes Mathematics, English, physical sciences, French, Latin and Greek. The boys "are forced to study Latin, and persuaded to study Greek." About ninety per cent of the graduates of this school attend Tulane University and other higher institutions of learning. The school is popular and successful.

Rugby Academy, situated at 5419 St. Charles avenue, was established in 1894 by Professors J. H. Rapp and W. Edward Walls, two graduates of Tulane University. It was first known as Rugby School, but in 1897 it assumed its present title. In the same year a military department was introduced. In 1898 Professor Rapp withdrew, and the administration of the Academy was reconstructed with Professors Jones and Walls as associate principals, and Professor Guy S. Raymond as Registrar, all three being equal partners. There are three departments, primary, grammar and academic, each requiring three years' study. Mrs. J. Oscar Nixon is principal of the primary department, and Captain J. C. Daspit is instructor in French and military tactics. The graduates of this academy stand well at Tulane and other institutions of like grade.

Among other schools may be mentioned Professor H. S. Chenet's school for boys, established in 1892; the Chapman-Blake institute for young women; the school for girls and young women, conducted by the Misses Prentiss; Mrs. Seaman's school; the Holy Cross College for Boys, of which the Reverend D. J. Spillard is President; the Academy of the Sacred Heart, conducted by Catholic Sisters; and the Ursuline School, which is completing the one hundred and seventy-third year of its existence.

The Free Kindergartens.—New Orleans is much interested in the free Kindergarten movement that is sweeping over the country. For a number of years there have been Kindergarten features in the lower grades of some of the public

schools, in the Jewish Orphans' Home, and other institutions. Moreover, excellent private Kindergartens have been conducted by Mrs. Kate Seaman and Miss Waldo. But within the last few years several of these institutions have been established by private subscription in the poorest districts of the city, where they can draw pupils from homes that need the uplifting influences of such schools. They stand between the private and the public schools, in that they are supported by private funds and yet are open to all.

Children are admitted even at the tender age of three, before they could enter the public schools; for it has been found that at this impressionable age much can be done in training the head, the heart and the hand. Wonderful results have been accomplished in other cities, and New Orleans has been aroused to the importance of saving from the effects of evil surroundings the little children of this great city, and trying to lead them to a higher life. The parents of the children are drawn into the movement by their visits to the schools where their children are taught, homes are made happier, and the benign influence of noble teachers is spread through districts which neither the public nor private schools could ever reach.

The schools already established are the Jurgens Free Kindergarten, the Michel Heymann Free Kindergarten, the Sophie C. Hart Free Kindergarten, the Diocesan Free Kindergarten (under the auspices of Christ's Church), the Palmer Free Kindergarten (under the auspices of the First Presbyterian Church) and the Mission Colored Kindergarten.

Among those who were most prominent in beginning this work should be mentioned J. Watts Kearny, Clarence F. Low, George McC. Derby, Michel Heymann, Mrs. J. L. Harris, Mrs. Bessie L. Kidder, Mrs. Ashton Phelps, and Mrs. H. D. Forsyth.

There is also a Free Kindergarten Association, of which Professor J. H. Dillard is president. This association has a training school for Kindergarteners, under Miss Katharine Hardy, which offers a two years' course of training to those wishing to undertake this important branch of work. Many of its graduates are already "abroad." While accomplishing splendid results in the slums of the city, the Free Kindergartens will tend to improve the methods employed in similar grades of the public schools.

Institution for the Colored.—There are in New Orleans four universities, or more properly, colleges, for the education of the colored youth.

Leland University.—This institution is situated at the corner of St. Charles

avenue and Audubon street. It possesses ten acres of land, on which two large brick buildings have been erected. It was founded in 1870 by Holbrook Chamberlain, of Brooklyn, New York, a retired shoe merchant. Mr. Chamberlain came to New Orleans in 1870, purchased the property, erected the buildings, and gave his attention to the financial affairs of the institution for twelve years. In this work he received considerable aid from the Freedman's Bureau and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. At his death, in 1883, it was found that he had bequeathed his property, amounting to \$95,000, as a fund for the continuation of the good work. Other contributions to its support have been made, and in May, 1899, Mr. Charles M. Pratt, of New York, gave to the endowment fund the sum of \$25,000.

The course of instruction is chiefly collegiate and normal, with an English preparatory department. All instruction is free, except for instrumental music; but a small fee is charged to the day students for fuel and the care of the rooms. About ten years ago the number of pupils from the country increased so rapidly, that the accommodations were found insufficient, and it was decided to raise the standard of admission, and to establish "a system of auxiliary schools in the country for preparatory work." The schools already admitted to this relationship have an attendance of about 600, and others are forming.

The control of the University is in the hands of a Board of Trustees, residing in New Orleans and New York, and to an executive committee, consisting of the president and several prominent citizens of New Orleans. Reverend E. C. Mitchell, who had been president of the institution for thirteen years, died February 26th, 1900, and Principal G. H. Felton is now the acting president.

Straight University.—This institution was established in 1869 under the auspices of the American Missionary Association. Among its early benefactors was Seymour Straight, a produce merchant of New Orleans, in whose honor the University was named. The first college building was erected, in 1870, on Esplanade avenue, corner of Burgundy, and when this building was destroyed by fire, the University was moved to its present location, corner of Canal and Tonti. This school, established only a few years after the general emancipation of the slaves, at first attracted pupils by the thousand. They all came hoping to receive some benefit—they knew not what. Many of them remained only a few days, but gradually regular attendance was established.

In 1881, Mrs. V. S. Stone, of Massachusetts, gave the institution \$25,000. Other donations followed, and handsome buildings arose to fill the needs of the

University. In 1886 an industrial department, aided largely by the Slater fund, was established, and from 1876 to 1886 a law school was successfully conducted. From the latter were graduated in all seventy-four young men, some of whom were white. It was finally decided to close this department, and there is now no law school for colored youth nearer than Washington, D. C.

In 1890 a theological department was established under the direction of Reverend Geo. W. Henderson. The other departments are the college, the college preparatory, the normal, the grammar, the industrial, and the Daniel Hand preparatory. Since 1890 the president has been Professor Oscar Atwood, who has labored diligently for the advancement of the University. The whole number of graduates has been 119, and the total attendance for 1898-9 was 509.

New Orleans University. This institution, which was chartered by Act of the General Assembly in 1873, is really an outgrowth of the Union Normal School, established in 1869 by the Freedman's Bureau. A board of trustees was appointed, and it was provided that not less than two-thirds of the board should be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The University was at first situated on the corner of Camp and Race streets, but in 1884 the present location on St. Charles avenue was chosen, and a five story brick building was erected. The present president of the Board of Trustees is the Rev. S. Duncan, and the president of the Faculty since 1887 is the Reverend L. G. Adkinson.

In 1889 a Medical Department was added, and in the following year a Medical Building was erected at the corner of Canal and Robertson streets, which is open to both races and both sexes. The other departments are the preparatory, the primary, the grammar, the normal, the collegiate, and the theological (Methodist). The total number of students in 1899 was 365.

Southern University (State Institution). In the Constitution of 1879 provision was made for the establishment in New Orleans of a University for the higher education of the colored youth. The first Board of Trustees was appointed in 1881. The first two presidents of the University were colored men, and during their terms of office, only primary instruction was given, and the institution was far from successful. In 1883, Reverend J. H. Harrison, white, a graduate of Vanderbilt, was elected President, and the school made progress. Still greater progress has been made under Professor H. A. Hill, who has been president since 1887.

Until 1890, the University was supported entirely by appropriations from the State treasury, but in that year an Agricultural and Mechanical Department

was added, and in this way some assistance was obtained from the United States Government. Moreover, a farm of one hundred acres, fronting on the Mississippi River, is now cultivated under the management of the University. The other departments are the grammar school, the high school, the normal school, the music department, and the college. It is expected that a law and medical department will be added as soon as the funds of the University permit. The total attendance in 1899 was 414. The buildings of the institution are situated on handsome grounds at the corner of Magazine and Soniat streets.

TULANE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA.

It seems fitting that this chapter on the history of education in New Orleans should end with a sketch of the Tulane University of Louisiana; for this institution of learning not only connects the Past with the Present, but is generally regarded as representing the highest expression that the educational development of the city and the State has thus far reached.

The oldest department of what is now Tulane University is the Medical College. Its organization dates back to the year 1834; it was chartered in the following year, and has the honor of being the first Medical College in Louisiana or in the Southwest to confer degrees. As we trace its long and illustrious career in Louisiana, we find that it has numbered in its Faculty many of the most distinguished doctors of the State. Its first faculty included the names of Thomas Hunt, Charles A. Luzenburg, J. Monro Mackie, A. H. Cenas, E. H. Darton, Thos. R. Ingalls, John H. Harrison, and Warren Stone. Among their successors were Drs. T. G. Richardson, Sam Logan, Albert B. Miles, James Jones, J. L. Riddell and Joseph Jones. The present faculty consists of the following professors, aided by fifteen lecturers, demonstrators, etc.: Stanford E. Chaillé, M. D., Dean, Professor of Physiology, Hygiene and Pathological Anatomy; Ernest S. Lewis, M. D., Professor of General and Clinical Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; John B. Elliott, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine; Edmond Souchon, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Clinical Surgery; Louis F. Reynaud, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica, Therapeutics and Clinical Medicine; Rudolph Matas, M. D., Professor of General and Clinical Surgery; A. L. Metz, M. Ph., M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Medical Jurisprudence. The total number of its enrolled students down to the year 1899 was 12,753. This department of the University offers unusual advantages to its students through its connection with the great Charity Hospital and

the Milliken Memorial for children. Here the students have unrivaled facilities for studying the practical side of the healing art.

In 1893, through the generosity of Mrs. T. G. Richardson, the Medical Department came into possession of a splendidly equipped modern building on Canal street, and in this its lectures are now given. The faculty, though nominally forming a part of the University faculty, is practically autonomous.

The Law Department. The Law Department begins its history somewhat later than the Medical. Though it was not organized until 1847, it has had an honorable career, and has numbered in its faculty many of the most eminent lawyers of the Louisiana bar. As the course of instruction must lay special stress on the civil law, which is peculiar to Louisiana, this department has not been able to draw students from other States, and the attendance has never been very large. Nevertheless its graduates up to the present time have been more than nine hundred in number.

Among the professors of this department in the past we find the following names: Professor of Constitutional Law, Commercial Law, and the Law of Evidence, Randell Hunt, LL. D., emeritus rector (1847); Professors of Civil Law, Henry Adams Bullard (1847), Christian Roselius, LL. D. (1850), Thomas Jefferson Semmes (1873), Carleton Hunt, LL. D. (1879), James B. Eustis (1883), Henry Denis (1884); Professors of Common Law and Equity Jurisprudence, Richard Henry Wilde (1847), Thomas Benton Monroe (1847), Sydney L. Johnson (1852), Alfred Hennen (1855), Thomas Allen Clarke, LL. D. (1870), William Francis Mellen, LL. D., dean (1878); Lecturer on Common Law and Equity Jurisprudence, Daniel Mayes (1851); Professors of Admiralty and International Law, Theodore Howard McCaleb, LL. D. (1847), Alfred Philips, LL. B. (1865), Carleton Hunt, LL. B. (1869), Charles E. Schmidt (1879), Henry Carleton Miller (1882).

The present faculty is composed of Henry Denis, Professor of Civil Law and Lecturer on the Land Laws of the United States; Thomas C. W. Ellis, Professor of Admiralty and International Law; Frank Adair Monroe, Professor of Commercial Law and the Law of Corporations; Harry Hinekey Hall, Dean, and Professor of Criminal Law, the Law of Evidence, and of Practice under the Code of Practice of Louisiana; Eugene L. Saunders, Professor of Constitutional Law, Common Law and Equity.

Academic Department. This department was opened in 1846 in a building which stood at the corner of Common street and University place, and which was

afterwards the home of the law department. Although some distinguished scholars were elected to the various chairs, the Academic Department was poorly supported, and had a precarious and unsuccessful career down to the time of the Civil War. Its many vicissitudes during this period form a sad story, which it is not possible to record in this chapter. The war and the trials of the Reconstruction period prevented any attempt at a revival of this department. In 1877, however, when the government of the State had been restored to the Democrats, Governor Nicholls appointed a board of administrators for the University, with Judge John H. Kennard as president. This board reopened the Academic Department in 1878, with R. H. Jesse as Dean, and a faculty composed of J. L. Cross, M. P. Julian, and R. B. Montgomery. To this faculty, later on, were added some of the present professors of Tulane University.

The Constitution of 1879 recognized the University of Louisiana in its three departments of law, medical, and academic; and declared that the General Assembly should make appropriations for the maintenance and support of the same, but that the amount appropriated should not exceed \$10,000 a year.

A high school was established as a feeder to the College, and of this department the first principal was Alcée Fortier; the second was L. C. Reed, with whom J. R. Ficklen served later as associate principal. Under the energetic management of the Board of Administrators and Dean R. H. Jesse, the academic department enjoyed a considerable measures of success. As, however, it received only a moderate sum from the State, and had to depend upon tuition fees for further support, it often found itself much cramped for means.

In 1882 a wider field was opened to the old university through the beneficence of Paul Tulane, of Princeton, N. J. Mr. Tulane had spent more than fifty years of his life in New Orleans, and had acquired there a large fortune. In 1881 he sent for Senator R. L. Gibson, of Louisiana, and offered him a considerable amount of property to be used for the education of the white youth of Louisiana. Senator Gibson accepted the trust, and later on became the president of the first Board of Administrators.

By act of the Legislature of the year 1884, the University of Louisiana was transferred to and merged in the Tulane University of Louisiana. Of this institution, an accomplished scholar and knightly gentleman, Colonel William Preston Johnston, became president, organizing it on a very different basis from that of the old university, and presiding over it with wisdom and ability until his death in 1899. Retaining the professors of the former institution, President Johnston

called others to his aid, and soon began to broaden the scope of the Academic Department. He organized a University Department of Philosophy and Science, a Collegiate Department, and a High School, "as a temporary adjunct." The last department was now placed under the control of Headmaster A. D. Hurt, who conducted it with marked success until its abolition in 1894. In the same year Tulane College was divided into a College of Arts and Sciences and a College of Technology, each presided over by a dean. To these subdivisions were added at a later period an art department and a department for the higher education of teachers. On the 27th of January, 1894, the corner-stone of the present home of the Academic Department was laid on the extensive grounds purchased for the purpose just opposite to Audubon Park.

When the University of Louisiana was merged into Tulane, the State cut off the appropriation of \$10,000, which for five years it had given to that institution. The present university, therefore, receives no direct aid from the State, but it is aided indirectly by a constitutional exemption from taxation on all its property. In return for this important privilege, the Academic Department offers to the white youth of the State 226 free scholarships, the equivalent in tuition fees of \$24,150, far more than the amount of the exemption. Moreover, to graduates, both male and female, and to teachers in the Teachers' Department the courses of the university are offered free of charge.

The line of demarcation is sharply drawn between College and University work. In the former only the baccalaureate degrees are given; in the latter the higher degrees of A. M., C. E., and Ph. D. are conferred.

The government of the Academic Department has one feature worthy of special remark. Each of the four classes in the college elects a president, a vice-president, and a secretary. These twelve students form what is called the Academic Board. To this Board, of which the president of the Senior class is ex-officio president, is largely intrusted the discipline of the College. To it are referred all questions touching the honor of the College or the violation of rules and regulations (except absences and neglect of work, which are cared for by the deans). Its decisions are sent to the president of the University, who approves them or sends them to the faculty for review. The student affected may also appeal from the decision to the faculty. Very seldom does the faculty find it necessary to do more than advise a reconsideration by the board. This method of self-government, instituted by President Johnston, has met with remarkable success. As an effect of this system and other causes the students of Tulane bear an enviable reputation for good order and gentlemanly conduct.

One of the greatest needs of the university has been a large library. The present one contains about 15,000 volumes—a number far below the necessities of the students and the professors. Among the benefactors of this department mention should be made of Mrs. Charles Conrad, who has presented the law library of her husband, the late Charles Conrad; and Mrs. Caroline Tilton, who has recently (1900) given the Administrators the sum of \$50,000 to erect a library building in memory of her husband.

The administrators of the University* and the faculty of the Academic Department are as follows: Board of Administrators—Charles Erasmus Fenner, President; James McConnell, First Vice President; Robert Miller Walmsley, Second Vice President; Edgar Howard Farrar, Benjamin M. Palmer, D. D. LL. D., Walter Robinson Stauffer, Cartwright Eustis, Henry Ginder, Joseph C. Morris, George Quintard Whitney, John B. Levert, Walter C. Flower, Ashton Phelps, Charles Janvier, Walker Brainerd Spencer, Beverley Warner, D. D., and Walter D. Denegre. Ex-Officio—W. W. Hurd, Governor of Louisiana; Paul Capdevielle, Mayor of New Orleans, and Joseph V. Calhoun, State Superintendent of Public Education. Officers—E. A. Alderman, LL. D., President; Joseph A. Hincks, Secretary and Treasurer of Board; William O. Rogers, LL. D., Secretary of the University; Richard K. Bruff, Assistant Secretary, and Miss Minnie Bell, Librarian.

Faculty of the Academic Department—E. A. Alderman, LL. D., President of the University; William O. Rogers, LL. D., Secretary of the University; J. Hanno Deiler, Professor of German; Alcée Fortier, D. Lt., Professor of Romance Languages; Brown Ayres, B. Sc., Ph. D., Professor of Physics; Robert Sharp, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of English; William Woodward, Professor of Drawing and Architecture; John R. Ficklen, B. Let., Professor of History and Political Science; John W. Caldwell, A. M., M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Geology; Brandt V. B. Dixon, A. M., LL. D., Professor of Psychology and Philosophy; G. E. Beyer, Acting Professor of Biology; J. H. Dillard, M. A., D. Lt., Professor of Latin; William Benjamin Smith, A. M., Ph. D., Professor of Mathematics; W. H. P. Creighton, U. S. N., Professor of Mechanical Engineering; Levi W. Wilkinson, M. Sc., Professor of Sugar Chemistry; Thomas Carter, A. B., B. D., Professor of Greek; Douglas S. Anderson, A. M., Associate Professor of Physics; John E.

* Much of the history of Tulane University has been taken from an article by the late President Wm. Preston Johnston, published in Fay's "History of Education in Louisiana." For the description of the present institutions of New Orleans, the writer is largely indebted to data furnished by the publishers of this work.

Lombard, M. E., Assistant Professor of Mathematics; George E. Beyer, Assistant Professor of Natural History; William P. Brown, A. M., Assistant Professor of English and Latin; B. P. Caldwell, A. B. Ch. E., Assistant Professor of Chemistry; W. B. Gregory, M. E., Assistant Professor of Engineering and Mechanism; and H. F. Rugan, Assistant Professor of Mechanical Arts.

THE H. SOPHIE NEWCOMB MEMORIAL COLLEGE.

In 1886, there was added to Tulane University a new department. This is the H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College for Young Women, established by Mrs. Josephine Louise Newcomb, in memory of her daughter. It occupies a square of ground on Washington avenue. Here spacious and artistic buildings have been erected for its use. The course of instruction includes the preparatory, the college, and the normal art. Physical education, also, forms a part of the college course. Its graduates are admitted to Tulane University on the same terms as its own graduates. Under the direction of the Board of Administrators and the admirable management of its president, Brandt V. B. Dixon, this college has won for itself an honored name in Louisiana.

Its faculty for 1898-9 is as follows: The President of the University; Brandt V. B. Dixon, A. M., LL. D., President of College, and Professor of Philosophy; John M. Ordway, A. M., Professor of Biology; Ulric Bettison, Professor of Mathematics; Jennie C. Nixon, Professor of English and Rhetoric; Evelyn W. Ordway, B. S., Professor of Chemistry and Physics; Marie J. Augustin, Professor of French; Mary L. Harkness, A. M., Professor of Latin; Ellsworth Woodward, Professor of Drawing and Painting, and Director of Art Instruction; Gertrude R. Smith, Assistant Professor of Drawing and Painting; Frederick Wespy, Ph. D., Professor of Greek and German; Clara G. Baer, Professor of Physical Education; Mary C. Spencer, M. S., Professor of Physics; Mary G. Sheerer, Assistant Professor in Art Department; Francis Devereux Jones, Instructor of Drawing; Katherine Kopman, Instructor of Drawing; L. J. Catlett, Principal of High School; Julia C. Logan, Instructor of English; Mattie M. Austin, Instructor of English; Kate A. Atkinson, Instructor of Latin; Clarisse Cenas, Instructor of French; Alice Burt Sandidge, Instructor of Greek; Frank H. Simms, Director of Music; Leonora M. Cage, Secretary; Emma P. Randolph, Librarian; and Alice Bowman, Lady in Charge of Josephine Louise House.

Students in all departments, 1899-1900: University Department for Graduate work, 24; College of Arts and Sciences, 91; College of Technology, 87; Art De-

partment, including Evening class, 20; Department for Teachers, 152; Newcomb, including High School and Art Department, 259; Law Department, 76; Medical Department, including 31 Pharmacy Students, 422. Total, 1,129.

It is generally conceded that from the higher institutions of learning the secondary schools catch their inspiration, and that their progress depends upon the standard set by such institutions for success in their own courses of study. Tulane University feels this responsibility, and in all its departments, it is striving as rapidly as possible to raise the ideal of preparation throughout the city and country schools.

Moreover, as its graduates pass out into the world, it appeals through them to the people of the State to recognize the benefits conferred upon the young citizens by the pursuit of the higher learning. It may be safely maintained that not only has the ability of the professional men of New Orleans been greatly developed by the labors of the university, but the city has found the presence of the university in its midst to be an important factor in improving the general tone of society.

Authorities—Marie-Madeleine Hachard's Letters; Mother Mary Austin Carroll's Essays; B. F. French's Collections No. 3; Gayarré's History of Louisiana; Martin's History of Louisiana; R. M. Lusher's Sketch of Public Schools in Louisiana Journal of Education; "Origin and Development of the Public School System in Louisiana," by J. R. Ficklen (in U. S. Report of Education, 1894-5); Alcée Fortier's "Louisiana Studies;" Archives of the City Hall, Reports of the State Superintendents, and other educational documents in the Howard and Fisk libraries.

CHAPTER X.

OLD BURIAL PLACES.

BY A. G. DURNO.

AS HAS been repeatedly indicated elsewhere, New Orleans is situated in a marsh. Its greatest natural elevation above the sea level is 10 feet 8 inches, which is artificially increased to 15 feet by the levee on the river bank. Half a mile back from the river the elevation is but little above the sea-level, so that, especially during high stages of the river, a large part of the city is below the natural water line. Strangers are always struck by the singular phenomenon of water running in the gutters away from the river, instead of towards it, as would seem natural. And not only is it necessary to fence out the water that flows past our doors, but the ground upon which we tread is not yet fully redeemed from the dominion of that element, it being impossible to dig three feet without striking water. Under these circumstances it is readily seen that burial, as understood in more elevated localities, is out of the question in New Orleans. The method of interment adopted, therefore, is that of tombs built upon the surface, consisting usually of two vaults, with a lower vault for the reception of bones when it is desired to use the upper chambers a second time. These tombs are built of brick, covered with stucco, of stone, iron or marble. The tombs belonging to societies and benevolent orders are mausoleums of imposing proportions, and often beautified with statues and other ornamental sculptures. The older cemeteries, within the limits of the thickly built portions of the city are enclosed by thick walls, which are honeycombed with vaults called "ovens," each provided with a small arched opening closed with cement and a memorial tablet. These vaults, as well as those built upon the ground, are private property, and are handed down from generation to generation in the same family. The first cemetery in New Orleans, utilized during the days of Bienville, was situated beyond the fortifications to the north of the city, near what is now the corner of Bourbon and Esplanade. Bodies were there buried in the ground.

The oldest of the walled cemeteries is known as the St. Louis Cemetery No. 1,

and is the property of the Saint Louis Cathedral, having been acquired by that corporation by a French concession made in 1744. This cemetery is thickly crowded with tombs which are huddled together without any attempt at orderly arrangement. The meager lots are separated only by narrow alleys, and no space has been spared to the ornamental plots of grass, shrubbery and flowers with which it is usual to surround the habitations of the dead. Many of the tombs are empty and falling to pieces, the tablets gone, or so worn by winter's storms and summer's heats that the inscriptions are no longer legible. Some of them, and these the oldest, appear never to have been furnished with tablets, their place being supplied by a small cross of wrought iron, upon which are rudely cut the name, age, and date of death. Even these are unexpectedly modern, the earliest date decipherable being 1800. This date occurs on two crosses, on one of which can be indistinctly traced the words: "Nanette ——— de P. Bailly, Decedée le 24—1800." A slab laid upon the top of this tomb at a later date repeats the inscription, and fills up the hiatuses, at the same time commemorating the two children of "Nanette," who died in 1812. The lady was, according to the revised inscription: "Annette Cadin, femme de Pierre Bailly," and died, "Octobre 24, 1800, agée de 45 ans." Two other crosses whose inscriptions are still legible bear the dates respectively of 1805, and 1811. On the others, two or three in number, the lettering is no longer visible.

A small brick tomb, still in a fairly good state of preservation, bears the name of Jean Etienne Boré, noted in the industrial history of Louisiana as the first planter who succeeded in making sugar from cane grown in the colony. The tablet is at the base of the tomb, the upper chamber of which is occupied by the remains of his daughter and son-in-law, the mother and father of Charles Gayarré, and the lower part of it is so sunken in the earth as to completely hide the record of his death. The upper part bears the inscription:

Ici Repose
Jean Etienne Boré
Né le 27 Decembre, 1741.
Marié le 20 9bre, 1771.

In this cemetery also is the Tomb of Daniel Clark, an Irishman who, coming to Louisiana early in the century, became a naturalized citizen of the United States, and, besides acquiring a large fortune, represented the State in Congress, and held other influential positions. But Clark's name is principally remembered as that of the reputed father of the famous Myra Clark Gaines, whose suit, as

claimant of Clark's estate, is one of the "causes célèbres" of the century. A long Latin inscription on the handsome slab that covers the tomb, which was erected by Richard Relf, friend and executor of the deceased, celebrates the virtues of Clark, and a tablet at the foot reiterates the claim of the redoubtable Myra, maintained by her before hundreds of judges, throughout forty-eight years of litigation, that she was the daughter of Daniel Clark and Zulemé Carrière, his lawful wife. Not far from the tomb of Clark and the woman who spent the best part of her life in trying to prove herself his daughter, sleeps Stephen Zacharie, founder of the first bank in the Mississippi Valley. The handsomest tomb in the cemetery is that of the Italian Society, a really magnificent structure built of white marble, in the form of a Maltese cross. A sculptured figure leaning upon a cross, symbolic of Religion, surmounts the mausoleum, and other life-size statues representing Italia and her famous children, occupy niches about the walls. This tomb cost \$50,000, and is really a work of art, but its situation among the crowding vaults and narrow alleys prevents its beauty from being properly appreciated.

The Layton family own the most spacious and well-kept plot of ground belonging to any one family within the walls, and divided from it by a rough board fence is what the sexton calls "the American part." Evidently the "American" families who once buried their dead here have either become extinct, or have ceased to cherish the memory of their remote ancestors whose names are carved on the ruinous tombs. One of the most interesting tombs of this section is a square stone structure, mounted on a pediment and bearing on one face in low relief a sculptured scene, representing a mother and child reclining on a canopied couch, evidently in the article of death. At the foot of the couch kneels the grieving husband and father, and over the group hovers an angel with a palm branch, while below is graven the legend: "For the virtuous there is a better and a happier world." The face of the lady is entirely featureless, time having destroyed all the finer lines of the chisel. On the side to the right of this is a crumbling inscription of which nothing can be distinguished except the lower lines: "wife of W——m C. C. Claiborne, Governor General of Louisiana, who died at New Orleans on the 27th of September, 1804, in the 21st year of her age." On the left face is graven: "Also of Cornelia Tennessee (sic) Claiborne, the only child of Eliza W. Claiborne, who died on the same day, aged three years," and on that opposite the sculpture: "Here also rests the body of Micajah Green Lewis, brother of Eliza W. Claiborne, and private secretary to Governor Claiborne, who fell in a duel, Feb'y 14th, 1805, in the 25th year of his age." Young Lewis, it may be

remarked here, died in his brother-in-law's quarrel, a political one. It is evident that nobody any longer cares for the tenants of this tomb, which shows every sign of neglect—its ornamental corners broken, its seams gaping, its inscriptions partially obliterated. Quite near stands another and more pretentious tomb, of monumental proportions, and well kept up, which, after once more assuring the visitor that “for the virtuous there is a better and a happier world,” asserts itself as being “In memory of Clarice Duralde Claiborne, the youngest daughter of Martin Duralde of Mackupas, and wife of William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of the Territory of Orleans, who died in New Orleans on the 29th of November, 1809, in the 21st year of her age.” The Governor seems to have been unfortunate with his youthful wives. It is to be hoped that in his next matrimonial venture he was prudent enough to select a lady who had passed the 21st anniversary of her birth.

In one corner of this same “American” section among heaps of indistinguishable wreckage, overgrown with wild blackberry vines and other vagrant herbage, are two empty and ruined vaults, whose fallen slabs revive memories of Great Britain's futile attempt upon New Orleans. One of these was the last resting place of William P. Canby, a native of Norfolk, Va., and a midshipman in the U. S. Navy, who “fell in the unequal contest between the U. S. Gunboat Squadron, and the British Flotilla, on Lake Borgne, Dec. 14th, 1814,” at the age of eighteen. The other was erected to the memory of Oliver Parmlee, a New England youth who “was killed in the defense of New Orleans in the battle with the British Army, Dec. 23d, 1814. *Æt.* 29.” It seems a little ungracious on the part of the city that the very names of these two young strangers who left their homes to come and lay down their lives in her defense should be allowed to perish in the obscurity of a deserted cemetery.

Another of the defenders who is among this silent congregation has been more fortunate, his name at least having been preserved in the annals of the city, though probably more on account of its picturesque effect than of any sentiment of gratitude for his services. This is Dominique You, one of the captains of Lafitte appointed by Jackson to the command of a battery on the day of the decisive battle. You was commended in general orders for gallantry and for the faithful performance of his pledge, and became thereafter a peaceful and law-abiding citizen. When Jackson visited New Orleans seven years after the victory, You entertained him at a breakfast, which the old hero pronounced the most enjoyable incident of his visit. He lived to an advanced age, and at his death was buried with much

pomp and circumstance, the procession which escorted him to the tomb being cited as the standard for such demonstrations for many years afterward. Upon his memorial tablet is carved, by way of epitaph the following quatrain from Voltaire's "La Henriade":

Intrepide guerrier, sur la terre et sur l'onde
Il sut, dans cent combats, signaler sa valeur,
Et ce nouveau Bayard sans reproche et sans peur
Aurait pu, sans trembler, voir s'écrouler le monde.

Young Lewis was not the only man laid here who gave up his life as a sacrifice to the demands of the "code." At the very gate, on the left as one enters, in the lowest tier of "ovens" so that it is necessary to stoop low in order to read, is this: "Ci git J. Peut Berten. Né a Bordeaux. Mort Victime de l'honneur. Agé de 26 ans;" and the legend, "Victime de l'honneur," or "Mort sur le champ d'honneur," is repeated on many tablets. Another which tells a still sadder story is "Poor Charlie, X. S." *

St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 comprises a single square, bounded by St. Louis, Conti, Basin and Liberty streets. At the time of its opening this was just beyond the fortifications, and was doubtless thought very much out of the way. In 1822 it had already become so crowded as to render necessary the opening of new ground. The City Council therefore donated to the Church Wardens three squares bounded by Customhouse, St. Louis, Robertson and Claiborne streets, which are known as St. Louis Cemetery No. 2. They are separated by the intervening streets—Bienville and Conti—running parallel with Customhouse and St. Louis, and each square has its own encircling wall, but the three form but one cemetery, though they are often spoken of as Nos. 2, 3 and 4. Here some attempt has been made toward symmetry of arrangement, and a broad central avenue traverses the entire length of the triple enclosure, the tombs being ranged on either side with narrow alleys between, but with a more generous allotment of ground. The tombs are often surrounded by neat iron railings, and some of them have pretty little "door-yards," with a bit of lawn bordered with box or some low growing shrub, and set off with a rose-bush, or a cape jessamine. As All-Saints day approaches, these quiet precincts take on an aspect of unwonted activity. The marble tombs are washed white and clean, those of stucco whitewashed, inscriptions are re-gilded or touched up with black paint, brick walks are "reddened," grass-plots re-sodded, and everything made ready for the yearly festival of the dead. For weeks before the event the windows of certain shops have been filled with wreaths of immortelles,

of beads, minute shells and various other materials, the florists have been hurrying forward their chrysanthemums and other autumn blooming plants, and on the morning of the first day of November every cemetery seems to have been suddenly transformed into a garden. The whole population of the city appears to be afoot, and the streets and cars are thronged with flower-laden women and children, hastening to lay the crowning offering upon the tomb of some dear departed one. All day long the throngs pour through the avenues and alleys of the cemeteries, laughing, talking, exchanging notes and comments on the decorations of the tombs they have visited, while at every gate, under the charge of a "Sister," sits a group of pink clad, pink bonneted orphans, making clamorous appeal for charity by beating incessantly with a silver coin upon a metal contribution plate.

In connection with these old cemeteries some interest attaches to the history of the San Antoine Mortuary Chapel. This chapel, now St. Anthony's Italian Church, is situated only a short square distant from the oldest of the cemeteries, at the corner of Rampart and Conti streets. About the same time that the council donated the ground for the new cemetery on Claiborne street, complaints began to be made of the frequency of the performance of funeral ceremonies at the Cathedral, which were no doubt a great interruption to business, the Cathedral being at that time still in the center of the city. In deference to these well-grounded complaints the city granted to the wardens of the Cathedral a piece of ground at the location named above, upon condition of their erecting there a chapel to which the dead might be brought for the last rites of the Church. In compliance with this provision, on the 10th of October, 1826, a cross was set up to mark the site of the altar, and the following morning work was begun on the chapel, which was completed within the year at a cost of \$16,000. It was dedicated to the most holy Saint Anthony of Padua, and here for many years were performed the funeral rites of all persons dying in the faith of the Roman Catholic Church. The chapel was included in the list of the property belonging to the Cathedral made at the time the church and all its possessions were transferred to the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

The Cathedral is also the proprietor of a cemetery on Esplanade avenue, the ground for which was acquired by purchase in 1849, and which is known as St. Louis Cemetery No. 3. This cemetery is less crowded than the older ones, and is beautified with trees and flowers. Its acquisition for burial purposes gave rise to a lawsuit, the proprietor of a neighboring piece of land objecting to the opening of a graveyard so near his residence. An injunction was sued out to forbid the continuance of interments, and the case being appealed to the Supreme Court, the judges

decided that, so far from being "necessarily shocking or offensive to the senses," a cemetery, under proper police superintendence, "may be rendered one of the most attractive ornaments of a city," and that, in the court's opinion, "such is the case with those of New Orleans." The injunction was therefore dissolved, and judgment rendered for defendants, with costs in both courts.

A curious little burial ground, with the odd personality of a former sexton clinging to it, is the Louisa Street Cemetery. *Pépé Lula*, a Spanish swordsman and an expert pistol shot, was sexton here for a great many years, and the fact having become known that he had killed a number of men, the people came to believe that he had established the cemetery for the purpose of burying his victims, and thereafter called the place *Pépé Lula's Cemetery*, which title still clings to it in the popular mind.

The oldest of the "up town" cemeteries is known as *Lafayette No. 1*, and is situated on Washington avenue, between Coliseum and Prytania streets. This is now in the very heart of the choicest residence portion of the city, called the "garden district," from the universal practice of surrounding the dwellings with shade trees, lawns and parterres of flowers; but in 1824, when the square was appropriated as a burial place, it was a thinly populated suburb, a mile or more distant from the upper limit of the corporation, which was then *Delord street*. For many years up to 1852, in fact, this suburb was known as *Lafayette*, and was governed by its own mayor and council.

This cemetery resembles those of the lower district already noticed in all essential features, though an improvement upon them in the matter of arrangement, being laid out in regular avenues, and planted with trees. The central avenue is especially noticeable from the double line of magnolia trees from which it takes its appellation—*Magnolia avenue*.

Lafayette Cemetery No. 2 is also on Washington avenue, much farther out in the direction of the lake, between *Saratoga* and *South Franklin* streets. Its area is about equally divided between white and colored people, the tombs of many of the burial societies and benevolent associations of this latter class being located there. Among its most conspicuous monuments are those of the *French Society of Jefferson*, and of the *Butchers' Association*.

The *Girod Cemetery* has the appearance of age, but whether from lapse of time or from neglect cannot be ascertained. It is located in the first district, between *South Liberty*, *Perrillat*, *Cypress* and *Magnolia* streets. It contains some interesting tombs, notwithstanding its dilapidated appearance, among them that of *Colonel*

W. W. S. Bliss, General Taylor's son-in-law, and chief of staff during the Mexican war. Colonel Bliss survived all his battles, and sleeps peacefully beneath a monument erected to his memory by his friends at West Point. This cemetery also contains the monument of the Marine Association and the splendid temple of the New Lusitanos, as well as several well constructed tombs belonging to various colored societies.

Perhaps the most picturesque cemetery of New Orleans is the Campo Santo of the Church of the Holy Trinity, situated in the Third district, and bounded by Washington avenue, Solidelle, Prosper and Music streets. The cemetery is small, and is only partially filled with graves and tombs, but it possesses several features of peculiar interest. The tomb of the Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration occupies one corner of the enclosure, and in the rear is a frescoed mortuary chapel, the work of the Carmelite monks. It is also the only cemetery in which the devout pilgrim can make "the way of the cross" in the open air, with only the blue vault of the sky for roof. The fourteen stations are carved in low relief on wood instead of being painted, as in the churches, and here at almost any hour of the day may be seen penitent suppliants following the "Via Dolorosa," the road to Calvary, trodden by the Great Martyr nearly two thousand years ago.

The supreme attraction of this little place of graves, however, is the chapel dedicated to Saint Roch, the patron of the sick, and more especially of those stricken by the plague. Saint Roch, according to the Roman breviary, was a native of Montpellier, France, said to have been born with the mark of the red cross upon his person, a sign interpreted as signifying future eminence. At the age of twelve he began to practice strict asceticism, and on the death of his parents when he was twenty, he gave all his substance to the poor and joined the Franciscan Tertiaries. Happening to be in Italy during the prevalence of the plague, he devoted himself to ministering to the sick in the public hospitals, and, falling ill himself at Piacenza, would have died in the forest had not the dog of a certain nobleman daily brought him a piece of bread. He died in prison at his native place, having been arrested as a spy on his return from Italy. Before his death he obtained from God the promise that persons stricken with the plague who invoked him should be healed. He is represented as a pilgrim in the garb of a cavalier of the period, staff in hand, and a dog by his side.

The chapel is a wooden structure, Gothic in style, and so overgrown with ivy as to completely cover its walls. The side walls are formed by tiers of vaults belonging to the societies of Saint Anne and Saint Joseph. Above each of these is a

stained glass window inscribed to the patron saint. Its shrine is a favorite place of pilgrimage for the performance of novenas, the nine days' prayer vowed to some particular saint for the attainment of some desired good. The orthodox method of performing a novena is to walk (barefooted, according to the strictest rule) from one's home to the shrine of the saint, bearing a lighted taper, and without having broken fast. This must be done nine days in succession, the same prayer or invocation being many times repeated each day. It is said that this is sometimes done even now, and at Saint Roch's, but the more usual practice is to light the taper at the gate, and walking with it up the central avenue, place it at the foot of the shrine, at the same time naming the desired favor. The following invocation to Saint Roch is then recited:

O great Saint Roch, deliver us, we beseech thee, from the scourges of God. Through thy intercessions preserve our bodies from contagious diseases, and our souls from the contagion of sin. Obtain for us salubrious air; but, above all, purity of heart. Assist us to make good use of health, to bear suffering with patience, and, after thy example, to live in the practice of penance and charity, that we may one day enjoy the happiness which thou hast merited by thy virtues.

Saint Roch, pray for us (repeat three times).

Alms are then deposited in the box placed for their reception, and the suppliant "makes the way of the cross," repeating the prayers prescribed for the various stations, and adding that for the special object of the novena.

It is said that the young girls of the vicinity, and in fact throughout the city, who are anxious to exchange the single state for that of wedlock, are accustomed to pray every evening at St. Roch's shrine for a husband, but such prayers should be, and probably are, addressed to Saint Joseph, the patron of marriages, who has also a shrine in the chapel, and whose images are for sale at the gate by the sexton or janitor.

The Metairie Cemetery is the very newest of the thirty-one burial places of New Orleans, but as it is also the most beautiful, it cannot be passed over without a word of notice. Metairie Ridge is a ridge of land midway between river and lake, formed many years before the settlement of Louisiana by the meting of the waters at that point in the great inundations. It was formerly used as a race-course, and was the scene of many famous races, notably that of the contests between Lexington and Leconte in 1855. In 1872 it was determined to convert the old course into a cemetery, and an association was formed for the purpose of raising funds and considering plans for the carrying out of the design. One hundred and eight acres of ground were purchased at a cost of \$175,000, and \$171,000 more were expended in the laying out of walks, carriage roads, the digging of artificial lakes, building of

bridges and planting of trees, shrubbery, flowers-beds, etc. The plan adopted was furnished by Mr. Harrod, and retains the old race-course as the main drive. In this cemetery are many beautiful and interesting monuments, conspicuous among them being the tomb of the Army of Northern Virginia, surmounted by a column bearing a statue of Stonewall Jackson; the tomb of the Washington Artillery, crowned by the statue of their old commander, Colonel J. B. Walton; and the Gothic vault of the Army of Tennessee, upon whose grassy summit is posed a bronze equestrian statue of Albert Sidney Johnston.

The other cemeteries located on or near the Metairie Ridge are:

Hebrew Cemetery.—“Dispersed of Judah;” Canal street, between Anthony street and Metairie Ridge; size 250 feet square.

Polish Hebrew Cemetery.—Canal street, opposite above. Sometimes called “Jewish Rest.”

Odd Fellows Cemetery.—Canal street and Metairie road; size 360 feet square.

Charity Hospital Cemeteries, Nos. 1 and 2.—Canal street, between Anthony and Metairie road; and Metairie road, between Bienville and Canal. Exclusively for burials from Charity Hospital.

Masonic Cemetery.—Bienville street, between Metairie Ridge and Anthony street; size three squares.

St. Patrick Cemetery No. 1.—Canal street, between Anthony street and Metairie Ridge; size 400 by 1,500 feet.

St. Patrick Cemetery No. 2.—Canal, between Anthony and Metairie road, opposite above; size one square.

St. Patrick Cemetery No. 3.—Metairie road, between Canal and Bienville; size two squares.

Firemen's Cemeteries.—Known as Cypress Grove Nos. 1 and 2, and Greenwood. Metairie Ridge and Canal street.

In addition to these there are:

Valence Street Cemetery.—Sixth district, size one square, bounded by Valence, Bordeaux, Rampart and Dryades streets.

Carrollton Cemetery.—Seventh district, size four squares, bounded by Adams and Lower Line, Seventh and Eighth streets.

St. Joseph Cemetery.—Fourth district, size two squares, bounded by Washington avenue, St. David, South Liberty and Sixth streets.

St. Vincent Cemetery.—Sixth district, size three squares, bounded by St. David, Green and St. Patrick streets.

Locust Grove Cemeteries, Nos. 1 and 2.—Fourth district, size one square each, bounded by Locust, Freret, Sixth and Seventh streets. Sometimes called “Potter’s Field.”

St. Vincent de Paul Cemetery.—Third district, size one square, bounded by Louisa, Piety, Villere and Urquhart streets.

Holt’s Cemetery.—First district, size five to six acres.

Hebrew Cemetery.—Elysian Fields, near Gentilly road, size one square.

Hebrew Cemetery.—Sixth district, on Joseph street, known as “Hebrew Place of Prayer;” size one square.

German Hungarian Lutheran Cemetery.—Canal street, between Anthony and Bernadotte.

Chalmette Cemetery.—One mile below Barracks, on river. For Union soldiers.

Verret Cemetery.—Sixth district, corner Verret and Market streets.

St. Bartholomew Cemetery.—Fifth district, bounded by De Armas, Lasseyrusee, Franklin and Hancock streets.

William Tell Cemetery.—Gretna, Tenth street, between Lavoisier and Nerota streets.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PRESS.

BY J. M. LEVEQUE.

IT IS an ancient saying that the press is the great mirror of the times. This is possibly true. It is certainly true here, with us, in America. In a country like Russia, where the press is subject to a censorship, it is likely that neither the joys nor the sorrows of the people, neither the things which they love nor those which they hate, find a candid voice in the press. The press reflects there power—the power of the absolute monarchy which censors it. But here the monarch, being the people, in theory, and, to a pretty large extent, in fact, the press reflects that monarch with a fine degree of nicety and accuracy. Show any man of discrimination and of experience the press of a given city and let him study it, and he can accurately judge if it be a cultured or a rude city; what its chiefest business is; what is the temper of its mind. This inevitably must be. The press depends, in this country, for its success, not upon government subsidies, not upon the favoritism of this, that or the other rich patron, but upon its popularity with the people, and the people usually patronize that which they like.

This is said by way of preface to the chronicling of the history of the press of New Orleans, from the infancy of this class of letters here to the present. It is considerably over a hundred years old, and what a marvelous revolution has taken place in that time! Yet, through all the lapse of years, it seems as if the saying concerning the press had been verified—as if that great organ had been indeed the reflex of popular life in this famous old city.

In the archives of the city are to be found to-day copies of the early papers printed here. As one looks over them, it seems strange that these publications then took the place of the present product of the Mergenthaler and the perfecting press, of well-ordered counting-rooms, and of the perfect discipline of editorial and reportorial staffs, of ability and ceaseless work. Yet doubtless if he compared the city of those days with the New Orleans of to-day, the parallel between the progress of the press and that of the city would be seen to be perfect.

The first impression—and, indeed, it is more than an impression; it is a direct lesson—the first lesson that these yellow, time-stained reminders of a by-gone time convey to one, is that, in those days, there was a fine degree of leisure in every walk of life here, and a fine desire to spend it leisurely, like a gentleman, sir, like a gentleman. To read the thoughts of others was a direct restraint upon the originality of our own thoughts, to say nothing of an encroachment upon our leisure. Consequently, the very earliest products of the printing press took the shape of the *gazettes*. As one looks over a copy of an early *gazette*, he is impressed that the hardest task ever connected with it must have devolved upon the saluatorian in the first number. To explain why it was born into the world must, indeed, have been a task. It was not a purveyor of news. It was not a disseminator of opinions. It contained such business in the shape of advertisements as was securable, and contented itself usually with slapping into type matter which it is as puzzling as the hieroglyphics of the Nile to discern why it ever found print. “A letter from abroad” was apparently a prize. It was usually obtained by the editor in the course of his rounds among the business men. A ship captain, discharging cargo in some foreign port, was usually an important correspondent. His letter was given leading place, even if it were two months old, and even though it told of nothing in the world but of cargoes and of shipping. There was a swaggering inclination, too, to pay flattering personal compliments to the advertisers whom the editor had successfully “interviewed.” In those good old days there seemed little care on the editorial mind. The choice of subjects, the influencing of intelligent opinion on the most important topics of the day—such considerations as these never bothered the magnate at the helm of a *gazette*. “Local news” was manifestly scorned. Why give space to that which anyone could find out by a little inquiry; or rather, why take the time and the trouble to put it in type?

New Orleans was indebted to a San Domingan refugee for its very first paper. It was called *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane*. It was issued in 1794. At that time the city was practically a French city and the French tongue was predominant. *Le Moniteur* was printed in French. The fate of *Le Moniteur* is lost in the obscurity of a past century. The historical accuracy of the fact that it did exist is attested by the copies of it now to be found in the archives of the city. It was a weekly.

With the dawn of the next century, New Orleans is found in the enjoyment of a semi-weekly, printed in English, showing the change that was even then taking place in the language of the city. This publication was known as *The Louisiana Gazette*, and its first issue appeared on July 27, 1804. It was a little, badly printed

folio of 10x16 inches. One John Mowry was its editor. As far as known, Editor Mowry had the honor of printing the first of many *gazettes* whose history is lost in the haze of the far past. His *gazette*, however, is a most interesting study. Samples of it are also preserved in the archives of the city, where the diligent historian may peruse them and learn many interesting things, possibly, for to the man who loves to rebuild, in his imagination, the conditions of the past, it is unquestionably interesting. The *Gazette* exhibits the characteristic disregard of "news." The colossus of war across the water, at that time disturbing all Europe, appears to have stirred up the native burgher as far away as New Orleans, however, for the *Gazette* is found bitterly inveighing against Napoleon. The subject is vastly more important than even matters concerning public men and measures at home, who receive only a casual share of attention. In this appears also the lingering French character of the city. The *Louisiana Gazette* appears to have had considerable staying qualities, for it continued to live for a number of years. It was domiciled at (old) No. 36 Bienville, the house of C. Norwood. That was in the neighborhood of the commercial center of the city in those days, and the city was by no means as large as it is to-day. The *Gazette's* motto was "American Commerce and Freedom," and it is not on record whether the commerce and the freedom in mind was that so much affected by the renowned Lafitte. In subsequent years it repeatedly changed its domicile and it added a sub-heading, "Merchantile Advertiser." At different times it published at 21 Conti, 26 Conti, and, in the history-making year of 1812, its office was removed to 51 Chartres, at that time the leading commercial thoroughfare, as Royal was the leading residential street. In 1823 it removed again to 31 Customhouse, and still again the next year to 22 Bienville. It must not be too quickly surmised that heartless landlords were responsible for these changes, for there are evidences of a fairly prosperous business in *The Gazette*. Its prosperity was evidently on the increase, too, for on April 15, 1817, a concession was made to the French readers by the appearance of the paper in both French and English, and it was repeatedly enlarged, both that year and the next. Editor Mowry had made repeated attempts to establish the paper as a daily, but evidently the times were not ripe for it. His first endeavor was on April 3, 1810. There seems to have been, about this time, some awakening consciousness to the fact that news should be given by a newspaper, as Editor Mowry is found promising that he will endeavor to give "the latest intelligence" in his paper. The outcome of this endeavor as a daily was apparently not successful, for in 1814 the paper was issued tri-weekly. David McKeehan was then its proprietor, having bought it from Mr. Mowry. At

that time *The Gazette* began to change hands with great frequency, viewed from the modern standpoint. G. B. Cotten bought it, and, in 1816, he sold it to William Burner. Next year, Mr. Burner took as a partner Charles W. Duhy. Editor Duhy became sole proprietor in July, 1820, and there are evidences that he prospered, for he made it a daily, enlarging the size of it. Mr. Duhy, by the way, is possibly the most conspicuous newspaper man of his times. Four years later he sold it to R. D. Richardson, who in the same year, 1824, turned the paper over to James McKaraher. In May of the following year, Mr. Richardson regained possession of the property, being joined in the venture by a Boston printer named A. P. Penniman. This firm purchased this paper and also the material of *The Orleans Gazette*, which had gone out of existence. When it is stated that these gentlemen advertised four handpresses as evidences of a very large job printing outfit, some idea may be gained of the proportions to which "the art preservative" had attained in that day.

In the meantime new candidates were in the field for journalistic honors. In 1820 *The Louisiana Advertiser* was being published, and in 1825 that sheet is found in the possession of one James Beerdslee, who was publishing it at No. 37 Bienville street. He sold it out five years later, in 1830, to John Penrice, from whom the paper in time passed into the hands of Stroud & Jones. James Beerdslee in 1824 had started a paper called *The Weekly Advertiser*. This was the organ which the distinguished John Gibson used to telling advantage to New Orleans journalism in the "thirties." He became the proprietor of *The Weekly Advertiser* in 1833, and two years later he changed its name to *The True American*, which lived into the forties. Gibson had manifestly some ideas of his own about the province of a newspaper, which, while trite now, were new in New Orleans then. He paid great attention to local news. He followed the history of local politics closely and faithfully and he succeeded in so revolutionizing the old gazette style of journalism that all the old papers died out one by one. He was the biggest figure in journalism of New Orleans up to his day, realizing that in nothing is a newspaper so strong as in being the faithful chronicler of passing events. On the success he upbuilt was created the condition in which it was possible for newspapers to thrive.

Gibson received the flattering sobriquet of "the faithful and bold." He was a man of conviction and courage. Unswervable, clear, daring and undaunted, his life was a forceful factor in shaping the destinies of the city in his time.

The True American probably came to its end in 1842, when *The Daily Tropic* came into existence. Its proprietor was Alden S. Merrifield. This was, like *The*

True American, one of the best edited specimens of journalism in New Orleans to that date. It was a whig paper and a champion of Henry Clay. Among the notables of the time connected with it were P. Besançon and B. F. Flanders.

Another paper, the history of whose career is lost in the oblivion of the past, but which must have had its origin away back in the first years of the eighteen hundreds, being accounted a half century old at the time of its demise. May 29, 1859, was *The Courier*, which had attained considerable prominence in the forties, being the exponent of the conservative democracy of the State. It seems to have been distanced by its more energetic rivals in the race, although it had been highly esteemed by a very respectable element of the city.

Its greatest editor was J. C. DeRomes, who conducted its destinies for a period of thirty years, finally disposing of the property to Jerome Bayon, April 12, 1843. Editor DeRomes was not in any sense brilliant, but he managed its finances so successfully as to retire in his old age comfortably, and he bequeathed to his successor the good will of a fine clientele.

The oldest paper in the city to-day is *The New Orleans Bee*, and history makes it evident that *The Bee* is as modest as a maiden on the shady side of thirty about its age. There are evidences that *The Bee* was published as far back as 1809. There is in existence to-day a copy of a paper called *l'Ami des Lois et Journal du Soir*, bearing date of September 2, 1816. This copy is marked Volume 7 and its number is 1281. It is reasonable to suppose that the first number of this tri-weekly could not have been published later than 1809. It was published in French and English. In 1822, on September 20, the name of the paper was changed to *The Louisianian and Friend of the Laws*. It was, during the period in question, under the management of Michel de Armas and J. B. Maurian, but on April 15, 1834, the paper made its final appearance under the caption it had hitherto borne. At that time, too, it was being published by Manuel Crozat. After four days of suspension, for it had become a daily, it reappeared under the name of *The Argus*. It is reasonable to suppose that as the paper was in type, make-up, even in advertising and style the same, it was the identical publication which had suspended. *The Argus* became *The Whig* on August 7, 1834. It was issued from No. 70 Chartres street. On March 1, 1835, the name was changed to *L'Abeille*, or *The Bee*, and it has continued under that name ever since. It is thus seen that *The Bee* can justly claim to date back to about 1809, the oldest paper in Louisiana and one of the oldest in the United States. It continues to-day to be published on Chartres street, the visitor of every French household in the city and State, and, indeed, of many an English-

speaking household, who speak the language as fluently as the English. The courtly and popular Armand Capdevielle is its editor in chief. Possibly the most distinguished man who has ever been in the service of *The Bee* was the poet Canonge, whose reputation lives to-day in many a cherished scrap-book, as well as in the memory of the old-timer. He was a poet of conspicuous force and beauty of fancy, a man of great culture and a magnificent musician. Some of the finest criticism of music ever penned in this city, and, indeed, in this country, were written by him. He bore the reputation of being utterly honest in his utterance concerning the work of the musician; a man whose friendships never clouded his judgment or his perception of the functions of criticisms. He combined with his lofty ideal of the province of criticism an enthusiasm and wholesome spirit of encouragement which invariably acted as a spur, instead of as a discouragement, to the artist. To be praised by Canonge was regarded by the musician as the highest honor within the reach of any artist. *The Bee* to-day is a modern paper, in French. It handles the news, local and foreign, just as the English papers of the city, though in a more condensed form. The Associated Press service is used, translated in condensed form so as to present all the news.

Next in age to *The Bee* is *The New Orleans Daily Picayune*, which was founded in January of 1837 by Francis Asbury Lumsden and John Wilkins Kendall. Both these gentlemen were printers of ripened experience. Mr. Lumsden had been the foreman of a paper called *The Standard*, one of the many ephemeral dailies of the times. Mr. Kendall had been connected with *The True American*. That paper ran a job office, and of this he had been the foreman. The paper was born at (old) No. 38 Gravier street. The building in which it had its birth has been demolished long ago, and in its stead a more pretentious and commodious building has been reared. There, in one little room, the paper was born and first received the impetus of its early career. In subsequent years, as periods in its history gave reason for a rehearsal thereof, *The Picayune* was so fortunate as to obtain from one of the original men, who worked on it, an authentic account of its first equipment. The historian in question was H. L. Kelsey. The office was located on the ground floor. The room was some twelve or fourteen feet square. There was no opening on the sides or rear, so that at this time it was manifestly necessary for the editor to back any utterance he had to make, the fighting editor being placed in a most disadvantageous position. There were two door-windows, the upper part of these entrances being of glass and the bottom of wood. The paper's material consisted of part of a font of minion type, about 400 or 500 pounds. There were about five composing

sticks, three stands, five pair of cases, including italic, two or three fonts of display type with their cases, an imposing stone and a pair of chases, with their furniture. Eight or ten galleys, a pair of bellows, a wash-basin and a broom completed the outfit, with the exception of an editorial table whose size was in keeping with this modest beginning of the infant paper. There was no room for loafers or the editor's friendly advisor, as there were but two chairs in the place. The "special contributor," too, had no encouragement, for the only other table in the place was used for the books of the establishment. There was no press. The press work was done outside. These are matters of the personal recollection of one of the printers who set type on the very first number of the paper and who has been connected with it ever since.

Besides the proprietors, the men responsible for the appearance of the paper daily were, H. L. Kelsey, William H. Flood and William N. Birkhead. There was, of course, no pressman. The editors were not above the duty of putting their thoughts in type. By turns Mr. Lumsden and Mr. Kendall took a place at the cases. This gave the paper four printers. It will be observed that the paper had but three stands and it therefore becomes necessary to state that the fourth stand was an ingenious contrivance of necessity, constructed with a dry goods box.

It is thus seen that the entire paper was domiciled in one little room, which was counting-room, composing and editorial department in one. The press work of the first two numbers was done in a building at the corner of Camp and Common, where the Story building was subsequently erected. George Short conducted a job printing office at that place, and he was the printer of the first two numbers of *The Picayune*. *The True American* for several numbers after this printed *The Picayune* in its office on Natchez alley. Richard P. Giles and Theodore Dietz, who were pressmen for *The True American*, had the distinction of being the men directly concerned with the printing of *The Picayune* for a long while in its early history.

It is not a matter of record how long after its birth it was that *The Picayune* became the possessor of its own press. It met with such a success that it is assumed it was but a short time, and it is the impression of Mr. Kelsey that this first investment was a Washington hand-press. The paper also found opportunity in its prosperity to release its editors from service at the cases and the next printer who became attached to the mechanical department was M. C. Hull. The first pressman was Frank McKeon, of New York City. He printed the first papers turned out in *The Picayune's* own office, and Henry Roberts was the first roller boy.

Among its early contributors of wit was Henry J. Finn, an actor of the St.

Charles theater, who appears to have made considerable reputation for himself and for *The Picayune* by his jokes.

It is not to be supposed that the paper in those days was in any sense a newspaper such as that word to-day signifies. It was years after this that the world began to realize that its chief function was the dissemination of news reliably and fully, and before newspaper proprietors began to realize that such an output is a standard commodity among men. The first pronounced step the paper took in the direction of this policy was at the time of the Mexican war, when it led the world in news of the events transpiring under General Taylor. The electric telegraph had not been developed to the enormous proportions of to-day, and the only line extended from Washington to Baltimore. The condition of the country in those times may be better appreciated when it is stated that the railroad had been constructed to a considerable extent in the North, but south of Washington the mails were carried for the most part in stage coaches. The time of transmission of a letter from Washington to New Orleans was from fourteen to twenty days. When the Mexican war began to assume considerable importance, the northern papers, appreciating that it was necessary to get speedier returns from the seat of war than had heretofore been in vogue, established a system of "pony express." *The Picayune* originated the first venture, *The Baltimore Sun* taking an interest. The expenses of the service were also, in part, defrayed by the merchants, who did so for the reason that it afforded them speedier market reports and financial news. Through the "pony express" *The Picayune* executed what was considered marvelous pieces of enterprise in those days in getting returns from Taylor's operations in Mexico. Mr. Kendall went to Mexico for the paper, and when hostilities actually began he forwarded the first news of it to reach the United States. *The Picayune*, in short, scooped the world on the news. This news was immediately forwarded on north to the other papers of the "pony express" service, and frequently, during this war, the official reports were far behind the newspaper ones in reaching the world, as continues to be the case even unto to-day. It appears, too, that this characteristic of the press aroused as much official resentment in those days as now. When the treaty of peace was concluded with Mexico, the report and text of the treaty was placed on board the steamship New Orleans by the representative of *The Picayune*. The government report was placed on board of the *Iris*, the government boat. To prevent the newspapers anticipating the official news, the United States officer in Vera Cruz detained the New Orleans two days after the sailing of the government boat. The New Orleans put on all possible steam and overhauled the *Iris*, reaching

New Orleans before the Iris arrived at Mobile. The report was printed in *The Picayune* and forwarded by the pony express to the papers of the North, appearing in the papers of Baltimore before the official report reached Washington. Another unique enterprise of *The Picayune* was connected with the presentation of the president's messages. The paper sent corps of printers to Mobile by boat to meet the messages when they arrived there, and on the way home they put the document in type, so that it was ready to be printed on their arrival.

In 1837 *The Picayune* office was established at (old) No. 72 Camp street, where it remained until November 23, 1847, when it removed to its present office. On October 28, 1845, the paper had been enlarged to a seven-column paper. The building in which it is now domiciled and which it built, was erected in October, 1850. This enterprise was the result of a million dollar fire, which consumed almost the entire block on Camp street and the opposite side of the street. The publication of the paper was not interrupted, its editions being printed in other offices. *The Picayune* was the first New Orleans publication to erect its own building.

Fire and the exigencies of war had failed to interrupt the steady publication of the paper. It remained for the fake of a New York newspaper man to bring about the only interruption, the first and only in its long career. In 1864, at the time that General Banks was in military occupancy of the city, the paper was seized for an act very innocent on the part of *The Picayune*. Joe Howard, Sr., published in *The New York World and Journal of Commerce* a proclamation purporting to be a Thanksgiving proclamation, recommending fasting and prayer, and calling into service 400,000 men. The proclamation was copied in *The (Cairo, Ill.) News*, and from this journal the editors of *The Picayune* copied it in *The Picayune*. As a result, General Banks ordered them arrested and the paper was seized and narrowly escaped confiscation. *The Picayune's* publication of the bogus proclamation was on May 23, 1864, and its publication was suspended until January, 1865, when it was permitted to resume. The editors of *The World* and *The Journal of Commerce* were also severely punished. The manner in which this fake was originated and what nature of joke the perpetrator purposed are not manifest.

In January, 1872, the paper was sold to a company of merchants, which included some of the most prominent bankers and business men of New Orleans. One hundred thousand dollars was paid for the property. The combination was evidently not competent to conduct a newspaper, for they bankrupted it in twenty-six months, the property again passing into the hands of Mr. Holbrook. After Mr. Holbrook died, his widow married Mr. Nicholson, who had had charge of the business of the

paper for some time under the former chief. The two conducted it until their death, some three years ago. Mrs. Nicholson died a few days after her husband. Mr. Thomas G. Rapier, who had been the chief man of the paper for several years previous to the demise of the owners of the paper, continues to manage the property for the minor heirs of the Nicholsons.

The Times-Democrat acquired its hyphenated name on December 4, 1881. It resulted from a consolidation of the old *Daily Times* and of *The Daily Democrat*. *The Times* was born in 1863. *The Democrat* was not so old, its first issue seeking public favor in 1875.

Thomas P. May & Co. were the first publishers of *The Times*, and they put out the first number of the paper on September 20, 1863. At that time it was a small four-page paper. Its first number announces its purpose as being "the furnishing of the news." It was the official paper. W. H. C. King acquired the property in 1865. Mr. King made a notable record, and under his management *The Times* became the most influential paper in the city. He used the wires as a method of getting the news more extensively than they had ever been used previous to that time. It was during his management that a gradual change in the character of the New Orleans paper came about. Previously "newspaper" here had been more or less of a misnomer. It devoted a great deal more of its attention to editorials and literature than to news. He revolutionized this, giving the news primary importance. As a consequence of his policy the paper so waxed in popularity that it was greatly enlarged, being increased to eight and sixteen pages, with a twenty-four page Sunday edition. The price of the paper was then ten cents, and it enjoyed a heavy advertising patronage. *The Times* was a leading force in the political differences of the times, in the restoration of order and the revival of progress. *The Times* remained under the management of Mr. King until 1872. In that year it was the staunch champion of John McEnery for governor, opposing William Pitt Kellogg. It bitterly denounced the Republican Returning Board, and more especially Judge Durrell's "midnight order," by virtue of which the statehouse and the State government was seized. As a consequence the enmity of the judge was drawn upon the paper and soon afterwards, in a civil suit, the paper was seized by the United States marshal. The paper passed out of the hands of Mr. King and afterwards through those of various persons, until its consolidation with *The Democrat* in 1881.

The New Orleans Democrat was born of the anti-republican sentiment of the times, on December 18, 1875. It represented the crystalization of the opposition to "republican rule at the point of the bayonet," and the tidal wave which subsequently

swept away all opposition and established again free government by the people. Robert Tyler, son of the ex-president, was its first editor. Its ownership and management underwent a succession of changes, until it finally passed into the hands of H. J. Hearsey & Co., the head of the firm being now the editorial chief of *The States*. It was established originally as a morning paper, but subsequently became an evening sheet, in May of 1876. The democratic party came into power in the State in 1877, and *The Democrat* was recognized as its leader and champion. It became the official journal of the State. In 1878 *The Democrat* was owned by a joint stock company, largely controlled by its employes, and on April 27, 1879, it came into the hands of Major E. A. Burke, who became its manager. Two years after, on December 4, 1881, *The Times* was purchased and consolidated with *The Democrat*. It thus became a partner in the Associated Press service, which it had not used before. The new paper was an actual consolidation. It retained the best workers of both staffs and the best features of each paper were continued. The consolidated paper has been continually abreast of the times. It has devoted itself consistently to many praiseworthy aims. It was a pioneer in the endeavor to work up reciprocal trade between this city and Central America, a work which has gradually progressed, keeping abreast with the progress of the civilization in our neighbor republics. It devoted itself with the greatest amount of enterprise to the cause of the levees, and has been conspicuous in relief work during overflows, accumulating a fund of \$15,000 for the relief of the flood sufferers in 1882 and sending food and physicians to the unfortunate. It took a very prominent part in bringing about the great Cotton Centennial Exposition in this city in 1884, subscribing \$5,000 to the original fund.

Major Burke was succeeded by the present manager, Mr. Page M. Baker, one of the ablest journalists in the history of the New Orleans press. The policy of the paper was not changed in any of its important features by Mr. Baker, who has displayed the same high regard for the news that has characterized the paper for many years. The Mergenthaler type-setting machine was first purchased in this city by *The Times-Democrat* in 1891, and that has made the usual great improvement in the paper characteristic of vastly improved facilities.

New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung, or in English, *The New Orleans German Gazette*, was founded by the late notary, Joseph Cohn, on August 1, 1848. Dr. Wiener, who recently celebrated his ninetieth birthday in Baltimore, Md., was its first editor. At the time of its founding, Mr. Cohn was conducting a German job printing office on Poydras and Tchoupitoulas street.

At the time of *The Gazette's* birth, and, indeed, to 1854, New Orleans was the haven of a vast number of German citizens, who came here as immigrants on account of the German revolution of 1848. New Orleans received a great number of these valuable citizens, who added to its thrift and its cosmopolitanism, and a large number more, seeking the West, came through this port in winter time to avoid the rigors of the overland trip to the West.

Mr. Cohn, on March 1, 1853, sold his paper to a co-operative company, composed of several of his printers. Mr. Jacob Hassinger, who has been the sole proprietor of *The German Gazette* for many years, was among these printers. Mr. Hassinger became the sole proprietor in 1866. On May 1, 1899, a stock company purchased the paper, and Mr. Hassinger was made president of it.

In 1853, when the stock company had charge of the paper, Eduard von Gabain, a former German officer, became the editor-in-chief of the paper. The company was known as Peter Pfeiffer & Co. He remained editor of the paper until 1858, in which year he died. He was regarded as one of the ablest men in the history of the paper.

The following year another editor of distinguished abilities succeeded him, George Foerster. A writer of force, his pro-Union sentiments, expressed with all the vigor of his unusual abilities, soon brought the *Gazette* against a fierce gale of counter-sentiment. He left the city in 1860 and went North, finally entering the Union army and rising to a captaincy. He worked on pro-Union papers in St. Louis and Chicago. In 1866 he returned to New Orleans and reassumed the chief editorship of *The Gazette*, which position he filled until his death in 1896. Mr. Foerster is regarded as another of the biggest influences in the history of *The Gazette*. He was a man of vast information, of most positive views and great popularity among his friends and following. For over twenty years he was assisted by Mr. M. Sibilski, as local editor, and Mr. Weichhardt, known as "Quicksilver" in print. The former died in 1888, and the latter in 1895.

Mr. Ferdinand Seinecke, formerly of *The St. Louis Anzeiger des Westens*, succeeded Mr. Sibilski, when the latter became too ill to work, and when Mr. Foerster died, the St. Louis man became his successor as editor-in-chief, which position he holds to date. In September, 1896, Mr. Hugo Moeller, who was at that time editor of *The Texas Post*, became a member of *The Gazette* staff, and Messrs. Bartels, of St. Louis, Kessel, of Milwaukee, and Wichers, of Chicago, are recent additions to the staff.

When the Moresque building fire happened on April 15, 1897, *The Gazette*

and *The Evening Telegram* were both consumed in the flames, which reached across Camp street in spite of all the fire department could do. Among the irreparable losses of *The Gazette* was its files from 1865 to the date of the fire. *The Gazette* immediately resumed publication in another building on Camp street, near the corner of Poydras, occupying it jointly with *The Telegram*. The paper was burned out again by the St. Charles theater fire in its rear in the early morning of February 20, 1899. Mr. Jacob Hassinger, feeling the encroachments of age, desired to retire from the active conduct of the paper, and a company was formed on May 1, 1899, with the following officers: Jacob Hassinger, president; Professor J. Hanno Deiler, of Tulane University, vice-president; Mr. Georg Hassinger, secretary and treasurer. The board of directors is additionally composed by Hon. Charles F. Buck, Abe Heim and Val Merz.

The Gazette is the only German paper south of the Ohio. It is conducted on a high plane and is a paper of influence and power. It finds its way into the homes of a vast army of the best German citizenship of the South daily, and is a paper of recognized standing in the South.

The evening paper field is occupied by *The Daily States*, *The Daily Item* and *The Daily Telegram*. Of these, the oldest is *The Daily Item*.

The States was established in 1880 by its present editor, Major H. J. Hearsey, a scholarly, erudite and trenchant writer of the old States' rights school, and widely known in reconstruction days as the editor of *The Shreveport Times*, the champion of the White League movement in Louisiana, and subsequently of *The New Orleans Democrat*, since merged into *The Times-Democrat*. It owes its existence to Major Hearsey's determined effort to destroy a political ring which had achieved a corrupting influence in the party and which grew in intolerance as it grew in power. It started with little pretension to a newspaper, and when it made its bow to the public of New Orleans on January 3, 1880, its chief claim upon the attention of the public was the virility of its editorial page and the courage and resolution with which it approached its chosen task of reform. The first number was a small, six-column, four-page sheet, printed on an old-fashioned flat-bed press, the motive power of which was furnished by an old and blind, but willing and muscular darkey. Editorial, reportorial, composing, press and business forces were crowded in small and dingy rooms. Salaries were small, and the labors which the scanty staffs were called upon to perform were prodigious: but the public soon began to realize that not only were the editorials of the paper vigorous, aggressive and fearless in tone, but that the principles it enunciated were the principles which had inspired the great

fathers of democracy; that its policy was for rigid economy, joined to capable and efficient administration in government, and that it was developing news pages that were bright and abreast of the times; and it was not long before the influence of the paper penetrated every circle of business and social life in the community. Its circulation grew rapidly, it became a leader in political and commercial movements, improvements in its mechanical appliances kept pace with its growth of power in the community, and it became finally not only the recognized newspaper head of the democracy in Louisiana, but one of the most substantial newspaper properties in the South.

The tone of the paper has never been subservient. It has never trimmed its sails to catch the popular breeze. Though the well-being of the sugar industry, so vital a factor in the prosperity of the State, has not unnaturally given birth here to a strong, but unreasoning, sentiment in favor of protection, and even of bounty, *The States* has strenuously and unfalteringly combated that policy, and has consistently urged the principle of a tariff for revenue only as affording the only true protection for the industry. It has, indeed, been a straight tariff reform paper from its birth, and though its policy has arrayed against it those of the sugar planting interests, who embrace the principle of protection as the foundation of their faith, these interests read it uninterruptedly and admire its rugged independence. It has been equally independent in its attitude toward the money question. It was one of the few great papers of the South which preached with ceaseless vigor the doctrine of "sound money." It supported Mr. Bryan during the subsequent campaign only because it believed, as between free silver on the one hand and the republican principles of protection and centralization on the other, the former presented the lesser evil.

Major Hearsey has at times shared the ownership of the paper with other gentlemen. In the early days of its existence he associated with him as partner Mr. Minor Elmore and later, Mr. Erwin Craighead, both capable newspaper men. On their retirement, he admitted Captain J. Pinckney Smith into partnership, and Captain Smith remained connected with *The States* to the day of his death, in 1899. In 1885 Mr. George W. Dupre became a part owner and one of the editors of the paper, and on his retirement in 1893, the paper was merged into a stock company. Many prominent newspaper men of this and other days in Louisiana have been associated with *The States*. Among its city editors have been Major W. M. Robinson, for many years city editor of *The Picayune*, and one of the best newspaper men in the South; Mr. Henry Guy Carleton, the noted playwright; the late Captain John

Augustin, long connected with *The Times-Democrat* and clerk of the Supreme Court; the late Colonel Frank A. Bartlette, a distinguished Confederate soldier and clever writer; Mr. T. D. Wharton, until recently the able city editor of *The Times-Democrat*; Mr. W. M. Grant, now one of the accomplished editorial writers of *The Times-Democrat*; Mr. William E. Arms, night editor of the same paper, and Mr. John P. Coleman, widely known as a talented local newspaper man. Judge Alexander Walker, a vigorous and polished writer; the late Colonel William Seymour, an excellent newspaper man, and the late Edwin L. Jewell, a trained writer and the author of *Jewell's Digest*, have been among its brilliant editorial contributors. Major Hearsey continues in full editorial control of the paper to-day, with Colonel A. D. Battle and Mr. J. C. Aby, two well-informed and forceful writers, as his associates. Its city editor is Mr. J. Walker Ross, who has been one of the strongest forces in the success of the paper. Its commercial department, one of the features of the paper, is capably presided over by Mr. James J. Lea; Captain J. W. Bryant represents it as river editor, Mr. H. J. Romanski is its talented artist, and Mr. W. T. Little and Mr. Charles Lee lend their assistance in making its sporting page one of the best in the South. Its reportorial staff is made up of Messrs. Frank Reitmeyer, R. E. L. Edwards, J. H. Whyte, Wills J. Carter, William H. Murphy, J. J. McGinty and Fred J. Buisson. Mr. A. W. Brown and Mr. H. C. Chaplain are its efficient advertising representatives, with an assistant in the person of Mr. Harry H. Patin.

With advance of age, *The States* has rapidly improved in every detail that goes to make up a first-class modern newspaper. It appears now as an eight, ten and twelve-page afternoon daily, and a sixteen and twenty-page Sunday paper; it is printed on a magnificent straight line three-deck Goss press, recently installed; its local staff is excellently trained and enterprising; it has correspondents in all the leading towns of Louisiana and surrounding States, and no Southern paper has a brighter future.

The States is under the business management of Mr. Robert Ewing, and much of the recent financial success which it has met is due to his energy, his resourceful executive ability, his ready initiative and his quick grasp of those features which go to make a live afternoon paper attractive to the people among whom it circulates.

The Daily Item was established in 1877. It was organized by the printers, who set out in the enterprise on a co-operative basis. It afterwards became the property of a joint stock company. After the printers had conducted the paper for a time, it was acquired by Mr. J. W. Fairfax, and after him by Eric Talen. Among the

celebrities who worked at different times in the early history of the paper on its staff were J. D. Wilkinson, Lafcadio Hearn and Henry Guy Carleton. Mr. D. C. O'Malley, its present owner and manager, came into possession of *The Daily Item* in July, 1894, and Mr. O'Malley may justly lay claim to having pushed it into the greatest prominence it has enjoyed since its founding. It is now making its history. It is more aggressive than any other paper in the city, very often to an apparent recklessness of consequences. Since its acquisition by its present manager and owner, it has gained very largely in circulation. It has, for the most part, supported the republican party—invariably in national campaigns and in the last gubernatorial contest in this State between Judge Pharr and Governor Foster.

The Evening Telegram, also, is among the later births of newspapers in New Orleans. It was founded by Peter J. Kernan on October 12, 1891. At that time it was known as *The Daily Truth*. Its name was changed to *The Telegram* on January 1, 1894. It was formerly domiciled at No. 504 Camp, but was consumed in the Moresque building fire. Subsequently, with *The German Gazette*, it removed to 437 Camp, where it occupied a building with *The German Gazette*, which had also been destroyed by the same fire which had burned *The Telegram*. When the St. Charles hotel was consumed, *The Telegram* was burned out a second time, on February 20, 1899. It then removed to 516-517 Poydras street, where it is now domiciled, with new equipment throughout. Mr. Kernan, its editor, has been identified with many papers here. He started *The Chronicle* in 1883, *The Daily News* in 1888, selling out these ventures, which have subsequently ceased publication. His wife, Mrs. Bertha Miller Kernan, of Cincinnati, is associated with him in the active conduct of the paper.

A history of the press of New Orleans would be incomplete did it omit a cursory review of the forceful individualities which impress their stamp on the press' character. The chief of *The Times-Democrat*, Mr. Page M. Baker, is a man of the executive type of mind. He is quick in forming decisions and singularly clear of vision. He is emphatic in his convictions, and when he undertakes to champion a cause or fight an evil, he does it with uncompromising force. He is eminently progressive in disposition, with a natural tendency to keep abreast of the times. He is a great admirer of good work, quick to appreciate a good man and make that man conscious of the fact, and equally frank and executive in dispensing with the bad workman. He is loved and admired cordially by his friends, and, as is always the case in journalism, hated with equal warmth by his enemies. In political fights and similar matters, he displays none of the trimmer's quality, fighting vigorously for

the side that appeals to him, without regard to the chances of victory. For many years his chief of the local desk, Mr. T. D. Wharton, has answered the taxing demands of that position with great skill, and a large view of what constitutes the daily history of the city. Mr. Wharton is unquestionably one of the ablest city editors of the South and of the country. After years of service he recently resigned that post to go into business on his own account, the successor chosen being Mr. William Leppert, formerly of the local staff of *The Times-Democrat*. Mr. Leppert has been chiefly conspicuous in New Orleans journalism for his happiness of style in handling big stories. His most notable performance was during a celebrated bank-wreck trial here, the report of which he handled with such rare interest that his report was the talk of the entire city, and wherever the paper was read. The opportunity offered a chance for fine humor, which Mr. Leppert used with consummate skill. The series of reports indeed are a striking chapter in the history of New Orleans journalism. Two of the most unique and fascinating minds ever connected with *The Times-Democrat* are Mr. Henry Rightor and Mr. O. H. Stein, the former now in the insurance business, being chief of a department of a big insurance concern, and the latter being still actively in the service. Both are essentially litterateurs, combining with this quality great utility as news men. Both are enormously prolific and eternally interesting. They are so interesting that in spite of their value as news-gatherers and reporters, they have always been of much greater service in the handling of such features as the "By the By" column and similar special work. The humor of both is exhaustless. Mr. Rightor is one of the finest writers of the grotesque, possibly, in the history of the New Orleans press. A singularly forceful character on the same paper is Mr. Carlton Pool, for many years Mr. Baker's immediate representative. It is impossible to fancy a mind more clear, executive and quick than that of the man who has so long held the night desk of that paper. Mr. Norman Walker, chief of the editorial staff, is also a splendid mind. He is a writer of great conviction, uncompromising in his opinions and an untamable fighter for them. His chief collaborators, Mr. William M. Grant and Mr. Ashton Phelps are both men of rare ability, students and forceful writers. In the reportorial ranks, Mr. Dudley Watson is conspicuous for his clear perception of what is news, his cleverness in getting it and his interest in relating it.

Mr. Thomas G. Rapier, chief of the *Picayune*, is a conservative man, imparting a tinge of charitableness and kindness to the institution which only permits it to go on the war-path in times of great heat of controversy. It is only

rarely that *The Picayune* is aggressive. The central figure in the working ranks of the *New Orleans Picayune* is Herman J. Seiferth. It is rare indeed that a city editor is better equipped with perceptiveness of news, resourcefulness in meeting difficult situations, thorough knowledge of men, a finer sort of prescience of what is about to happen. To his qualities of mind is added a fine physique and tremendous endurance and pluck. He has a genial kindliness of disposition and enthusiasm for newspaper work which diffuses itself over his workers, establishing more of a co-operative working reportorial room than one in which he is chief. William M. Steele is a splendid reporter, matter of fact in his narrative, accurate, faithful and a shrewd observer. He is a man of capacity and large abilities. Another force in the make-up of the sheet is Rushton Foster, whose abilities have been shifted from the editorial room to the counting room.

Major H. J. Hearsey, chief of the *Daily States*, is the most conspicuous editor of the State. He has made himself so by his singular genius of bitterness, sarcasm and ridicule in controversy. No one approaches him in invective and some of his editorials during heated political campaigns are remarkable pieces of work. Not in the history of the country possibly has there been a man with greater power of fierce sarcasm and ridicule. Single editorials have frequently been the talk—the sensation of the city. John Walker Ross, his city editor, is a recognized success and uses a local force to splendid advantage. He has a typical newspaper mind, clear, logical and executive. As a political reporter he has displayed always rare ability. Henry Romanski, of *The States*, is the finest newspaper artist of the city, his portrait work being conspicuously excellent.

The chief editor of *The Daily Item*, Lionel Adams, displays in his editorial work the same matchless force of logic that made him invincible at the bar for so long. Much of his work are as fine specimens of logic as one could desire to see. Mr. T. O. Harris, *The Item's* city editor, is a newspaper man of fine ability.

Genuine dramatic criticism is rarely seen in the newspapers of New Orleans. The workers in this line of activity seem to suffer under a traditional restraint. Criticism is more of a report, tinged with partiality to the "show" than a candid expression on the virtues and vices of the performance and the work of the players.

Among literary writers for the local press, Mrs. Marion Baker, who writes for *The Times-Democrat*, ranks beyond any dispute among the very foremost of the country. Her literary editorial in Sunday's paper is frequently a superb exposition of critical analysis, forceful thought and graceful English. Mrs. Eliza-

beth M. Gilmer, of *The Picayune*, whose *nom de plume* is "Dorothy Dix," is also a newspaper woman of rare originality, fine fancy and grace of English.

It is of interest to mention some of the most noticeable characteristics of the New Orleans press. Conspicuous is its charity. It draws the veil of silence over many a matter which in other cities of the size of this are made merchantable news ware. Divorce cases never appear in New Orleans newspapers. So much is this the case that a prominent man of fiction, after sojourning here for a few weeks asked, "What! Have you no divorce courts here and no divorce cases? I have not seen one mention of such in the press." A traditional veil is drawn over this class of human misfortune. Where the public welfare is not involved, it is easy to get a "good news item" sacrificed for the reputation of families. A humanity prevails in this respect which is unknown in many another city. There is little commercialism indulged, too, in sensationalism. The people do not expect it. The newspapers properly attach much more importance to a story of some industrial movement than to the raciest sensation, which is always handled soberly.

The average newspaper visitor is astonished at the internal workings of the newspaper shop here. He is struck by the great versatility required of the reporter. Every man is expected more or less to be a well-rounded newspaper man as capable of reporting a prize fight as a sermon; of taking charge of the city desk as of turning in a story on a little banquet. The most amazing feature is unquestionably the city desk. The man occupying that most arduous position not only makes out the schedule of assignments, but is the sole copy-reader of all the mass of reports his staff turn in. He reads three or four pages of matter every night, edits it and writes headings for it. He does his own newspaper reading, too, there being no assistant with carefully collated clippings of local news from the rival papers. On the afternoon papers the city editor also "makes up!" Altogether the city desk in New Orleans taxes capacity and endurance to an extent little appreciated. Its duties have grown out of all proportions to the traditional manner in which it is expected to be filled.*

"HARLEQUIN."

* The Harlequin was established June 28, 1899, by Joseph M. Lévêque, who is the owner and editor and represents a new and original school of journalism in the South.

It is a weekly given to the discussion of matters pertaining to theatricals, art and literature and extending its columns to consideration of the widest and most diverse topics of the day. In addition to the brilliant and trenchant writings of its editor, the columns of the Harlequin have been illuminated by the pens not alone of the most famous writers of the South, but as well of men with national reputations, statesmen, jurists, philosophers, physicians and scientists. Though scarcely out of its swaddling clothes, Harlequin has already made for itself a reputation for bold and uncompromising

CHAPTER XII.

TRANSPORTATION.

BY ELLA RIGHTOR.

NAVIGATION.

THE arrival of the first steamboat in this city was a great event. It happened in 1812, when the *New Orleans* made the distance from Pittsburg to its namesake in 259 hours. The boat, built on one of Fulton's models, was 116 feet long, twenty feet wide, and cost \$38,000. It carried as passengers Mr. Roosevelt, one of its owners, and his wife. Its arrival was witnessed by many enthusiastic spectators, and New Orleans, always interested in navigation, determined to adopt the wonderful invention. Of course the advent of the steamboat was a great impetus to commerce along the river, and our city reaped many of its benefits.

On January 17, the boat made an excursion to English Turn and back, a distance of 15 leagues, leaving at 11 A. M. and returning at 4 P. M., the fare being \$3.00, and on January 23, it went up the river, a feat which many pronounced impossible, until it had steamed up to Natchez (75 miles) in 21 hours. Fulton's first boat on the Hudson had made 145 miles in 36 hours.

On April 19, 1811, the Orleans Territorial Legislature passed what afterwards proved a very inconvenient act, granting to Robert Livingston and Robert Fulton, their heirs, administrators, etc., for 18 years the exclusive right of navigation on the waters of the territory, of vessels propelled by steam, this going into effect January 1, 1812, and giving as a condition the construction of a boat of 70 tons burthen, within three years to be propelled at the rate of four miles per hour in still water, and for every additional boat they were to have an extension

adherence to truth and principle and is proving a force of visible effect upon Southern letters in respect of its honesty and clearness of vision. Hardy, informed, erudite and efficient, *Harlequin* promises, unless all signs fail, to prove not only a factor of enduring vitality in the development of the tremendous potentialities of the country whose fondest interests it has undertaken to champion, but the organ of a school of writers whose names shall not fail to be conspicuous when the literary history of the 20th century comes to be written.—Ed.

for four years of the aforementioned period. Any one navigating or employing a boat in the specified waters, was to forfeit and pay to Livingston and Fulton \$5,000.

Steamboats became so popular and steamboat navigation so universal, and so many of the new vessels were built, that this law could not continue in effect. In 1860 Captain Bruce, of the steamboat *Dispatch*, from Texas, lost \$1,500 on account of this prohibition, as he was not allowed, at New Orleans, to take on a return cargo of sugar. Steamboats continued to visit this city, one from Wheeling, having been presented by the ladies of that city, with a beautiful flag, on which were the figure of Fame, and the mottoes: "Our friends shall not withhold what we have wrested from our enemies," and "Don't give up the ship," in reference to Mr. Livingston's claim. Finally the supreme court of the United States declared the original right to be unconstitutional.

On June 3, 1816, at Louisville, Ky., was launched the Governor Shelby of 122 tons, for the purpose of plying between Louisville and New Orleans. In July, 1816, the steamboat *Vesuvius* was burned opposite this city, with a loss of \$200,000. On the 25th of July, the New Orleans began to ply between New Orleans and Natchez, bringing back on her first trip, 30 passengers and 800 bales of cotton. (Some years after she was sunk in the river near Baton Rouge.) About this time the *Aetna* arrived at New Orleans, and the *Vesuvius*, having been rebuilt, was ready for work May 1, 1817. May 4 saw the arrival of the *Washington*, which had made the distance from Louisville in seven days. On the 14th of May the *Constitution* arrived; on the 6th of January, 1818, the new *Ohio* of 450 tons, the largest boat on the river; June 15, the *Kentucky*; and May 16, the *Robert Fulton* from New York, Charleston and Havana, leaving Sunday, May 28, for Havana, Charleston and New York; her agents here were Amory Nott & Co. On May 11, 1820, the *Car of Commerce* made the distance from New Orleans to Shippingport, Ky., in 16 days, 12 hours, a very quick trip, which proved that New Orleans was not behind New York in steamboat progress. The *Robert Fulton* was built by Henry Eckford and David Dunham, of New York, and before long was found to be unseaworthy, her engines not being very strong, so she was taken off the route. But little was done up to 1849, in the way of building ocean steamships, but in that year, the steamship *Crescent City* was built by Newton Howard & Co., and proved the swiftest steamship afloat. The distance, to New York was made by her in less than seven days. About this time, the steamship *Falcon* was placed on the line, and the question discussed of cutting a canal through Florida, in order to reduce the sea trip 1,000 miles.

In July, 1820, the Mississippi and its tributaries, below the Falls of Ohio, were navigated by 73 steamboats; the amount paid for freight, at 2 cents a pound, between New Orleans and Louisville, was \$1,898,000; for passengers, \$338,000; a total of \$2,236,000; the annual income from vessels exclusively engaged in carrying sugar was \$500,000; so the aggregate annual earnings of steamboats on the western waters amounted to \$2,791,000.

The General Pike was the first steamboat of the western rivers built exclusively for passengers. Its route was from Cincinnati to Maysfield. The Alabama was built for the Red River trade, 1818, on Lake Pontchartrain; in 1818 also was built the Independence, the first boat to ascend the Missouri; and in the same year, for a New Orleans syndicate was built at Philadelphia the seagoing and river boat, Maid of Orleans; also in 1818, at Providence, R. I., the Mobile, which in 1819 ran between New Orleans and Louisville; and at New Orleans the Mississippi of 400 tons; the following year the Columbus of 460 tons, running between this city and Louisville. Other boats were the Vulcan, 300 tons; General Clark, 150 tons; a Columbus, built in Kentucky; the Tennessee, built in Cincinnati for New Orleans; the General Robertson of 250 tons, at Jeffersonville, Indiana. By 1820 the trade by means of steamboats was very extensive. About this time the Post Boy, first mail boat on the river, under an act of Congress passed in 1819, began to carry the mails from Louisville to New Orleans.

In 1832, the tonnage of 4,000 flat boats, which made the descent of the river, was 160,000 pounds; in 1849, that of all the steamboats, not more than 40,000. From September, 1831, to September, 1833, 66 boats were lost. Before the Civil War the largest boat load was 6,000 bales of cotton, carried by the Magnolia, and up to 1881 it was 9,226 bales of cotton, and 250 tons of other freight, by the steamboat Henry Frank, which made 12 trips that summer, carrying in the aggregate 76,009 bales of cotton, 28,218 sacks of cotton seed, 13,675 sacks of oil cake, 1,225 barrels of oil, and other freight. The Autocrat, a well-known boat, in 1840-1850 carried 5,000 bales of cotton. The iron steamboat, Charles P. Choteau, whose largest load was 8,841 bales, brought down altogether in one summer 76,950 bales of cotton, 30,088 sacks of cotton meal, 15,335 sacks of oil cake and other freight. The Valley Forge, built at Pittsburg, 1839, and the Alleghany, built also at Pittsburg, in 1847, were the first iron boats, the latter being the first iron war vessel. In September, 1847, this boat left New Orleans for a cruise in Mexico. The W. W. Fry, built at Liverpool, and the John T. Moore at Cincinnati, were among the first iron vessels. The Charles P. Choteau, to whose

powers as a cotton carrier we have referred, was built out of an old iron hull. She was the first steamboat to introduce the electric searchlight in river navigation.

In a quaint volume by Norman, published in 1845, we find that there were four routes of steamships from New Orleans to New York:

First, via Pittsburg; second, via St. Louis, Chicago and Buffalo; third, via Wheeling and Baltimore; fourth, mail-line.

In addition we find mentioned lines from New Orleans to Fort Gibson; to Balize, and Gulf of Mexico; to Pittsburg, Mississippi, to Nashville, Tennessee, to Florence, Alabama. New Orleans was always foremost in its transportation by water, though somewhat late in acquiring railroad connection with the rest of the world.

In 1858 we find the New Orleans and Mobile Steam Mail Line organized by Capt. John Grant, and owning the low-pressure steamers Cuba, Florida, Oregon, California, Alabama and Creole, and a few high-pressure freight steamboats; also a line of small low-pressure steamboats plying between New Orleans, Mandeville, Madisonville and Covington. These vessels were used by Confederates in 1861.

The Ouachita River Packet Company, organized 1870, ran six boats for a while. The Chalmette Packet Company, of the New Orleans & Western Railroad Company, is also called the Belt Line & Port Chalmette Terminals. The steamboats Chalmette, Dewey and Valley Queen, of this line, make weekly trips during the summer between Port Chalmette, New Orleans and Sunny Side, Ark. In winter two trips per week are made. The first steamboat used was the old Pargoud, run because the steamboat interests would not make the same rate on cotton to Chalmette as to the city front. The rates of the Pargoud were made exceedingly low for cotton, and the system has worked well. The officers of the company are: W. C. Dotterer, receiver and general manager; Charles W. Towsley, general agent, and G. McD. Nathan, treasurer.

Among the steamboat companies organized early in the navigation of the Mississippi river and its tributaries were the following:

The New Orleans & Yazoo Packet Company, in 1843, with four steamboats.

Kennedy, King & O'Donnell's Company, with three steamboats, plying between Brazos de Santiago and Brownsville.

The Cincinnati & New Orleans Express line, with ten boats.

The Lightning Line of steamboats, established in 1858, and plying between New Orleans and Louisville, a steamboat pool, with ten steamboats included, owned by different parties.

The St. Louis & New Orleans Packet Company, established in 1858, had nineteen boats, which connected at Cairo, Ill., with the Illinois Central Railroad, and at St. Louis with the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad. This was also a steamboat trust, and was immensely injured by the Civil War.

The Memphis & New Orleans Packet Company, organized in 1844, in that year, placed four steamboats in commission, and in 1849 they put in commission a new set of boats, which in 1857 were superseded by twelve other boats.

In 1840 there were three steamboats engaged in the New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Bayou Sara trade, named the Brilliant, the Baton Rouge and the John Armstrong, the number of steamers engaged in this trade having since then considerably increased.

The Atlantic & Pacific Company, with 25 boats, 19 of which were used during the war by Confederates, many being destroyed in 1867, in 1869 was succeeded by St. Louis & New Orleans Packet Company, John N. Boffinger, President. This became Merchants' Southern Line Packet Company, and finally the Anchor Line, which in 1892 had five boats running from New Orleans to St. Louis and five from St. Louis to Vicksburg.

The Oteri Pioneer Line, owned by Salvador Oteri, is composed of four steamers and one schooner, running in the fruit trade between New Orleans and Honduras and Bluefields, the business having been founded by Mr. Oteri's father in 1864.

Besides the Chalmette Packet Company, mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, the following are the steamboat lines plying between New Orleans and other points on the great Mississippi river system:

The Crescent City Packet Company, of which Franke Watson is agent, with office at 821 Gravier street; the Grand Lake and Vicksburg Line, of which Lord & McPeake are agents; the Lafourche Line, B. Rivet, agent; the Lower Coast Packets, Paul F. Renaud, agent; the Mandeville & Covington Line, W. G. Coyle & Co., agents; the Memphis, New Orleans and Cincinnati Packet Company, J. H. Wright, agent; the Mississippi Packet Company, James B. Woods, president, and John T. Hall, secretary; the New Orleans and Port Eads Packets, Paul F. Renaud, agent; the New Orleans and Washington Packet Company, G. H. Quatreveaux, agent; the Red River Line, Charles P. Truslow, president; C. W. Drown, secretary and traffic manager, and the St. Louis & New Orleans Boats, James B. Woods, agent.

The Crescent City Packet Company runs two boats, the T. P. Leathers and the America, the latter making her first trip September 2, 1899, both boats running as far as Cariola, Ark. The officers of this company are Norman Eustis, president, and Simon Weis, secretary and treasurer.

The United Fruit Company's Steamship lines comprise the following companies: The Snyder Banana Company, the Tropical Trading and Transport Company, the New Orleans, Belize, Royal Mail and Central American Steamship Company, limited, the Oteric Pioneer line, and the Planterst Fruit and Steamship line. The traffic manager of this company is M. J. Dempsey.

The Interstate Transportation Company has the towboats Henry Marks, T. A. Hendricks, Alarm and Crescent, and the tugs, Governor Nicholls and Lovey. It also has a number of pumpboats for irrigating purposes. The officers of this company at the present time are S. V. Fornaris, president; W. C. Dotterer, vice-president and general manager; G. McD. Nathan, secretary and treasurer; Charles W. Towsley, traffic manager, and Victor von Schoeler, assistant general manager. Recently a consolidation has been effected between this company and the New Orleans & Western Railroad Company, both companies being now managed by the same officers.

The Mississippi Packet Company owns the large steamers Imperial and Whisper, running between New Orleans and Bayou Sara, and the steamers Comeaux and St. James, the latter a fine new boat, built in 1898, both plying between the upper coast and the Bayou Lafourche. The president of this company is James B. Woods, and the secretary, John T. Hall.

The Lower Coast Packet Company owns the steamers Neptune, Louise and Grover Cleveland, which ply between New Orleans and New Canal, a point about ten miles below Fort St. Philip, bringing to the New Orleans market rice, sugar, oysters, oranges and vegetables. The agent of this company is Paul F. Renaud.

The Red River Line is composed of the following steamboats: Valley Queen, 800 tons; Sunrise, 800 tons; Electra, 600 tons; Halette, 450 tons; W. T. Scovell, 350 tons; and Gem, 300 tons. This line plies between New Orleans and points on the Red River. The officers of the Red River Line are: Charles P. Truslow, president; Charles W. Brown, traffic manager; W. F. Dillon, general freight agent.

The Morgan Line of Steamships, plying between New Orleans and New York, Cuba, Central America and Galveston, was established previous to the war by Charles Morgan, hence its name, with only a single boat. In those days one ship per week was enough for the traffic between this city and New York, but now five or six are required. And the number of ships plying between New Orleans and Havana is now two or three per week, while the Central American line has now two per week plying regularly between New Orleans and Central American points. The ships of this line are among the largest and swiftest freight carriers in this

country, and at Algiers the facilities for handling freight are most excellent, it being possible for eight ships to load and unload at a time. The vessels of this line are now as follows: Algiers, tonnage, 2,299; Arkansas, 1,156.78; Chalmette, 2,982.96; Clinton, 1,187.11; Excelsior, 3,263.95; El Paso, 3,531; El Monte, 3,531; El Dorado, 3,531; El Mar, 3,531; El Sol, 4,522; El Sud, 4,659; El Norte, 4,659; El Rio, 4,664.88; El Cid, 4,664.88; Gussie, 998.07; Harlan, 1,163.02; William G. Hewes, 1,117.61; Morgan City, 2,299; Morgan, 994.31; New York, 2,344; and Whitney, 1,337.64. The El Cid, El Rio, El Norte and El Sud are new, having been built recently at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company's yards at Newport News, Va., to take the place of ships of the same names sold to the government during the war with Spain.

The officers of the line are: A. C. Hutchison, president; J. Kruttschnitt, general manager; C. W. Bein, traffic manager, New Orleans; and Mark A. Morse, Algiers, superintendent.

The Cromwell Steamship Company has its office at No. 313 Carondelet street, and its landing at the head of St. Louis street. It maintains a regular weekly line between New Orleans and New York, having four fine iron steamships, the Louisiana, 2,840 tons; the Knickerbocker, 1,650 tons; the Hudson, 1,872 tons; and the New Orleans, 1,440 tons. In 1894 the agent was Alfred Moulton, but at the present time Alexander Harris is the agent.

One of the largest steamship agencies in New Orleans is that of A. K. Miller & Co., formerly A. K. Miller, Meletta & Co., having their office at No. 303 Carondelet street. Each year this company dispatches from 200 to 250 ships from this port to European ports, of which number about 100 are liners, running regularly between New Orleans and Liverpool, London, Havre, Bremen, Hamburg, Antwerp, Cadiz, Barcelona, and other ports. The Hamburg-American, formerly managed by this company, is now managed by Meletta & Stoddart, and has eleven vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 26,680 tons. Meletta & Stoddart are agents also of the Anchor line, of the Austro-American line, of the Pioneer line, of the Prine line, and of the Wilson line.

Hammond's Steamship agencies were established in New Orleans in 1875 by the firm of DeWolf & Hammond, who were succeeded by William J. Hammond & Co., and this latter company by William J. Hammond, who has been in New Orleans since 1869, and now is agent for a fleet of 150 ships. These steamships ply between New Orleans and Liverpool, Bremen, Hamburg, Antwerp, Havre and London, and are known as Hammond's lines.

The Harrison line is represented by Alfred Le Blanc, whose office is at No. 829, Gravier street. This line comprises eighteen ships plying between New Orleans and all parts of Europe and Asia.

The Elder, Dempster line, which is owned mainly in Liverpool, England, has for its agents in New Orleans, M. & R. Warriner, who have been connected with the firm for many years. They operate steamers from New Orleans principally to Liverpool, Bremen and Havre, from two to four leaving weekly during the season. The office of the Messrs. Warriner is at No. 823 Gravier street and their fleet is composed of 110 vessels, twenty-five of which are chartered; in the aggregate they have a tonnage of 225,000.

The Argo runs six vessels of more than 12,000 tons, to Bremen and Antwerp via Cuban and other ports in the West Indies, and is really a part of the Elder, Dempster line, which is mentioned above.

The Forenade Gulf-Baltic Line to Copenhagen, has a fleet of eight vessels, having an aggregate tonnage of more than 15,000 tons. The business is principally in grain between New Orleans and Copenhagen, Charles F. Orthwein & Sons being the New Orleans agents, with office in the Hennen building.

The Chargeurs Reunis (French) Line has been long established in France and has a large fleet engaged in carrying both freight and passengers between France and the United States and the various South American republics. The agents of this line in New Orleans are S. V. Fornaris & Co., with their office at No. 827 Gravier street. They operate five different lines, that from New Orleans having direct sailing between New Orleans and the ports of Havre, Bremen and Antwerp. This line has lately established a line between New Orleans and Brazil, which materially increases the coffee trade of this port.

The West India and Pacific Steamship Company, Limited, of Liverpool, England, has a fleet of fifteen large steamships carrying passengers and freight across the Atlantic Ocean, making altogether about seventy round trips a year between this city and Europe, six of the largest steamships being engaged in this trans-Atlantic trade, while the remainder make regular voyages to the West Indies and South American ports, and thence cross direct to Liverpool. A special feature of the business of this line is its passenger business, tickets being issued either to England and return direct, or to return with tourists' tickets by way of the most interesting points in the West Indies, Spanish main and Mexico. M. J. Sanders is the New Orleans agent for this line with office at No. 225 Carondelet street.

Orthwein's Gulf Ports Line comprises forty-one vessels running to the various

European ports, and handles grain in bulk mainly. The tonnage of this fleet is more than 75,000 tons. Charles F. Orthwein & Sons are the New Orleans agents, with office in the Hennen building.

The Head Line (British), for Dublin and Belfast, Ireland, comprises five vessels of more than 18,000 tons. This line of vessels makes connections with various other ports in Ireland, and also in Scotland, such as Dundee and Glasgow. Charles F. Orthwein & Sons are the agents in New Orleans. This line has six ships running to Belfast and one to Dublin.

The Mediterranean and New York Steamship Company has been recently established. It runs its steamships from New Orleans to Venice and Trieste. Charles F. Orthwein & Sons are the New Orleans agents.

The Pioneer Line runs its steamships from New Orleans to Manchester, England, the cargoes consisting of cotton, cottonseed oil, grain and pig iron, the design of the managers of this line in England being to prove the superiority of Manchester over Liverpool.

The Wilson Line between New Orleans and Hull, England, connects at the latter port with vessels running to the Baltic Sea. The Creole Line has three vessels plying between New Orleans and Genoa, Italy. The Freitas Line (British) has twelve vessels with an aggregate tonnage of more than 19,000 tons, plying between New Orleans and various continental ports. The Compania Bilboa de Navigacion (Spanish) transports most of the cotton used in Spanish mills as well as a considerable portion of that used in the mills of France.

The Companie Messagerie Francaise has twelve vessels of more than 32,000 tons burden, a large part of which are running between New Orleans and Havre and Bordeaux, France; the Glynn Line (British) has eight vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 16,000 tons running to Liverpool, and the Larrinaga Line (Spanish), also running to Liverpool, has five vessels of an aggregate tonnage of about 10,000 tons. The Holt Line (British) has eleven vessels of an aggregate of more than 18,000 tons, plying between New Orleans and Havre, and the Cuban Steamship Line has four vessels running to London and Antwerp, via of Cuban ports, the aggregate tonnage of the four vessels being nearly 8,000 tons.

The Mexican Gulf Steamship Company, of which O. F. Spindler is agent, has ships running to Tampico, Mexico, connecting there with steamers for Vera Cruz and other Mexican ports and with the Mexican Central and Monterey & Mexican Gulf Railroad.

The Central American Commercial Steamship Company plies to Honduras and Colombian ports, and particularly Bocas del Toro and Colon, the fleet consisting

of six steamers of more than 6,000 tons burden. The Costa Rica Steamship Line, of which Snyder Bros. are agents, has four steamers plying to Port Limon, Costa Rica, of somewhat more than 3,000 tons burden, two or three of which leave New Orleans every week.

The New Orleans Belize Royal Mail & Central American Steamship Company, limited, of which M. Macheca is president, and O. V. Fernandez, secretary and treasurer, is under subsidy by the British government to run regularly, transports all the mail and most of the freight to Belize. The fleet is composed of six vessels of an aggregate of 4,500 tons, which run also to Puerto Cottez, Honduras, and Livingston and Puerto Barrios, Guatemala.

The Pioneer Line to Santo Tomas, Ceiba, Truxillo, the north coast of Honduras and the Honduras Bay Islands, has four steamers aggregating 4,740 tons, which leave New Orleans three times per week. The Bluefields Steamship Company, of which S. Steinhardt is president and E. H. Merrick, secretary, is composed of the Weinburg Steamship Company, the Caribbean Fruit Company, and Orr & Laubenheimer, uses six vessels of about 2,100 tons in the aggregate, plying to Bluefield and other ports on the coast of Nicaragua. They are small in order that they may enter the shallow waters of the Central American coast.

The Creole Line, running steamships from New Orleans and Galveston to Genoa, has four steamships, the Citta Di Messina, Sicilia, Citta Di Palermo and one other running from New Orleans, and others from Galveston. Charles F. Orthwein & Sons are the New Orleans agents.

The Hamburg-American Line runs steamships from New Orleans and Galveston to Hamburg, having four ships on the line between New Orleans and Hamburg, the Emma, the Tuskar, the Galicia and the A1. Charles F. Orthwein & Co. are agents for this line.

The Florio Line has a line of steamships plying between New Orleans and Palermo and Genoa, and the Gulf Ports Steamship Line between New Orleans and Galveston and Rotterdam, and the Texas Transport Steamship Line has four vessels plying between New Orleans and Galveston and Bremen and Rotterdam.

Following is a statement of the vessels belonging to the port of New Orleans July 31, 1899:

Steam.	Number of Vessels.	Gross Tonnage.	Net Tonnage.
Ocean (wood)	2	1,557.00	924.00
Ocean (iron and steel).....	18—20	20,115.00	12,859.00
River (wood)	106	12,771.00	10,251.00
River (iron and steel).....	15—121	3,554.00	2,767.00
Total steam	141	38,197.00	26,801.00
Sails—			
Ocean (wood)	3	366.00	314.00
River (wood)	95	2,247.00	1,554.00
Total sail	98	2,613.00	1,868.00
Grand total	239	40,810.00	28,669.00

And as showing the growth or rather changes occurring in recent years it may be stated that on July 31, 1897, the totals were 241 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 41,233.54 and net tonnage of 29,391.89, and for July 31, 1898, the number of vessels was 231, gross tonnage, 35,009, and the net tonnage, 25,336. And also that vessels of less than five tons net are not taken into account, of which there were on July 31, 1899, about 200, with a gross tonnage of about 1,000 and a net tonnage of about 800. The largest number of vessels that ever entered the port in any October was 156 in October, 1899, of which 144 were steamships.

As showing somewhat in detail the movement of vessels to and from the port of New Orleans the following tables are of interest and value:

Number and tonnage of vessels cleared at this port by months for the year ending July 31, 1899:

Months, 1898-99.	Coastwise Vessels.		American Vessels for Foreign Ports.				Foreign Vessels for Foreign Ports.			
	No.	Tons.	With Cargo.		In Ballast.		With Cargo.		In Ballast.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
August	24	40,439	...	.....	..	.....	63	82,188	13	2,189
September	21	40,617	5	2,947	3	1,342	58	85,947	13	6,803
October	18	27,291	4	2,825	5	2,436	70	124,252	6	2,125
November	25	41,176	14	8,462	..	.....	78	132,283	4	1,060
December	29	41,168	9	6,412	..	.....	85	149,721	2	1,602
January	37	48,185	12	6,480	..	.....	89	163,275	2	1,322
February	34	52,222	12	7,263	..	.....	72	134,579	6	2,534
March	38	53,368	16	8,793	1	266	76	131,909	7	3,703
April	32	44,323	10	6,118	3	1,044	49	75,416	10	7,215
May	31	45,936	14	7,574	3	881	58	80,017	7	3,610
June	26	35,974	13	7,783	1	538	66	89,440	3	1,127
July	27	41,316	11	5,841	3	933	67	97,153	6	1,812
Totals 1898-99..	342	512,015	120	70,498	19	7,440	828	1,346,180	79	41,000
Totals 1897-98..	340	481,990	117	81,899	27	13,966	916	1,530,919	50	22,145
Totals 1896-97..	285	517,547	97	80,697	34	16,162	806	1,284,043	46	17,911

Number and tonnage of vessels entered at this port during the year ending July 31, 1899, also by months:

Months, 1898-99.	Coastwise Vessels.		American Vessels from Foreign Ports.				Foreign Vessels from Foreign Ports.			
	No.	Tons.	With Cargo.		In Ballast.		With Cargo.		In Ballast.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
August	18	36,431	...	.....	..	.....	49	48,273	31	51,939
September	19	39,730	6	2,074	..	.....	48	52,448	29	53,291
October	21	33,212	9	4,867	1	964	46	61,824	35	64,251
November	27	45,438	13	7,345	4	3,157	35	45,170	41	83,938
December	32	50,310	7	4,018	6	2,973	35	52,587	50	105,502
January	31	47,988	12	7,846	13	10,337	35	49,777	49	86,823
February	24	40,342	12	7,300	12	7,695	36	57,824	44	88,570
March	25	45,436	18	12,343	8	3,984	41	53,857	32	62,822
April	26	42,445	16	8,854	1	678	39	38,685	16	25,147
May	26	43,156	19	11,368	3	2,113	51	55,745	18	32,904
June	20	38,245	19	9,925	3	1,183	52	63,095	19	33,828
July	27	43,086	13	7,758	4	2,264	47	52,263	19	32,522
Totals 1898-99..	296	505,819	144	83,698	55	36,348	514	631,548	383	721,537
Totals 1897-98..	252	524,959	139	77,446	32	33,604	464	583,324	459	901,605
Totals 1896-97..	272	544,303	186	114,583	9	9,804	485	532,410	360	689,544

The Ferry franchises were leased to Captain Thomas Pickles in 1877, he being provided with landings in the Second, Third and Fourth districts on the business side of the river, and also for the Freetown ferry, and also corresponding lands on the Algiers side of the river. He furnished nine steam ferryboats, especially built for the purpose, all of which he owned, as well as the improvements at the landings. Captain Pickles was born in England, but came to New Orleans in 1849, and besides his several ferryboats he was also the owner of the Algiers and Gretna street railroad, three and a half miles long on the right bank of the river. Captain Thomas Pickles died December 29, 1896, and since that time the ferry business has been in the hands of the Union Ferry Company, which operates eight boats, at Jackson, Canal, Second, Third and Richard streets. The president of this company is A. M. Halliday; secretary and treasurer, William G. Brothers, and assistant secretary and treasurer, Floyd W. Morgan.

RAILROADS.

Before entering upon the subject of railroads in New Orleans, we must take a brief glance at those historic railroads which were the precursors of all our present mighty line of travel. The Stockton and Darlington line in England first ran September 27, 1825, with a train of 34 cars and one locomotive, of which Stephenson was the engineer. A man on horseback trotted in advance of this wonderful train,

whose greatest speed was 15 miles an hour. This was the first railroad in the world, but the Liverpool and Manchester, constructed later (1829), had a greater effect in impressing on the public mind the magnitude of the new invention.

The first railroad in the United States planned by Gridley Bryant and built with the aid of Colonel T. H. Perkins, ran in 1826, carrying granite from Quincy, Mass., to the nearest tide water. The second ran in 1827 from the coal mines at Mauch Chunk to the Lehigh River. Three locomotives were purchased at this time by the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company; one, built by Stephenson, arriving at New York in the spring of 1829; one, built by Foster Sastrick & Co., coming soon after, going upon the railroad at Honesdale Railroad, and making the round trip with Horatio A. Slen as engineer. With these locomotives steam power was first introduced upon the American railroad. The locomotive last referred to called the Stourbridge Lion, had four wheels, a multi-tubular boiler and an exhaust blast, and may now be seen in the National Museum, Washington, D. C.

Passing over the beginning of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1828, the building at Baltimore, 1830, of the first locomotive used in America for passengers, the animal power railroad from Charleston to the Savannah River, South Carolina, which was propelled at the rate of 12 miles an hour by a horse on an endless platform; the use on this same road, 1835, of a steam locomotive, called the "Best Friend," the first to use four wheeled trucks and the building of various other lines, among them one from Richmond to the coal mines, we come to the New Orleans & Pontchartrain Railroad, four and one-half miles long, running April 16, 1831.

Though in 1832 there were 92 miles of railroad in the United States, and by 1852, 7,000, only one considerable venture was made during this time by New Orleans, and that proved a failure. M. W. Hoffman and the Hon. Clark Woodruff in 1835 obtained a charter for the building of a railroad to Nashville. But after 20 miles of it had been built and were in operation, the enterprise failed disastrously, and in a few years no traces of it could be found.

In 1852 an impetus was given to public spirit by a series of papers published by C. S. Tarpley, urging the building of a road from New Orleans to Jackson, Miss., and a meeting was held at Monticello of Louisiana and Mississippi delegates. The following committees were appointed:

On Routes—John Marshall, Hon. E. Ford, W. H. Bowen, A. Steele, ——— Love, S. M. Catchings, W. A. Grice, John M. Bell, and N. S. Edwards.

On Statistics—W. F. Robinson, J. T. Lampkin, C. S. Tarpley, G. Nicholson, E. Safford, and J. D. B. De Bow, the latter of New Orleans.

On Memorials—S. J. Peters, James Robb, J. W. Stanton, A. Hennon, J. Leeds, and James Saul, all of New Orleans; and Messrs. Penn, Tarpley, Stone, Catchings, Matthews, Guion and Waull, of Mississippi.

A meeting held March 21, 1850, was poorly attended, but in April, 1851, a few prominent gentlemen excited public enthusiasm and promised their aid in building the railroad under discussion. Mr. Robb in particular awakened great interest by his speech. A bonus of \$100,000 was promised by members from Opelousas to any company who would build a railroad to Point Coupée. The Attakapas county was also urgent in demanding railroads; and at a meeting presided over by Maunsel White, it was decided to build a road all the way down to New Orleans. A series of resolutions drawn up by Glendy Burke at the City Hall, June, 1851, called for a general convention of Southern and Western delegates and a committee was appointed of Glendy Burke, A. D. Crossman, J. D. B. De Bow, Alexander Monton and C. S. Tarpley to visit the various States and awaken interest in the subject of railroads.

An elaborate address prepared by this committee and read before a meeting in New Orleans, January, 1852, contained these words:

“What, then, must be done for New Orleans? She must, by a wise and liberal stroke of policy, regain a part, if not the whole, of the trade she has supinely lost, and open new sources of opulence and power which are abundant all around her. She can do this by changing and modifying her laws bearing unequally or hardly upon capital and enterprise; by cheapening her system of government; by affording greater facilities and presenting less restrictions to commerce; by establishing manufactures, opening steamship lines to Europe and conducting a foreign import trade; and finally, and what is of first importance and should precede every other effort, by **MUNIFICENT APPROPRIATIONS TO RAILROADS BRANCHING TO THE WEST, AND THE NORTH, AND THE EAST, FROM A TERMINUS AT HER CENTER, OR FROM TERMINI ON SUCH INTERIOR STREAMS AND RIVERS AS ARE NECESSARILY TRIBUTARY TO HER.** Now is the accepted time. To-morrow will be too late”

The two lines then in projection for the purpose of connecting Louisiana with neighboring States were as follows:

1. The New Orleans & Jackson Railroad, designed to be extended to Holly Springs, Tenn., to Kentucky and the Ohio River.
2. The New Orleans & Opelousas Railroad, ultimately designed to be extended to Texas, and thence to Mexico.

At that time Louisiana had only sixty-three miles of railroad in operation, as follows: Carrollton, 6 miles; Clinton & Port Hudson, 24 miles; Lake Ponchartrain, 6 miles; and the Mexican Gulf, 27 miles. Following are brief histories of the several railroads now centering in New Orleans:

There was a division in this last convention, certain delegates withdrawing for a convention of their own, in which Alfred Hennen occupied the chair. Their preamble and resolution follow:

"Whereas, The delegates to the New Orleans & Jackson Railroad convention favorable to the route via Madisonville have felt constrained to withdraw from its deliberations, they deem it due to themselves and the public to declare the reasons therefor; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the refusal of the convention to allow the advocates of the Madisonville route to be heard through their engineer, Lieutenant L. H. Smith, United States Engineers, who had surveyed the route, by laying on the table a resolution in its behalf before its supporters had an opportunity of being heard, made it imperative on them to withdraw from their seats in that body."

This convention favored the route across Lake Ponchartrain, whose total cost was estimated at \$336,400; steamboats for crossing the lake, \$70,000 each, and cost of operating them \$15,000 a year. The superior advantages of this route were described at length by Lieutenant Smith.

The Mississippi Legislature granted a charter to the New Orleans & Jackson Railroad Company; and by July, 1851, nearly \$500,000 was raised. It was proposed to build the road (of 213 miles) up the left bank of the Mississippi to avoid swamps and navigable streams.

New Orleans was awakened to her duty as a progressive city by the loss to her commerce from lines of railroad then in action. For instance, in 1850 New Orleans lost 12.6 per cent of the cotton crop. Charleston and Savannah together had gained 12.8 per cent. This was owing to the opening of the Western & Atlantic Railroad between Chattanooga and the two coast cities, while the extension of the Chattanooga road into Alabama and Tennessee, then in contemplation, would prove a still greater disaster to New Orleans.

A railroad convention was held June 4, 1851, composed chiefly of wealthy Creoles from the parishes, who represented about \$15,000,000. These men determined to show the world that the Southern States could take their place in the front ranks of progress without aid from the North. The officers of this meeting were:

President, Maunsel White; vice-presidents, Judge Overton, General Declouet,



John T. Moore.

Governor Mouton, O. Cornay, J. W. Tucker, W. Jukinot, Dr. Kittridge, D. F. Kenner, Ambrose Lanfear, A. D. Crossman, L. Matthews, E. Lesseps, A. Boutee, A. B. Segar, H. E. Lawrence and Judge Woodruff; secretaries, John E. King, Robert Taylor, Dr. Hawkins, John Burns and Frederick L. Gates.

A railroad was planned by the convention from New Orleans to Washington, St. Landry Parish (172 miles) and the permanent committee of the Opelousas, Attakapas & New Orleans Railroad was as follows:

M. O. H. Morton, J. B. Bellocq, M. M. Cohen, J. W. Stanton, Buckner H. Payne, Alexander Lesseps, R. F. Nichols, J. Bernard, S. Benoit, Benjamin Buisson, C. Forshey, Ambrose Lanfear, Judge Labranche, D. F. Kenner, John Thebank, A. Mouton, Joaquin Revillon, E. H. Martin, J. C. Anderson, Alexander Declouet, John Moore, F. D. Richardson, John B. Murphy, J. C. Potts, J. H. Hanna, George S. Guion and A. Collins.

The report (December, 1851) of Civil Engineer Augustus S. Phelps concerning this projected route gave as its cost, \$244,596. Phelps surveyed the portion between Thibodaux and Berwick's Bay, and A. G. Blanchard that between Algiers and Thibodaux (51 miles), the cost of which he stated as \$800,000.

A company to build this road was incorporated by the Legislature by the name of the New Orleans, Opelousas & Great Western Railroad Company, with a capital of \$3,000,000, divided into shares of \$25 each. The first officers of the road were as follows:

President, Christopher Adams. Directors—Christopher Adams, Jr., Ambrose Lanfear, J. Y. de Egane, J. W. Stanton, A. Chiapella, J. D. Denegre, R. B. Sumner, L. J. Sigur, L. Leon Bernard, General A. Declouet, Harvey Hopkins and M. O. H. Norton.

The part of this line known as Morgan's Louisiana and Texas line, extending from New Orleans to Vermillionville (144 miles), its company being chartered in 1877, with \$5,000,000 capital, has the following branches: From Vermillionville to Alexandria, 84 miles; from Terre Bonne to Houma, 15 miles; from Terre Bonne to Thibodaux, 6 miles; from New Iberia to Salt Mine, 10 miles; from Cade to St. Martinsville, 7 miles; from Baldwin to Cypremort, 15 miles, the latter being constructed in 1885.

The company also owned four ferryboats, a number of dredge boats, tugs, seventeen iron going steamships, six plying between New York and New Orleans, nine between Morgan City and various Texas and Mexican ports, two from New Orleans to Florida and Havana; also most of the stock of the Gulf, Western &

Pacific Railroad, Texas Transportation Company, Buffalo Bayou Ship Channel Company and Houston & Texas Central Railway Company.

In 1884 A. C. Hutchinson, of New Orleans, was president of the company, and also in 1886, at this latter date J. G. Schriever being vice-president; J. B. Richardson, secretary and treasurer.

In January, 1852, a great railroad convention was held at New Orleans, with 600 delegates from thirty Louisiana parishes; Jefferson City, New Orleans, Lafayette, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Missouri, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas and Georgia. It remained in session from January 5 to January 9, its officers being:

President, ex-Governor Alexander Mouton. Vice-presidents—C. S. Tarpley, Mississippi; Joseph Forsyth, Florida; Lucius C. Polk, Tennessee; William N. Burwell, Virginia; Amos Morrill, Texas; H. Chouteau, Missouri; P. P. Parham, Alabama; J. N. Beadles, Kentucky; Judge James Campbell, Louisiana, and Absalom, Arkansas. Secretaries—John Calhoun, Louisiana; R. C. Farreley, Arkansas, and John Duncan, Mississippi.

Various committees were appointed and a resolution adopted to the effect that New Orleans would liberally contribute to the proposed road; another approving donations by which public lands and public interests would be benefited. A national road was favored to the Pacific Ocean, its terminals on the Mississippi, one north, one south of the Ohio; and later the Louisiana Legislature incorporated by an act the New Orleans, Jackson & Great Northern Railroad Company, with \$3,000,000 capital, and these officers:

President, James Robb. Directors—James Robb, A. D. Kelly, J. P. Benjamin, J. P. Harrison, Isadore Labatut, W. S. Campbell, John Slidell, W. P. Converse, E. W. Morse, Emile La Sere, H. S. Buckner and Charles Bride.

The New Orleans, Mobile & Chattanooga Railroad Company was chartered in Alabama, November 24, 1866; in Mississippi, February 7, 1867; in Louisiana, August 9, 1869, and in Texas, January 19, 1869, its design being to construct under these several charters railroads from Mobile to New Orleans, 141 miles; from New Orleans to the Sabine River, 227 miles; from the Sabine River to Houston, Tex., 108 miles; with branches from Vermillionville, La., to Shreveport, 195 miles, and from Vermillionville to Brashear City, La., 65 miles, the total length of the main lines and branches, 735 miles.

In 1867 it acquired the rights of the Wills Valley Railroad Company, extending from Gadsden, Ala., 84 miles, with the plan of continuing to Chattanooga, and

Louisiana subscribed to this company \$2,500,000 and a subsidy of \$3,000,000, payable in four installments; the completion of the road to Donaldsonville, to Vermillionville, to the Sabine River and to Houston, Tex. New Orleans also granted valuable terminal facilities.

In October, 1870, a division of this road between New Orleans and Mobile was finished, and in 1871 a second division from New Orleans to the Sabine River was completed to Donaldsonville, when the company was reorganized under the name of the New Orleans, Mobile & Texas Railroad Company. Some litigation in 1874 resulted in the transfer of the road west of Vermillionville to the Louisiana Western Railroad Company. Other portions of this road were transferred, the portion from New Orleans to Mobile being sold in 1880 under foreclosure and leased to the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company for fifty years.

The New Orleans, Opelousas & Great Western Railroad Company, chartered in April, 1852, for the purpose of building a line of railroad from Algiers via Thibodaux, Berwick's Bay and Washington to the Sabine river, and with a branch off to the northwest to the southern boundary of Arkansas, completed its road of 80 miles to Berwick's Bay, Brashear City, in 1857. On June 21, 1852, New Orleans voted to tax herself \$1,500,000 to pay for this road, and in 1853 Louisiana agreed to subscribe one-fifth of the stock (conditionally). Congress donated certain lands (which, however, never came into possession of the company), and in August, 1852, the road was begun. On November 6, 1854 the road was opened from Algiers to Lafourche Crossing, a distance of 52 miles; on October 15, 1855, to Tigersville, on March 1, 1856, to Bayou Boeuf, and on April 12, 1857, to Berwick's Bay; total distance, 80 miles.

On February 1, 1866, this road, held during the war by the Federals, was returned to its company. It was purchased in 1869 by Charles Morgan of New York City, for \$2,050,000, and the branch to Havana completed in 1871. In 1879-80 the extension from Berwick's Bay to Cheneyville, distance 124 miles, was finished, and also the Thibodaux branch, 6 miles long, and later the Salt Mine branch, the St. Martinsville branch and the Cypremort branch were constructed.

In 1884 the capital stock of the railroad company was purchased by the Southern Development Company, and in 1885, 40,627 shares out of 50,000 passed into the hands of the Southern Pacific, a new company then controlling the lines of the "Sunset Route" between New Orleans and San Francisco. At this time the lines of railroads and steamboats were divided into three systems:

First, the Pacific system; second, the Atlantic system; and third, the steam-

ship lines. The Pacific system was then 3,001.19 miles in length; the Atlantic system, 1,709.84 miles, and the steamship lines, 4,205 miles, giving a total length of 8,916.03 miles.

The eighteen sea-going steamships of the Morgan line, running in connection with the Southern Pacific railway lines, plied semi-weekly between New Orleans and New York, and weekly between New York and Galveston; New York, Key West and Havana; Morgan City and Vera Cruz; and Galveston, Indianola, Corpus Christi and Brownsville. The officers of this company elected in April, 1885, were: Leland Stanford, president; C. P. Huntington, vice-president; Charles Crocker, second vice-president; C. F. Crocker, third vice-president; A. N. Towne, of San Francisco, general manager of the Pacific system, and A. C. Hutchinson, general manager of the Atlantic system, at New Orleans.

The Southern Pacific Railroad Company was formed October 12, 1870, of the consolidation of the following lines: The Southern Pacific, chartered December 5, 1865; the San Francisco & San Jose, chartered August 18, 1860; the Santa Clara & Pajaro Valley, chartered January 2, 1868; and the California Southern, chartered January 22, 1870. The Southern Pacific Branch Railroad Company, chartered December 23, 1872, was consolidated in the Southern Pacific, August 19, 1873, and the Los Angeles & San Pedro Railroad Company, chartered February 18, 1868, was consolidated therein December 18, 1874. The total length of the lines of all these companies was 1,022.20 miles.

The road as completed was opened to Fort Yuma, 729 miles from San Francisco, via Lathrop and Goshen, May 5, 1877. From the California boundary eastwardly the road was extended by the Southern Pacific Railroad Companies of Arizona and New Mexico, connection being made with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe at Deming, N. M., 466.6 miles east of Yuma and 1,197.5 miles east of San Francisco, March 18, 1881. During this year the road was continued to El Paso, 88 miles, making a connection with the Mexican Central, which was completed in 1883, to the City of Mexico, and also with the Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio, thus forming a through connection, or transcontinental line, from San Francisco to New Orleans. This through line, of which the Texas & New Orleans, the Louisiana Western and Morgan's lines, formed parts, was opened for traffic to New Orleans January 15, 1883.

This latter line in 1885 passed under the control of the Southern Pacific company, which practically began March 1, 1885, having by July, 1887, control of the Central Pacific, of the Southern Pacific, of the Atlantic system, of the New York,

Texas & Mexican, and of the Southern Pacific Coast Line, and owning 612 locomotives and 15,845 cars,

From July 1, 1889, the railroad leases in Texas held by this company were cancelled and operated from that time by their own officers. The following lines in Texas were controlled by the Southern Pacific Company: The Texas & New Orleans; Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio; Gulf, Western Texas & Pacific, and the New York, Texas & Mexican.

The New Orleans, Jackson & Great Northern Railroad, before referred to, was completed by 1860 to Canton, Miss.; the Mississippi Central by 1860 to Jackson, Tenn., and by 1873 to the Ohio River; and by October 29, 1889, a route was opened of 2,888.47 miles between New Orleans and the great lakes. This road, becoming November 8, 1877, the Chicago, St. Louis & New Orleans Railroad, was leased June, 1882, to the Illinois Central Company. Its capital stock is now \$10,000,000; its bonded debt, \$18,000,000.

In 1889 the Mississippi & Tennessee Railroad was consolidated with the Chicago, St. Louis & New Orleans Railroad Company, and was also leased to the Illinois Central.

The Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad extends from New Orleans to Memphis, a distance of 456.15 miles, and has several branches, increasing the length of the system to 807.27 miles, that being the length of the lines in operation June 30, 1897. The Illinois Central Railroad Company purchased nearly all the stock of the Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad Company in 1892, on the basis of paying \$5,000,000 in cash and \$20,000,000 in its 4 per cent called bonds of 1953, and in the year last mentioned the latter railroad company and the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad Company were consolidated, and since November 1, 1892, they have both been operated by the latter company, which owns the Yazoo division of the Illinois Central Railroad, of which division there are two branches; one running from Jackson, Miss., to Parsons, a distance of 115.69 miles, and the other running from Durant, Miss., to Tchula, a distance of 24.67 miles, this division having been leased to the Illinois Central Railroad Company in 1888.

The Mississippi, Terre Aux Boeufs & Lake Railroad Company was chartered March 23, 1877, for the purpose of building a railroad from New Orleans to Shell Beach, distance 30 miles. The road was opened May 8, 1884, and the directors elected March 2, 1886, were as follows: Lloyd R. Coleman, Lucas E. Moore, James A. Shakespeare, M. R. Spellman and B. S. Story, all of New Orleans, and John R. Elder and William L. Elder, both of Indianapolis, Ind. John R. Elder was chosen

president, and Lloyd R. Coleman vice-president. The capital of the company was \$199,500, and the road cost \$483,746.25. This company in 1886 was merged in a new company called the New Orleans & Gulf Railroad Company, which had been chartered to build a line from Poydras, on the line of the former company's road, to Point-a-la-Hache, the quarantine station for the port of New Orleans, a distance of 36 miles, with two branches aggregating 2.5 miles. The capital stock of this new company was \$300,000, and the officers remained after its incorporation the same as those of the older company.

Track laying was begun in January, 1887, and the line was completed the same year. The company purchased the three steamboats and the entire business and good will of the Red River & Coast Line Steamboat Company from New Orleans to the Jetties, which included the United States mail contract and gave the company a monopoly of the traffic between New Orleans and the Jetties on both sides of the Mississippi River. As now constructed, the main line of this road extends from New Orleans to Bohemia, 50 miles, and the Shell Beach branch is 15.50 miles long. The officers up to 1891 remained as above given.

As successor to the above company, the New Orleans & Southern Railroad Company was chartered September 15, 1891, the property having been sold under foreclosure March 5, preceding. A receiver was appointed for the property June 6, 1895, and the property was leased to the New Orleans & Western Railroad Company February 1, 1896, the latter company owning a railroad from Port Chalmette to Shrewsbury, La., 12 miles, and from the latter place to Southport, 2 miles. This company was chartered January 17, 1895, their road being opened January 11, 1896. It owns extensive terminal facilities at Port Chalmette, including 2,300 acres of land, 1,500 feet of covered wharfage, eighty warehouses, four cotton compresses, a grain elevator, waterworks, etc. Its road connects with every railroad entering the city. On February 1, 1896, this company leased the New Orleans & Southern Railroad for one year, provided it were not sold under foreclosure before the expiration of that period.

In 1896 the officers were as follows: President, Charles E. Levy; vice-president, Charles B. Van Nostrand, of New York; secretary and treasurer, D. B. Morey, and auditor, G. McD. Nathan. The office of the company was then in the cotton exchange building in New Orleans.

The rails of the New Orleans & Western Railroad connect directly with those of the Illinois Central, the Mississippi Valley, the New Orleans & Northeastern and the Louisville & Nashville, and interchange is made with the Texas & Pacific

by boat to Port Chalmette, and with the Southern Pacific by transfer boat to Port Chalmette, the same as with the Texas & Pacific, and by rail through the Louisville & Nashville.

The Port Chalmette terminals are the largest and most complete in the Southern States. There is a wharf frontage of 2,475 feet, with more than 1,800 feet of shed on the same. Seven steamers can all occupy quay berths and load at the same time and during the last cotton season (1898-99) more than once ten steamers were at one time loading various cargoes at this wharf. In addition to these wharf facilities, the company owns and operates three large cotton compresses; eighty brick warehouses, whose aggregate capacity is 96,000 bales of flat cotton, and also several large storehouses, in which 40,000 additional bales of cotton or other freight can be stored. It also has a 500,000 bushel elevator. These large terminals and other facilities are located on historic ground, the place having been formerly known as the "Battle Ground Plantation." The remnants of the manor house are where General Packenham had his headquarters in the war of 1812, and from this manor house to the public road is an avenue of live oaks unequalled anywhere else in the South. One of the principal advantages of these terminals and the belt line is that shippers are not confined to the terminals of the road over which they ship, and manufactories located on its line are practically located on every line coming into the city. The officers of the New Orleans & Western Railroad Company are: W. C. Dotterer, receiver and general manager; J. W. Mumper, assistant general manager; G. McD. Nathan, secretary and treasurer; Charles W. Towsley, general agent, and R. B. Fowler, general superintendent.

The New Orleans, Spanish Fort & Lake Railroad Company is an old organization. The property was purchased in 1896 by Eastern capitalists and leased to the New Orleans & Western Railroad Company for the purpose of giving that company an entrance into New Orleans. Spanish Fort used to be the chief lake resort for the people of New Orleans, but of recent years it has become the chief resort of the colored portion of the inhabitants.

The Texas & Pacific Railroad Company, formerly known as the New Orleans Pacific Railroad Company, was organized in June, 1875, for the purpose of building a railroad from the upper Red River country to New Orleans, the latter city contributing \$354,000; Alexandria, \$15,200; Natchez, \$25,000; Mansfield, \$15,000; De Soto, \$100,000; Shreveport, \$25,000; Caddo, \$20,000, and Marshall, Tex., \$60,000, together with the charter of the Marshall & Mansfield Railroad Company, and 286,720 acres of land belonging to this latter company. The work of construction

was carried on from 1875 to 1879, the Louisiana Construction Company ceasing work in 1878, after spending \$100,000. In July, 1880, the American Railroad Improvement Company took charge, and in October resumed the work of construction, and the last rail was laid July 11, 1882, the road at that time being 171 miles long and having cost \$3,537,000. On September 19 of that year the new road was transferred to the Texas & Pacific Railroad Company, under articles of consolidation. The part of the old road between Shreveport, La., and Marshall, Tex., was completed July 28, 1866, the first train passing over it the next day. The first train from Dallas to Shreveport over the Texas Pacific road reached Shreveport August 11, 1873, and the road was opened for regular traffic August 13, 1873.

This road was first projected early in the forties, and a sketch of the road made in 1851. The branch from Baton Rouge Junction to Port Allen forms a part of this system, and the new road from Alexandria to Arkansas City, as well as the road from Plaquemine to Indian City.

In 1892 this company purchased the Kansas City, El Paso & Mexican Railroad, generally known as the White Oaks road, which was projected from El Paso to White Oaks, ten miles of which from El Paso north had been constructed and laid with steel, the cost to the purchasing company being \$50,000; but this road was afterward sold to a local company for a sum sufficient to cover the cost and interest.

The Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad was built to a point 80 miles above Vicksburg by July 25, 1884, and 315 miles of continuous track led north from New Orleans along the Mississippi River. February 1 of that year the telegraph was completed to the terminus of the road, fifty miles north of Walnut Hills. The road was completed January 1, 1885. Its branches are the Glendale & Eagle Nest, the Leland & Huntington, the Wilzeinski & Glen Allen, the Lamont & Rondale and the Slaughter & Woodville.

This railroad company was formed by consolidation August 12, 1884; the main line was completed in October and opened November 1, 1884. The main line forms the connecting link between the Chesapeake & Ohio system on the north and the Southern Pacific system on the south. The only New Orleans member of the board of directors elected in 1884 was A. C. Hutchinson. The distance from New Orleans to Memphis by this line is 456.18 miles. In 1884 its branches were the Leland branch, from Leland to Huntington, Miss., 21.90 miles, and the Washington branch, 34 miles long, making the entire length of the road 512.08 miles. The Issaquena branch, 1.37 miles long, was opened in 1888. October 3, 1887, R. T. Wilson was elected president, and in 1896, I. E. Gates was president; J. Kruttschnitts, vice-president, and Paul Flato, treasurer.

The New Orleans & Northeastern Railroad Company was chartered March 16, 1870, its first president being Adam Thompson, and its first chief engineer, G. Ingram. Surveys of the route were made, but the project of building the road was not immediately carried out, and it was not until 1881 that the surveys began for the actual construction of the road. At the close of that year work was begun on the road, the road being complete to Meridian, Miss., in November, 1883, and being opened for traffic to New Orleans November 1. The length of the road was then 195.9 miles, of which 151.595 miles were in Mississippi, and the total cost was \$5,612,778.24.

This road is now a portion of the Queen & Crescent system, which comprises the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific, 336 miles; the Alabama Great Southern, 295 miles; the New Orleans & Northeastern, 196 miles; the Vicksburg & Meridian, 142.5 miles; the Vicksburg, Shreveport & Pacific, 189 miles, and the Postevent & Faure. In 1885 the following directors were elected: From New Orleans, Robert Mott, E. L. Carriere, J. H. Oglesby and Henry Abraham; the president being John Scott, of Cincinnati. Of the 196 miles between New Orleans and Meridian, 194.17 miles had steel rails. December 31 of this year the company had an aggregate of 927 cars and twenty-four locomotives, and the capital stock was \$5,000,000.

On March 2, 1885, Frank S. Bond was elected president of this company, and Charles Schiff vice-president. In 1887 Charles Schiff was elected president, and C. C. Harvey vice-president, serving also in 1889. In 1897, C. C. Harvey was elected president and Charles Schiff vice-president.

The Louisiana Western Railroad, from Vermillionville to Orange, Tex., was begun in 1879, the entire line being completed in 1880, which completed the direct line from New Orleans to Houston, Tex., as follows: The Texas & New Orleans Railroad from Houston to Orange, 106 miles; the Louisiana Western from Orange to Vermillionville, 112 miles; and Morgan's Louisiana & Texas Railroad from Vermillionville to New Orleans, 144 miles; total distance 362 miles. In 1884 the entire line was under the management of C. P. Huntington, president, and the capital stock of the Louisiana Western was \$3,360,000. The entire line was leased to the Southern Pacific Company February 10, 1885, for ninety-nine years from March 1, 1885.

The New Orleans, Fort Jackson & Grand Isle Railroad Company was chartered in 1890 for the purpose of constructing a railroad from New Orleans to Fort Jackson, with the view of connecting at the latter place by steamboat with Grand Isle.

The road was completed in 1891 to Buras, La., a distance of 59.6 miles, and from Socola Junction to Grand Bayou, La., 13 miles. The officers of this company in 1896-99 were H. C. Warmouth, president; J. Wilkinson, secretary; A. Baldwin, treasurer; and F. L. Place, auditor. The office of the company is in New Orleans.

In closing the subject of the railway advantages of New Orleans, the following considerations may be adduced: The short rail distances from several of the interior grain market and packing-house centers to New York and to New Orleans compare as follows:

	Miles		
	To New York.	To N. Orleans.	Saving to N. Orleans.
Chicago, Ill	912	912	0
Duluth, Minn	1,390	1,337	53
Minneapolis, Minn	1,332	1,279	53
St. Paul, Minn	1,321	1,268	53
Sioux City, Iowa	1,422	1,258	164
Omaha, Neb	1,402	1,070	332
Dubuque, Iowa	1,079	988	91
St. Louis, Mo.	1,058	695	363
Peoria, Ill	1,006	860	146
Cairo, Ill	1,089	554	535
Evansville, Ind	989	708	281
Louisville, Ky	867	746	121
Nashville, Tenn	939	557	382
Denver, Colo	1,932	1,356	576
Kansas City, Mo.	1,335	878	457

Terminating in New Orleans and radiating therefrom in all directions are the following six great railroads: The Southern Pacific, operating 7,614 miles of road; the Queen & Crescent, operating 1,155 miles; the Louisville & Nashville, operating in its own name 2,988 miles, and controlling, through ownership of stock, the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, 1,189 miles more, making in all, 4,177 miles; the Texas & Pacific Railway, operating 1,492 miles; the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railway, operating 969 miles, and the Illinois Central Railway, operating 3,679 miles, making a total railway mileage tributary to New Orleans of 19,086 miles.

Whether these several railways discriminate in favor of or against New Orleans is a question too complicated and far-reaching for this work to undertake to determine, but it may be stated that the total value of the imports and exports of the port of New Orleans for the year ending June 30, 1899, was \$100,090,537, while

the total receipts of the roads above enumerated from the carriage of passengers and freight was \$130,637,703. Another matter is somewhat remarkable, for whereas in former years all the cotton that reached New Orleans was brought in by steamboat or other vessels, the railways since their recent improved condition have so reduced freight rates as to successfully compete with river transportation, and in three of the recent years not a bale of cotton was carried to New Orleans by boat. It is certainly true that the railways centering in New Orleans have one great advantage over those centering in New York, in the matter of transporting freight from Chicago and other Western points, for the roads entering New Orleans from Chicago have a dead lift of only 214 feet, while in running from Chicago to New York there is a dead lift of 1,571 feet, or on some lines which cross the Alleghanies by longer routes the dead lift is about 500 feet.

A mail coach ran in 1804-5 from New Orleans to Manchac Church twice a week. It was owned by Hays & Commack.

The oldest line of street cars in the city, and in fact the first line established in the United States, was that of the New Orleans & Carrollton Company, which opened September 26, 1835 (having been chartered in 1833). It ran from the corner of Baronne and Canal to the little village of Carrollton, practically the same route now traversed by its cars. The charter obtained from Governor A. B. Romain is rather amusing when read in the light of modern progress and improvement:

"Be it resolved, that the New Orleans & Carrollton Railroad Company be and are hereby authorized to place one single rail track from the lower limits of the Nims plantation, down Naydes street (St. Charles avenue), across Tivoli place (Lee Circle), down Triton walk (Howard avenue) and Baronne street to the point where this last street meets with Canal street.

"Be it resolved, that at any time hereafter the majority of the inhabitants and property holders through which the road passes can complain thereof as a nuisance, and the company, after receiving thirty days' notice from the mayor of the city, shall cause said railroad track to be removed, and the street put in the same order as it was before." (The company had the mud street paved with cobble stones at its own expense).

In 1834 the fare of this line was fixed; 12½ cents from Canal to Tivoli Circle, 18½ cents from the Circle to Jackson; 50 cents from the Circle to Carrollton. The president was then D. F. Burthe; the secretary, L. F. Generes. In 1845 steam "dummies" were placed on the road, running all the way from Carrollton to Lake

Pontchartrain, the line becoming the Jefferson & Lake Pontchartrain Railroad. From Lee Circle the cars were brought down by means of animal power. While General Beauregard was president of this company, rope cables were tried as a way of propelling the cars, but, owing to the shrinking of the rope with changes of the barometer, had to be abandoned. Of course, the wire cables afterwards tried in San Francisco proved a great success.

The city station was formerly on the block enclosed by Baronne, Poydras and Perdido streets, afterwards occupied by the Globe Theater. The right of way was of 384 foot breadth.

In 1894 electricity was tried on this road, the first in the city to adopt it. Last year (1899) the track was rebuilt. It has now a fine road-bed, with stone ballast and strong cross-ties. The cars are good and run easily; the road is solid. April 15, 1899, the Canal & Claiborne Railroad was purchased by it and now forms part of the line, which comprises 70 miles of railroad. The two power houses (of 3,400 horse power together) are situated respectively at Napoleon avenue and the river front, and the head of Elysian Fields street. The New Orleans & Carrollton Company own 200 cars. They have grants for 40 more miles of track. Their franchise will not expire until 1933. The receipts in 1899 amounted to \$675,000. The lines are as follows:

The St. Charles avenue belt line, from the head of Canal street through St. Charles avenue to its terminus, at Jeanette street, returning via Carrollton avenue and Tulane avenue to the starting point.

The Tulane avenue belt line, starting from the head of Canal street, through Tulane avenue and Carrollton avenue to its terminus at Jeanette street, returning via St. Charles avenue to the starting point.

The Jackson avenue line, starting from the head of Canal street, passing out through St. Charles avenue to the head of Jackson avenue and return.

The Napoleon avenue line, starting from the head of Canal street and passing out through St. Charles avenue to the head of Napoleon avenue and return.

The Claiborne line, starting from the head of Canal street and passing through Canal, Claiborne, Elysian Fields and St. Claude avenue to its terminus at Louisa street.

This system of street railways is now under the control of the following officers: J. K. Newman, president; Joseph H. Degrange, vice-president; S. H. March, second vice-president; Walter V. Crouch, secretary, and George H. Davis, general manager.

The Canal & Claiborne line was a "mule road," chartered in 1867 and beginning to run in 1868. It is now an electric line and part of the New Orleans & Carrollton road, in which the two former lines, Claiborne avenue and Tulane avenue, are merged

The company of the City Railroad formed in June, 1860, with \$100,000 capital. It commenced to run June 1, 1861, starting at Canal and Rampart, where the people were assembled in crowds to watch it. The cars ran down Rampart and out Esplanade to Bayou bridge; fourteen crowded cars in all that day. They were built in omnibus fashion. The fare each way for the 3-mile trip was 5 cents. At the end of the line was the old-fashioned turn-table, turned by mules, such as most of us recall a few years ago on all the lines. On June 2, 1860, a little negro boy, at the corner of Canal and Rampart streets, was run over and killed, this being the first accident on the line. In June, 1864, improvements were made on the line to prevent accidents. At this time the company had cars running as follows: On Magazine street, 23; on Bayou road, 17; on Prytania street, 14; on Canal street, 18; and on Dauphine street, 24. In 1873 this company had the following lines in operation: The Esplanade line, to Bayou bridge, $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles; the Magazine and Prytania lines, both running to Pleasant street, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the Rampart and Dauphine lines to the Barracks, 5 miles; the Canal street line, running to the city park and the cemeteries, 3 2-3 miles, the latter being patronized then more than any other line in the city. The original cost of constructing and equipping these lines was \$997,194.86, of which sum the horses and mules costing \$99,329.40, and the cars, \$74,438.75.

The Levee line opened May 6, 1866, the company (the City Railroad Company) having a stock of \$1,300,000. In 1871 the Canal street track, at a cost of \$37,000, was removed from over the Canal to its sides. In 1872 the Barracks line was extended to the slaughter house and other improvements were made.

The City Railroad Company was chartered February 28, 1899, for ninety-nine years. The capital stock consists of \$2,500,000 of 5 per cent cumulative preferred, dividends payable in January and July, and \$5,000,000 of common stock. The preferred stock has preference over the common as to assets, as well as to dividends, and the company cannot create a new lien without consent of a majority of the preferred stock, which latter also elects a majority of directors, until dividends shall have been paid thereon for five consecutive years.

This company has purchased the properties of the New Orleans City and Lake and the Crescent City Railroad Companies. West End, a pleasure resort on Lake

Pontchartrain, has been much improved since it has been under its present owners. It has a fine band stand and pavilions. During the summer music, vaudeville shows, flower beds and the scenic railway combine to make it a most attractive place. No fee is charged for admission to this resort, and on summer evenings it is usually crowded.

The St. Charles Street Railroad Company organized in 1866, and in that year built the Carondelet, Dryades and Clio lines. The five men most active in this work were: William H. McLellan, president; Alden McLellan, secretary; and John H. Nicholson, Henry Hart and John Pettit, the engineer being Samuel L. James. The capital was \$500,000, increased in 1873 to \$600,000, when the Royal street line was built, and in 1893 to \$1,000,000. The president is now Albert G. Phelps; the secretary, N. Rivière. There are forty cars and 18 miles of road. The power house, corner of Marigny and North Peters streets, contains three cross-compound Hamilton Corliss engines, and three 8-pole 200 kilowatt Walker generators. The directory is composed of Edward Toby, S. O. Thomas, John W. Fairfax, H. T. Hart, E. S. Reems and John McCloskey. The mechanical engineer is E. B. McKinney, and the electrical engineer Alexander L. Black.

The lines run as follows:

The Carondelet street line starts on Elysian Fields avenue, passes up Royal to Canal, up St. Charles, Howard avenue and Baronne to the station on Eighth street, returning by Carondelet, Bourbon and Esplanade avenue; the Dryades street line extends from Clay statue up St. Charles to Howard, on Dryades, Felicity and Baronne to the Eighth street station, and returning by Dryades, South Rampart and Canal; the Clio line extends from foot of Elysian Fields avenue up Royal, St. Charles, Howard avenue, South Rampart and Clio to the station, and returns by Erato, Carondelet, Bourbon, Esplanade and Decatur.

In 1898 this company began issuing transfer tickets from one to another of its various lines.

The Orleans Railroad Company organized in 1869, with \$185,000 capital, and has three lines: Bayou St. John, Broad street, City Park and French Market, a total of 11.3 miles. Electricity was first used in 1895. The power house, near the Old Basin, has an Ellis-Corliss engine of 200 horse power. The company has thirty-one cars (single and double motors) and 150 employees. The president is E. Perrin; C. J. MacMurdo, secretary; V. Willoz, electrician, and W. G. Leahy, chief engineer. The first president was Felix Labutat.

It may be said in conclusion that New Orleans has one of the best systems of street cars in the world. There is hardly a portion of the city or its suburbs to

which one or another of the excellent lines just mentioned is not accessible. The cars are handsome and comfortable, run easily and preserve a steady schedule in traversing their routes.

CHAPTER XIII.

SECRET ORDERS.

BY WALTER PARKER.

SECRET ORDERS have thrived in New Orleans since the opening chapter of the city's history. Masonry came with the early refugees, and the latter day fraternal organizations were, as a rule, introduced here soon after their inception. For over a hundred years the Masons have had lodges in New Orleans, and, with the exception of a few years prior to the civil war, they have enjoyed continuous progress and prosperity. Odd Fellowship gained a foothold in New Orleans a few years after the city became part of the United States, making rapid strides during the forties, when many new lodges were formed. The Knights of Pythias began organizing lodges immediately after the civil war and successfully combated the evil political influences which prevailed in those trying times, and to-day this organization is one of the strongest in the State. The labor and trade organizations were not so prompt to get a foothold here, but once established, their growth has been rapid and substantial, and indications are that within the next few years labor organizations will have become firmly established and will embrace in their membership rolls all trades and occupations. In the last few years many organizations, such as the Elks, which now has handsome headquarters, the T. P. A., etc., have been organized in New Orleans, and the membership and work of the various orders is generally satisfactory.

MASONRY.

Masonry was introduced into Louisiana during the latter part of the eighteenth century, its establishment being hastened probably by the hostility of Spain to the order, for while the Masons in New Orleans were mostly Frenchmen and few

in number, and while they were compelled to act cautiously and with considerable circumspection in order to avoid giving offense to the authorities and becoming amenable to process of law, yet these restrictions only resulted in bringing the brethren closer together and strengthening their bonds of union, a most natural result of any form of tyranny or oppression. Masonry had for many years existed in San Domingo, introduced by the French, and when a number of refugees came to New Orleans from the West Indies, it was but natural that they should seek their own countrymen here, and that the natives and immigrants should seek to strengthen further the bonds of friendship by the organization of lodges of their own order. Hence, in 1793, several Frenchmen, Freemasons, then residing in New Orleans, organized themselves into a lodge, by the name of *Parfaite Union*, and made application to the Grand Lodge of South Carolina for a charter, which was granted, and they were constituted as "*Loge Parfaite Union No. 29*," the officers being installed in the York rite, March 30, 1794, by Jason Lawrence, who was specially deputed for that purpose. These first officers were: Laurent Sigur, W. M.; Laurent Chouriac, S. W.; and Andres Wakernie, J. W.

During the same year, 1794, several members of the French or Modern Rite resolved to form themselves into a lodge, under the name of "*Etoile Polaire*," applying to the Grand Orient of France for a charter; but this application proved futile, owing to the fact that the Grand Orient of France had suspended its labors because of political troubles then agitating that country. This being learned, these members made a similar application to the Provincial Lodge, "*la Parfaite Sincerite*" at Marseilles, which granted them a provincial charter in 1796, entrusting it to Dominique Mayronne with power to constitute the new lodge and to install its officers. Polar Star Lodge was, therefore, duly constituted and its officers installed under the French rite, December 27, 1798, with officers as follows: Duprelong Peytavin, W. M.; Chev. Desilets, S. W., and F. Marc, J. W.

The Grand Orient of France, having in 1803 resumed its labors, took action on the petition of the members of the Polar Star Lodge, sent in 1794, and in 1804 granted a charter and deputed Ch. Tessier to carry it to them and seal their work. Under this charter Polar Star Lodge No. 4263 was reconstituted and its officers installed November 11, 1804, by A. Pinard and A. Marmillion, specially deputed for that purpose by the Grand Orient. The first officers under this charter were A. B. Chastant, W. M.; A. Marmillion, S. W.; and J. Pinard, J. W.

Some time previous to this latter date certain residents of New Orleans and former members of Candor Lodge No. 12, of Charleston, S. C., which had become

extinct, resolved to revive their old lodge in this city, and made application for a charter to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, which was granted May 18, 1801, the lodge receiving the name of Candor Lodge No. 90, and having for its first officers, N. Definiels, W. M.; Gaspard Debuys, S. W.; and Pierre D. Berne, J. W. Under this charter it is thought by the best authorities on Masonry in New Orleans that no organization was effected, for the reason that its Worthy Master was the same as Charite Lodge No. 93, which was chartered March 1, 1802, but did not receive its charter until 1804, on May 13 of which year the lodge was duly constituted and the officers installed in the York Rite by Eugene Dorsiere, specially deputed for that purpose by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Its first officers were: N. Definiels, W. M.; D. Baron, S. W., and J. Carrick, J. W.

Louisiana was admitted to the Union April 30, 1812, a political change which had a corresponding effect on Masonry in the Territory, now changed to a State. Measures were immediately taken to form a Grand Lodge for the new State, the movement being initiated by Perfect Union Lodge No. 29, each of the lodges in the State sending three delegates to a meeting held in its hall at the corner of Camp and Gravier streets, New Orleans, April 18, 1812, the lodges represented being as follows: Perfect Union, No. 29; Charity, No. 93; Louisiana, No. 1; Concord, No. 117; Perseverance, No. 118; Harmony, No. 122, and Polar Star, No. 129. The delegates to this meeting organized themselves into a "General Masonic Committee of the State of Louisiana to provide for the establishment of a Grand Lodge in the city of New Orleans," with P. F. Dubourg, president, and two secretaries. The second meeting of this general committee was held May 16, 1812, at which it was resolved that a summons be issued calling together a "Grand Convention" to deliberate upon the necessity of organizing a Grand Lodge for the State. This grand convention met June 13, 1812, and as a result of its deliberations the "Grand Convention of Ancient York Masons" assembled in the room of Perfect Union Lodge, No. 29, and elected grand officers as follows: P. F. Dubourg, Grand Master; Hon. L. C. E. Moreau Lislet, Deputy Grand Master; Jean Blanque, Senior Grand Warden; Francois Pernot, Junior Grand Warden; J. B. Pinta, Grand Treasurer; J. B. Veron, Grand Secretary; Mathurin Pacaud, Grand Orator; Yves Lemonnier, Grand Pursuivant; and Augustin Macarty, Grand Steward. Thus was the Grand Lodge of the State formed June 20, 1812, and in due time this Grand Lodge was admitted into full fellowship with all her sister grand lodges in the United States.

The Grand Royal Arch chapter of Louisiana was formed March 8, 1813, by

Concord and Perseverance Royal Arch Chapters, working under charters from the Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania and attached to lodges of the same name, and on March 13, the Grand Officers were elected and installed as follows: P. F. Dubourg, G. H. P.; Moreau Lislet, D. G. H. P.; J. Soulie, G. K.; and Thomas Urquhart, G. S.

It should be stated that when the Grand Lodge was organized two of the lodges then in existence failed to participate, viz.: Louisiana No. 1, and Harmony No. 122. Up to the close of the year 1818, the Grand Lodge had granted nine charters, only three of which were for lodges in Louisiana, and none of the three in New Orleans. But the three new lodges, together with the five which united in forming the Grand Lodge, made eight lodges in the State acknowledging its jurisdiction. Louisiana Lodge had gone out of existence and Harmony Lodge, No. 122, was still working under its charter from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and there was another lodge in the State of which the Grand Lodge had no knowledge until years afterwards. From this time on until 1846 there was a great deal of confusion in Masonry in the State, lodges being formed under jurisdictions other than the Grand Lodge of the State, as under the French Rite, under the Grand Lodge of Mississippi, and other bodies; but since 1850 there has been little or no conflict of authority, all of the lodges having come under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana. For a detailed history of Masonry in Louisiana the reader is referred to the "Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Louisiana," by James B. Scot, who had unusual facilities for writing a book of this kind, and did his work well. The following is a list of the Masonic lodges in New Orleans, together with the dates of their organization:

Perfect Union No. 1, organized 1793, date of present charter August 15, 1812; Polar Star No. 1, originally No. 5, organized in 1794, date of present charter August 15, 1812; Perseverance No. 4, organized in 1810, date of present charter August 15, 1812; Cervantes No. 5, organized February 14, 1884; Los Amigos del Orden, organized September 24, 1842, having been consolidated August 23, 1883, with Silencio No. 9; Germania No. 46, charter dated April 18, 1844; Friends of Harmony No. 58, April 22, 1848; Mount Moriah No. 59, March 24, 1849; George Washington No. 65, March 3, 1850; Hiram No. 70, March 3, 1850; Alpha No. 72, February 14, 1860; Quitman No. 76, March 4, 1850; Hermitage No. 98, January 21, 1851; Louisiana No. 102, January 23, 1851; Ocean No. 144, February 10, 1857; St. Johns No. 153, February 10, 1858; Linwood No. 167, February 13, 1861; Kosmos No. 171, February 9, 1864; Union No. 172, February 17, 1865; Dante No.

174, February 14, 1866; Corinthian No. 190, February 9, 1869; Jefferson No. 191, February 9, 1869. Besides these lodges there are the following organizations:

The Grand Chapter, organized March 13, 1813; and the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar, chartered February 12, 1864, and two commanderies in New Orleans subject to the jurisdiction of the Grand Commandery, viz.: The Invisible Friends Commandery, No. 1, chartered May 4, 1816, and the Jacques De Molay Commandery, No. 2, chartered April 15, 1851.

Under the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State are the following: Orleans Royal Arch Chapter, No. 1, and Concord Royal Arch Chapter, No. 2. Under the Grand Council of Royal and Select Masters, which meets annually in February, there is the Louisiana Council, No. 2, which meets monthly. There are also the Eagle Council of Kadosh, No. 6; the Pelican Chapter, Rose Croix, No. 11; the Albert Pike Lodge of Perfection, No. 1; the Jerusalem Council, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, and the Masonic Veterans Association.

The colored Masons have the following organizations:

The W. M. Eureka Grand Lodge and constituent lodges as below: Richmond Lodge, No. 1; Berry Lodge, No. 2; Stringer Lodge, No. 3; St. Luke's Lodge, No. 4; Tuscan Lodge, No. 5; Gilbert Lodge, No. 6; DeGruy Lodge, No. 7; Progress Lodge, No. 16; Mount Olive Lodge, No. 21; Vera Cruz Lodge, No. 24; Ezra Chapter, No. 1, R. A. M.; Alpha Chapter, No. 2, R. A. M.; Eureka Chapter, No. 3, R. A. M.; Constantine Commandery, No. 1, K. T.; Bethany Commandery, No. 2, K. T.; and Godfrey, No. 3, K. T.

In connection with the history of the Louisiana State Lottery it should be mentioned that a lottery was authorized by the Legislature for the purpose of erecting a Masonic temple in New Orleans; but under that authority it is not now remembered that any action was taken. But in 1859 the Masons of the city determined to erect one of the finest temples in the country, and purchased for \$60,000 the ground known as the Carrollton Railroad Depot, included between St. Charles, Carondelet, Calliope and Delord streets, with the exception of a small angle at Carondelet near Calliope, upon which stood a couple of houses. Upon this ground the foundations of a temple were laid at a cost of \$30,000, the design being to erect a building to cost \$250,000, but the project was abandoned because of the great expense. Land was sold off to the amount of \$80,000, and the old Commercial Exchange building, standing at the corner of St. Charles and Perdido streets, was purchased for \$55,000, the building being used as a temple until about 1890, when the erection of the present temple was begun, the corner-stone being laid

October 20, that year. The building was completed in 1892 at a total cost of about \$110,000.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

Odd Fellowship was founded in Louisiana by the organization of Louisiana Lodge No. 1, under a charter granted by the Grand Lodge of the United States, February 20, 1831, the lodge being instituted May 23, following. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows was introduced into the United States in 1806, and in 1819 some persons who had been members of English lodges established a lodge at Baltimore which soon received a charter from the Manchester Unity. Thomas Wildey, who was one of the promoters of the Baltimore lodge, was largely instrumental in organizing the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, a charter for which was granted by the Grand Lodge of the United States, in an adjourned meeting held at Baltimore March 5, 1832, the Louisiana branch being proclaimed instituted January 6, 1833. Eleven years later the State Legislature passed an act incorporating the body, the charter extending over a period of fifty years. The first encampment of the patriarchal branch was named Wildey, No. 1, and was organized under a charter from the Grand Lodge of the United States, granted March 5, 1832, to be located at New Orleans, and instituted by Grand Sire Wildey, December 24, 1832. Afterward other encampments were organized in different parts of the State. The Grand Encampment was organized under a dispensation issued October 2, 1847, to Wildey, No. 1; Louisiana, No. 2, of St. Francesville; Hobah, No. 3; and Magnolia, No. 4, of Baton Rouge, the Grand Encampment to be located at New Orleans, and known as the Grand Encampment of Louisiana. The preliminary meeting to act upon the dispensation was held January 13, 1848, the same being accepted and the meeting adjourned on the 10th of the month following. Under Grand Lodge authority to establish Rebekah lodges, Naomi Lodge, No. 1, was instituted May 16, 1874, at New Orleans, and other lodges of the same degree were soon afterward organized at other places in the State. To the jurisdiction of Louisiana belongs the credit of originating and carrying to success three important adjuncts of the order, viz.: The General Relief Committee, organized in 1846; the Odd Fellows Rest cemetery, consecrated February 26, 1849, and the Widows and Orphans' Relief Association, organized in 1864. The Auxiliary Endowment Association of Louisiana was organized in May, 1882.

The home of the Odd Fellows in New Orleans was formerly located at the corner of Camp and Lafayette streets, where now stands the Fisk Free and Public library building. Here the corner-stone of the first Odd Fellows' Hall was laid

April 26, 1850, and the building was dedicated November 23, 1852. It was destroyed by fire July 4, 1866, and the present Odd Fellows' Hall, situated on Camp street, between Lafayette and Poydras streets, was built in 1867-68, and dedicated November 10, of the latter year.

In 1862 the Grand Lodge and the Grand Encampment effected a separation from the Grand Lodge of the United States and assumed independent authority. Fraternal relations were restored in the early part of 1865.

During the great epidemics of yellow fever in New Orleans the Odd Fellows, as did all the older fraternal orders, accomplished many noble deeds in relief work.

Prior to 1840, charters were granted to the following New Orleans lodges: Louisiana, No. 1; Perseverance, No. 2; True American (changed to Washington), No. 3; Unity, No. 5. Louisiana, No. 1; Perseverance, No. 2; Washington, No. 3, and Unity, No. 5, surrendered their charters May 23, 1840, in order to form a lodge to be known as Union, No. 1. The charter was granted, but, due to the fact that a new lodge could not take the number of an old one, the name of the new lodge was changed to Union, No. 6. Subsequently Louisiana, No. 1, and Washington, No. 3, reclaimed their original charters.

The subordinate lodges of Odd Fellows now in existence, together with the date each was instituted, follow:

Louisiana, No. 1, May 23, 1831; Washington, No. 3, December 27, 1838; Teutonia, No. 10, April 28, 1846; Magnolia, No. 22, January 29, 1848; Independence, No. 23, October 25, 1848; Columbus, No. 24, April 23, 1849; Southwestern, No. 40, January 2, 1854; Gretna, No. 53, January 16, 1889; Progressive, No. 54, June 24, 1899.

Ora Rebekah Lodge, No. 7, was instituted November 13, 1890, and Vashti Rebekah Lodge, No. 17, February 15, 1899.

Willey Encampment, No. 1, was instituted December 24, 1832, and Washington Encampment, No. 6, March 11, 1848.

The colored organizations of Odd Fellows are as follows:

Louisiana Grand Lodge, No. 21, and subordinate lodges; Butler, No. 1336; Amos, No. 1487; Emblem of Progress, No. 1507; Pride of Louisiana, No. 1529; O. J. Dunn, No. 1548; Crescent, No. 1646; Good Intent, No. 1656; Pride of Jefferson, No. 1679; La Creole, No. 1918; Israel, No. 1971; Magnolia, No. 1990; Orleans Progress, No. 2327; and John and Jacob, No. 2842.

KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS.

The Knights of Pythias organized lodges in Louisiana as early as 1868, but shortly thereafter, in fact as soon as the Grand Lodge had been got in shape, the political corruption which was then tearing the State from center to circumference, invaded the organization and an effort was made to control the vote of the members. This quickly caused a revolt and the Grand Lodge was practically disorganized. The next effort of the order was made in 1876 when on April 15 of that year Orleans Lodge, No. 1, was organized under a charter granted five days previously. In May of 1880 Supreme Chancellor S. S. Davis, of Maine, came to Louisiana and reorganized the Grand Lodge at Monroe. The Endowment and Uniform Ranks were also organized about this time, and since then the order has flourished here. The Louisiana branch of the K. of P. bears the distinction of having had at one time an orthodox Catholic priest as prelate of one of its lodges. The headquarters of the Grand Lodge are now located at New Orleans, with the following officers: P. A. Capdau, G. C.; W. A. Knapp, G. V. C.; W. L. Erwin, G. P.; T. C. Will, G. M. of E.; John A. McLean, G. K. of R. and S.; W. C. Davis, G. M. A.; P. J. Chappuis, G. I. G.; P. J. Alexander, G. O. G.; J. Zach Spearing and Henry Bernstein, Supreme Representatives. The lodges of the Knights of Pythias, together with the date each was organized, are as follows:

Orleans, No. 1, April 10, 1876.	Halcyon, No. 66, April 10, 1886.
Crescent, No. 3, Aug. 31, 1878.	Garibaldi, No. 72, Oct. 21, 1886.
Royal Arch, No. 8, March 28, 1879.	Excelsior, No. 74, Oct. 30, 1886.
Samaritan, No. 9, Aug. 25, 1879.	Lexington, No. 73, Nov. 4, 1886.
Paragon, No. 16, May 14, 1880.	Washington, No. 75, Dec. 2, 1886.
Ivanhoe, No. 22, Jan. 14, 1881.	Samson, No. 80, April 25, 1887.
Tivoli, No. 25, March 8, 1881.	Jefferson, No. 81, April 26, 1887.
Alma, No. 42, Oct. 12, 1883.	Virginus, No. 88, April 27, 1889.
Dionysius, No. 45, April 17, 1884.	Audubon, No. 90, June 3, 1889.
Myrtle, No. 47, July 5, 1884.	Ivy, No. 93, Nov. 3, 1889.
Perseverance, No. 48, July 12, 1884.	Onward, No. 95, Dec. 6, 1889.
Syracuse, No. 50, Oct. 2, 1884.	R. E. Lee, No. 99, March 14, 1891.
Columbia, No. 52, Feb. 3, 1885.	Empire, No. 112, April 9, 1892.
Manhattan, No. 53, May 25, 1885.	James G. Gregory, No. 117, April 29, 1893.
France, No. 56, September 16, 1885.	Apollo, No. 127, March 22, 1894.
Eagle, No. 57, Oct. 13, 1885.	Metairie, No. 126, March 24, 1894.
Minerva, No. 58, Oct. 28, 1885.	Beauregard, No. 128, May 17, 1894.
Kenilworth, No. 69, Nov. 6, 1885.	Confidence, No. 131, July 7, 1894.
American, No. 62, Dec. 10, 1885.	Virginia, No. 136, June 15, 1895.
Hercules, No. 68, April 3, 1886.	

KNIGHTS OF HONOR.

The Knights of Honor became established in Louisiana July 8, 1881, with the organization of Alpha Lodge, No. 2501, at Shreveport. The first New Orleans lodge was Pelican, No. 2511, which was formed July 25, 1881, with forty members. The prime movers in the organization of this lodge were Dr. S. M. Angell, F. H. Robinson and D. J. Searcy. The lodge has been a popular one ever since it was chartered, and at the beginning of 1900 had a membership of 140. There are at the time of this writing 18 lodges in New Orleans, with a total membership of 1676. The Uniform Rank was established in the State December 6, 1887, by the formation of Eagle Commandery, No. 9, which was afterward changed to the Crescent City Commandery. The subordinate lodges in the city are as follows: Pelican, No. 2511; New Orleans, No. 2515; Eagle, No. 2519; Eureka, No. 2521; Excelsior, No. 2526; Union, No. 2531; Continental, No. 2532; Washington, No. 2540; Columbia, No. 2546; Carrollton, No. 2747; Algiers, No. 2549; Orion, No. 2561; Arlington, No. 3532; Progressive, No. 3578; Avenue, No. 3586; Perseverance, No. 3596; Germania, No. 3606; Minerva, No. 3626; and Palmetto, No. 3775.

ANCIENT ORDER OF UNITED WORKMEN.

The Ancient Order of United Workmen was not introduced into Louisiana until eighteen years after the order was founded at Meadville, Pa., in 1868. The first Louisiana lodge was established at Gretna in 1884, under the title, Jefferson Lodge, No. 12, but, due to the prejudice then existing against New Orleans because of epidemics, the order was kept out of the city proper until 1894, when Corinthian Lodge, No. 19, was organized, and duly chartered with 87 members. Just prior to the organization of this lodge, the Southern Jurisdiction, embracing Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and the Indian Territory, which had existed from 1884 to 1892, was changed to embrace Arkansas, Louisiana and the Indian Territory, with the Grand Recorder's headquarters at Bentonville, Ark., and it was due to this change that the ban against New Orleans was removed. While being one of the largest in point of membership of all the fraternal organizations in this country, the Ancient Order of United Workmen does not appear to have gained a particularly strong foothold here. The lodges in the city proper are: Corinthian, No. 19; Lafayette, No. 20; and Crescent, No. 22. The Louisiana representatives to the Supreme Lodge are J. H. Shepherd, Shreveport; W. W. Whittington, and W. J. Calvert, Alexandria.

AMERICAN LEGION OF HONOR.

The American Legion of Honor gained a foothold in New Orleans through the organization of Chalmette Council, No. 801, in the latter part of 1881. The days of greatest prosperity for the order in this part of the country were between the years 1885 and 1890, when the membership in the State reached about 2,500. The membership is not so large now. The next meeting of the Grand Council will be held in New Orleans in May, 1901. The subordinate councils in New Orleans are: Concord, No. 206; Louisiana, No. 455; Orleans, No. 507; Chalmette, No. 801; Bienville, No. 869; De la Salle, No. 862; Dixie, No. 879; Columbia, No. 926; Walhalla, No. 939; and Tulane, No. 1167.

Among the other orders represented in New Orleans are the following:

The Knights and Ladies of the Golden Rule, by Chalmette Castle, No. 100, the Grand Chapter having been organized in 1884.

The Order of Heptasophs, or S. W. M.—Subordinate Conclaves, Eagle, No. 3, and Aetna, No. 15.

The Ancient Order of Druids, with the following groves: Concordia Grove, No. 1; Mispel Grove, No. 6 (German); Orient Grove, No. 10; Louisiana Grove, No. 13 (German); Crescent, No. 17; Merlin, No. 18; American, No. 19; Harmony, No. 22; Friendship, No. 23; Elvin, No. 24; Ivy, No. 25; Orleans, No. 26; R. E. Lee, No. 27; Stonehenge, No. 28; Hope, No. 29; Morvin, No. 30; Manhattan, No. 32; and Louisiana Circle, No. 1.

The Templars of Honor and Temperance with two organizations—The Grand Temple of Honor of Louisiana, and Howard Temple, No. 2. Besides these there are the New Orleans Catholic Total Abstinence Association, the St. Joseph's Total Abstinence Society, St. Alphonsus Total Abstinence Society, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The Catholic Knights of America have the following branches in New Orleans: Numbers 271, 278, 291, 311, 343, 352, 356, 394, 416, 467 and 506.

The Woodmen of the World have the following camps: Palmetto, No. 1; Orange, No. 8; Eureka, No. 27; Hickory, No. 28; Tulane, No. 48; Acorn, No. 51; Live Oak, No. 53; Magnolia, No. 58; and Yellow Pine, No. 60.

The Patriotic Order Sons of America has the following camps: Washington, No. 1; No. 4; No. 5; No. 6; No. 11; No. 15; No. 16; and No. 17, and the Louisiana Commandery, which meets on the fourth Thursday of each month, at No. 407 Carondelet street.

The Patriotic Order of Americans has the following camps: Martha Washington, No. 1; No. 2; and No. 3.

The Independent Order of B'nai B'rith has the following lodges: Crescent City, No. 182; B'nai Israel, No. 188; Gulf, No. 224; Home, No. 243; and James W. Gutheim, No. 439.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NATURE OF BIRD LIFE AT NEW ORLEANS.

BY HENRY H. KOPMAN.

IT IS singular that a city so near the tropics as New Orleans should be restless and changeful, yet it is so, not only in its civic institutions, but also in nature's round. Though its temperatures are rather even than otherwise, the place does not bask in the undisturbed enjoyment of a subtropical climate. Still, when we thoroughly realize now and again the strength of the tides of changing seasons with us, the true conception comes rather in the nature of a surprise; for the extent of New Orleans' climatic changes does not live perpetually before the minds of the inhabitants, and with a few exceptions the whole course of the year makes an impression of much more equable conditions than exist.

This partial failure of adjustment between observation and somewhat preconceived notions is explained by the fact that while a very lasting and a very clearly determined predominance is not ordinarily the accompaniment of the sets of commoner conditions belonging separately to each of the four seasons, there are several changes much more sudden and much more complete than is commonly realized. These changes are, especially, the ones caused by the thrilling life of spring; they are very effectual in introducing a new course of natural affairs. By them the early Southern summer is very remotely separated from the Southern winter as its predecessor; a long way lies again to winter through the successive steps of autumn. Yet even after a little observation makes it manifest that in its own time and in a modified way New Orleans passes through the whole succession of year phases proper to the temperate belt of the Northern hemisphere, the

possibility of the most radical disarrangements and reorganizations of the bird forces is not taken into consideration except by those who have had their attention drawn to these things. As a matter of fact, such phenomena are most dependable witnesses to the often covered advance of seasonal activities. But if the whole subject of movement among the birds is ignored nothing like a correct idea of the composition of the avifauna at New Orleans or in other Southern localities can be formed. In the North it is familiar enough that many of the birds are gone all winter, and their home-coming is most patent; but, excepting a few generally appreciated facts, as, "Robins come in cold weather," the extent of what goes on in bird migration with us is not suspected by most persons. They see many birds here the year round, and they look upon them as unequivocal inhabitants of the soil, the birds of Louisiana only, and not of twenty or thirty other States as well. This impression that lower Louisiana, particularly, is a land peculiar in its bird dwellers may be traced very probably to the richness of the avifauna in certain tribes of birds, and to the often well-earned conspicuousness of single species whose fame emanated largely from here through the expositions of great Audubon. Many of his biographies had a very direct bearing on North American birds as found tenanted this State. Gaudy and varied marsh denizens, Orphean Mockingbirds and Wood Thrushes, the Nonpareil, the rainbow's color chart, all these among a host were held up to the world as samples of a multitude of beauties that were not absolutely peculiar to the section from which many of them were depicted, but which shone there on all sides.

But, after taking actual census, what do we find most of the birds of all parts of Louisiana to be but the birds of North America, and what the very small remaining fraction but those of a considerably extended Gulf region, in several cases merely proving most characteristic within such limits, and widely transgressing them in a more restricted manifestation. There is absolutely no species of bird known to be peculiar to Louisiana. Still that does not remove the fact that bird-study in New Orleans' environs presents many differences from other bird-lore; we catch a peculiar light on the strangers that pass our land. What is seen of the bird life here, as in all other sections of the United States, is only different segments of the great body of a continental avifauna, whose advance to the northward or southward depends upon the operation of the weather and climate forces. Having, like other cities, its times of exodus among annual travelers, and its waves of disturbance arising from readjustments of residence made necessary by the course of activities and pursuits, New Orleans is as natural a place as

any for a comparison of the bird movements and human concerns. Like the great thronging in early summer to cooler climates is the all-embracing spring progress of the birds northward, with the corresponding return in fall; at other times of the year are the local exchanges of population. At those periods in the year during which release from routine, no matter when it comes, is enjoyed by city-bred men and women, it must occasion interest to learn the constant character of the aspects proper to these recurring times.

Especially in the autumn, when nearly every one is touched more or less directly by the important readjustments previous to the settling down of affairs to a winter status, a chance arises of watching the birds that enliven the days of fall bustle and preparation, of the return of travelers, the greetings of friends. During this time, which is focal in so many lives, the ornithologist feels that he is taking up a very fresh chapter in the yearly history of his bird friends. The weather, as a basis of this study, is of its usual importance; in this case its point of notice is the strange mixture of warmth and the energizing quickness and freshness of bright fall weather, especially about the second and third week of October. Either returned from a higher latitude or filled with deep satisfaction in the reviving air of the season after a summer at home, the interest of the ornithologically inclined centers in the wish to be out and to recall how this weather and its accompaniment of birds harmonizes with a country which at last acquaintance was under the sway of very different conditions of the weather.

As the actual city borders are nowhere within a short distance of anything approaching woodland, the bird life that laps against the city's threshold at other times than the nesting season presents a majority of species living in fields and other open places. Still these species give to the town naturalist hints of what is proceeding among wider bird areas.

If an excursion for the purpose of noting these things is delayed until October 10, we shall certainly find an assemblage that is without an exact parallel at any other time. Battered rows of corn and okra stalks are thoroughfares for the Savanna Sparrows that slip through the grass; in notes, feathers, and form there is decided delicacy about these birds; their color is pale, and their markings are faint, as is the slightly metallic note that escapes each as it oscillates in low flight over the grass. The Phoebe bird, from low, exposed perches, calls attention to itself by its somewhat peremptory salutation. Blended gray and brown, it need have no shame for its plain feathers, whose color is repeated all over the tops of the weed fields, and in the fall grasses. The Indigo birds, purely brown at this

season, are an invading army during their three weeks of passage through the vicinity of New Orleans. Their day is about over when the Kiltdeers are beginning to come, a few at a time, to the pastures. Out upon the fields to profit by the plentiful grasshoppers and other insects, making a final rally in the still warm sun, are the Sparrow Hawk and the Loggerhead Shrike, the latter undoubtedly with an eye to the small birds that stay along the edges of the thickets or in the weeds. Never absent from these scenes, but unconcerned in the affairs of the other birds, White-bellied Swallows float and sail all day.

About October 20 the occurrence of the most perfect examples of the days peculiar to these middle weeks of October ceases, though possibly a little later than that date there is often a very bright, fresh-aired day, its atmosphere less akin to true fall weather than to the days of the earlier winter. This is the time for the coming of the first Titlarks, which are heard during the day, flying by at a considerable height. If many pass at once, there is a conglomerated twittering, but the voices of the single birds are rather decisive. After this there is a continual approach to Indian summer, whose absolute fulfillment comes some time after all summer birds are gone, and the fall transient migrants, too. The last birds of these two classes with a few exceptions, stay scarcely until November 1. In the last week or ten days of October there is a tremendous exodus of Indigo-birds, Chimney Swifts, Nighthawks, Hummingbirds, many Warblers, noticeably, the Hooded, Parula, Redstart, Magnolia and Tennessee, and sometimes the Black-throated Green and associated species; all remaining Catbirds, Wood Thrushes, Tanagers, Red-eyed, Yellow-throated and Philadelphia Greenlets, Barn Swallows, Green-crested Flycatchers, Wood Pewees and Cuckoos. For a short while there are not many birds to take the place of these, but soon White-throated Sparrows and Goldfinches troop through the woods and thickets, reinforced by the many Myrtle Warblers. The Robins, with hardly any exceptions, are the most cautious about installing themselves here for winter, the Rusty Blackbirds, however, being of about the same mind. The completest representation of this array is found, perhaps, in December, for the whole fall from October is signalized by a series of southward, deliberate advances. In the migration of the White-throated Sparrows this is especially well seen; each new invasion of winter, severer than the one before, brings detachments of them; those before welcome those forced on, this order being repeated until all the White-throats are transported, and in the face of the winter's later biting winds no fresh voices are added to the call notes of the hosts. Specifically described, the first White-throats appear furtively and

uncertainly the last half of October among the great numbers of birds about; by All Saints day the numbers swell, and Thanksgiving passes with an accompaniment that comes universally from the thickets.

After the sudden cold breath that initiates each change whereby the country is more securely held under the grasp of winter conditions, not those of temperature alone, there is generally a lapse into a period of mild, half bright, sometimes steaming weather, which seems to afford great pleasure to the birds. They associate a great deal at this season, as there is an evenness of taste among them about where to disport themselves; the smaller growths along the edges of the low woods, preferably with a cover of briars near, suits the needs of nearly all. Here, when summer walks in his sleep among his despoiled domains, lively birds become jubilant over the nearness of his presence; there are Kinglets, Titmice, Wrens, a Thrasher or Hermit Thrush, and far less frequently a Bluebird; Myrtle Warblers, White-throats, Swamp Sparrows, Cardinals and sometimes in these lower levels of the woods a flock of Goldfinches, and, as a sentinel for the whole body, the ever-same Phoebe-bird. Two birds that are thoroughly at home in this company, but that are found with it more rarely, are the Orange-crowned Warbler, and the Blue-headed Greenlet. The latter is an interesting bird as a winter resident, the general supposition appearing to be that it does not remain within the United States after fall; while rarely met with here in the migrations, it is regular in midwinter.

Going just outside of New Orleans in winter to the first woods we find, we are at once in the midst of the normal conditions of bird life here in winter. There is such a thorough agreement between the birds and the surroundings that it is hard to realize that the majority of the former belong only secondarily to the soil, brought to it by the progressive changes of the year. In addition to the Ruby-crowned Kinglet, and the Myrtle Warbler, the Swamp and White-throated Sparrows form the body of these winter sojourners. The last two species and the Savanna Sparrows, however, are of equal importance outside of the woods, being, in fact, immeasurably the most plentiful winter sparrows in districts of Louisiana similar to those near New Orleans. Any field that is wet or marshy in spots and that has thickets of dead weeds or briars is the absolutely certain abode of all three species. The Vesper Sparrow is seldom found in the fields at New Orleans, and the Fox-colored Sparrow is ordinarily a rarity, most likely to appear with and after the occasional spells of rigorous weather experienced at the end of our winter; the same is true in the main of the glowingly bright Purple Finch. February

is a contradictory month in its bird movements; at one time there seems undeniable progress towards spring conditions and without warning comes a retrogression to a temporary winter siege. The balmy breezes on cloudy days may induce the arrival of venturesome Purple Martins by February 10, or even sooner, and the middle of the month, at least, usually brings the first of this species. Representative of nearly the other extreme of weather, at all events of the inclement February days, are the Cedar-birds seeking out the berry-bearing trees of the city that will yield the best repast for their small amount of trouble. However, Cedar-birds show no inclination to go after the disagreeable February weather is long forgotten in the realization of spring.

When the blizzards keep hands off long enough for our woods to show what they can do with a fair chance, many of the trees are in a very inviting condition almost by March 1, especially live oaks and willows. Following the advent of the month by from four days to a week come the first summer birds that are in any sense wood birds, the Parula Warblers. The faint music of the scouts swells in a day or two into the delicate symphony of scores. This is always the first fact of unequivocal importance in the growth of winter into spring. With the coming of this bird breaks the spell which made it seem as though in the matter of birds our winter had not caused us many deprivations. The reputation of a balmy, Southern climate has not appeared more than deserved; as we have followed the birds through the winter, their homes have come to seem a veritable bird metropolis, with plentiful animated dwellers; but how low the ebb of all this life even, how little thrill in it, when we are brought face to face with the unbroken inpouring of spring's birds. This follows the slight pause after the Parulas enter the woods, and after the passage through them of the magician, warm spring moisture, who unseals the buds and drapes the twigs with filmy, fluttering leaves. As we have seen, other signs of spring's beginning have been vouchsafed before this, but when the trees in the primitive swamps and level woods become misty with young foliage, the increase in spring's votaries is almost immediate. The Hooded Warbler is in the forefront of this invasion from the tropics. For the first two or three days after March 10 or 12 one may go through the woods and find the birds only here and there, singing modestly, but others have crowded in by the end of a week, and their music is not seriously rivaled in the woods except by that of the White-eyed Greenlet and the Parula Warbler. If the latter species were represented by only a few of its kind in a small area, its notes would not tell, though they are very incisive; but as there are such numbers of Parulas, their

songs form almost a background for other notes. As one of the louder-voiced musicians ceases to sing, it happens half the time that there is the unfinished trill from one of a score of *Parulas* distant a hundred yards or more to punctuate the other song.

Another bright Warbler that soon follows the Hooded Warbler in its occupancy of the woods, especially those that are swampy, is the Prothonotary Warbler, which arrives with lively habits, and a gleesome heart that often overflows with a short rippling song, direct, and as bright and simple as a nosegay of spring wild flowers. Its feathers, indeed, are a bouquet of colors, yellow, blue and white, dispersed in that order from head to tail.

The new leaves now are past the stage when to a human eye each one is a marvel; a deeper green is stealing into them, and the gaunt tree frames which have stood out so sturdily against winter's assaults are already well screened. Hardly later than the Prothonotary Warbler comes the Red-eyed Greenlet; as it slinks about in the heart of the foliage it is a particularly inconspicuous bird; it is slim, green above, with darker cap, bordered by strong lines, and white below, tinted, especially about the sides, with pale greenish yellow. The notes commonly heard from it at this time comprise a much accentuated double whistle, often immediately repeated in another key. As sounds impress us, these are just a little wistful.

It would not do to be all of the time within the cover of the woods at this season; one would miss then as pleasant a sight as spring affords, the first Chimney Swift cutting quickly across the sky or vacillating as it coquets with the breeze. It has returned with others of its kind in time to dance in the air, filling with the rising spring incense from locusts, sweet olives, and magnolia fuscata in city gardens. The Swift is an easy figure to recognize under nearly any circumstances; the long black wings form a crescent, whose perfection of outline is scarcely broken by the small, dark short-tailed body. As almost a responding voice to the Swift's homelike, often excited twitter, we hear the Blue-gray Gnatcatcher's persuasive lisp, nearer the earth, among suburban trees, the smaller live oaks seeming especially to be given over to it. This is one of the frailest of North American birds, and apparently absolutely fearless, besides. Its white underparts, washed with light gray, the ashy blue upperparts, and the long white and black tail call attention to this mite of a bird, which is always remembered by what might be said to be its grown-up ways, some of them appearing as if copied from its larger relatives—the Mockingbird and the Catbird.

Acquaintance with the Sandpipers and other small wading birds in their more usual environment of the seashore would scarcely suggest the possibility of their conveying as true a spring flavor as surrounds them when they tarry in migration at inland feeding tracts. By the middle of March, under the full sway of balm-bearing winds and genial rains, they are induced to range far and wide over wet or pond-splotted pastures. In their quick transits from spot to spot they often come within the shadow of the fresh woodland borders. Two of the kinds most conspicuous are commoner inhabitants, it is true, of wet or only grassy localities away from the seashore than they are of coasts. Solitary Sandpipers, or Tattlers, in companies of only two or three, to irresponsible flocks of as many as twenty, are probable lingerers about any good-sized puddle or muddy pond. They often permit a close approach and after flying rise high, or, making a small detour, slant on half-closed wings to the ground again, silently, though with great earnestness. But their leave-taking of any spot from which they are frightened is made known to every creature within many stones' throws; time after time the clear "peet-weet" whips the air.

Among the pleasant evening spring sounds the soft note of the Bartramian Tattler, famous as the "Papabotte," is prominent for part of the spring after March 25; the marvel of this bird's call is that a voice absolutely free from all the harsh elements of sound can travel so far; calmness is its pre-eminent quality. In clover pastures this species may become a familiar sight throughout April, though it is during the southward migration late in summer and in the fall that it attracts such attention from hunters, caterers, and epicures successively. The only really common flocking Sandpiper at New Orleans in spring is the "Grass Snipe," properly the Pectoral Sandpiper. Quickly moving, compact bodies of this species fly restlessly and noisily among marshy pastures.

The same side of bird-life in spring as the Sandpipers exhibit, the bird-life that chafes at narrower limits than those of fresh, open green places, has for its further exponents the Swallows, glittering and multitudinous in the soothing brightness of spring sunshine. The White-bellied, as at nearly every time of the year, is the commonest species, though Barn Swallows are often astonishingly plentiful in April; brown Rough-winged, and Bank Swallows are lost in the outnumbering crowds of the two other species. At New Orleans the Cliff Swallow appears to be almost unknown.

The woods are well filled a few days before April 1, yet an important group of summer residents have yet to come, and numberless transients. The month of

showers is followed by a retinue of bright and graceful birds to bring smiles the quicker when the tears have been shed. Ordinarily just preceding the inception of the woodland gayeties of these later migrants a curious example of bird travel can be noticed in the city. When a week's growth of the potency of spring air appears to occur between the morning and evening of a day in late March, hundreds of Chimney Swifts arrive; the air thickens with them in the later hours of afternoon. Then come whole troops of Orchard Orioles, the Wood Thrush, the Summer Tanager, the Yellow Warbler, the Kentucky Warbler and the Indigo-bird, famous for their melody and their plumage, with other less noted fellow travelers. That class of woodland near New Orleans distinguished by the greater variety of its growth, and the absence of low, wet tracts, draws the majority of these birds. The largest number of birds seen in a single day is noted when the birds recorded in such woods the first week or ten days of April form part of the number. Ovenbirds, Water Thrushes, Catbirds, Thrashers, Red-eyed and White-eyed Greenlets, the Crested Flycatcher, and the Wood Pewee swell the concourse of the more beautiful species and of those Warblers that have been noticed already as customary in spring. Despite the wealth of color distributed among the birds then present, and the pleasant condition of the woods, the charm of this chapter in the spring story does not originate wholly with those circumstances. The soft showers that make the earth and growing things mellow set the birds in almost as cheerful and as beautiful an aspect as the sunlight; boughs dripping with warm moisture become mysterious from the scores of small, feathered forms that continue with unallayed industry their fruitful explorations; there is a suppression of music, but not of activities in these early April showers that produces a curious effect; in the light of the lower part of the woods Catbirds, Ovenbirds, Wood Thrushes and others of the larger birds engage in a continual restless moving about that seems almost like a romp among them, except that their notes seldom disturb the silence.

Still, the consummation of spring in southern localities from an ornithological standpoint is in some ways very imperfect. The final result of so many migratory advances is not woodland and fields filled with the welcome birds that have come back one after another; on the contrary, the country is poorer in many birds at the end of the season than in its early part, for our districts are not by any means the goals of many of the migrants.

One odd feature of the supplying of our woods with their summer birds is that several species should not arrive until the height of the direct course of the

spring migration is over, carrying past birds that will nest well to the northward, and that would not seem, therefore, to have precedence in travel over those kinds that are to be perfectly fitted to Louisiana's summer conditions. The Cuckoo and the Yellow-breasted Chat exemplify this matter. At the same time, their coming does not bring the migrations to a close, for while their advent has been later even than the dates we should ascribe for the first passage of many birds nesting northerly, actual experience with such kinds has shown that their travels through our land, when apparent, usually occur at the very end of spring. It is very likely that the earlier part of the migrating of such birds does not take place along tracks of travel through the belt of country in which New Orleans lies. The most noticeable of the birds that are finally swept along by the receding of perfect spring conditions that have had a temporary extension far southward are several of the Thrushes. In the last third of April and a few days in May their graceful ways are half hid by the pleasant shade of the thickets and forest. No songs come from their throats at this time, but their forms and wood-brown colors have the refinement of beautiful music. The Olive-backed and Gray-cheeked Thrushes are nearly always associated at this time, and the Wilson's Thrush is often with them.

It is commonly during the early part of this period, in which the late migrants take advantage of the last opportunity of resting here during weather suitable to their needs, that the meadows of Audubon Park grow doubly cheerful with the odd ditties of the Black-throated Bunting. There is no need of searching deeply for the source of its song; there it is, right among the pink clovers, and the soft, wavy breeze. Barn Swallows add the pleasure of the eye to what the Black-throated Bunting has done for the ear. The highest pitch to which this short burst of delights rises comes always very near April 20. It sometimes happens that a succession of warm thunderstorms occurs a few days later than this. It is characteristic of this locality to find Spotted Sandpipers in the warm, bright days following such disturbances. These alert birds start out from the banks of canals and basins as one approaches.

May is still very young when these and other birds, moving northward under like circumstances, the less common Thrushes and Warblers, occasional Scarlet Tanagers, Rose-breasted Grosbeaks, and Baltimore Orioles, cease to be seen. Then there is only the even round of the lives of birds quartered in our woods and suburbs for the summer. Excepting the Woodland species the Orchard Orioles are more prominent than any other birds, though the Yellow-billed Cuckoos are commendably industrious in occupying many shady retreats.

The maturing forces of summer continue steadily until after the middle of June, when slight indications of restlessness rise to the surface. A few of the birds are then beginning to range a little more widely from the close bounds of their nesting neighborhood. Purple Martins collect in considerable flocks about dead trees; but after three weeks or a month more it is no longer by faint intimations that a turn in the year is made apparent. When the sea breezes of July die at nights they leave an open way of invasion for innumerable Warblers of certain species, which need very little encouragement to press southward. The fairly substantial resemblance to autumnal conditions produced by the north airs that often blow after dark is certain to be followed by the coming of the Yellow and the Black-and-White Warblers, the Redstart, sometimes one or two species of Greenlets, several of the Sandpipers and Swallows. Though migratory movements do not continue as apparent at all times in the remainder of the summer, it is doubtful whether they ever cease long previous to the regular fall migration. More than half of September may pass, however, without conspicuous influxes of birds; but between the 20th and 25th of the month important events are occurring. Usually, when the cool shadows lie under the thickets and groves on bright days in late September, the Olive-backed Thrush and the Catbird are back once more, the Redstart plays airily on the under boughs, and Kingbirds collect in the more open places for a final rally.

During these times it is particularly noticeable what good observation grounds weedy fields about the city make in fall, especially where there are thickets or higher growths of some kind. Nearly all the birds present stop in them at one time or another; the Warblers, as the Magnolia, the Tennessee, and the Yellow, gravitate most naturally to these repositories of insect or vegetable dainties.

When the woods are comparatively unfruitful for the observer whose purpose is to extend his experience to as many different birds as possible, the circumstance of finding an unusually fresh concourse of birds in the commonest weeds is strong argument in proof of the unusual conditions of bird-life about New Orleans.

In fact, the peculiarities here are very plain when it is recalled that the country is such as can effectually invite inhabitation of Catbirds at certain times in the year, can harbor all summer the Wood Thrushes, and that it is the very stronghold of the White-throats from autumn to spring, yet that it seldom sees a Baltimore Oriole or a Bluebird, and that a Song Sparrow or a Chipping Sparrow is practically unknown within its limits. Further, it overflows with Tennessee Warblers in autumn and more than occasionally displays in that season a decided

commonness of several Warblers of *Dendroeca* that are limited in nesting time to northern districts, but in spring affords glimpses of such birds most infrequently.

The matter of the rarity of several of our birds is interesting because it is the limitations of their surroundings here that prevent their greater abundance. They are set completely into these surroundings but occasionally, when all favorable circumstances occur at the same time. Then they are no rarer than birds constantly found in our districts. Good fortune for the ornithologist in these cases is to be in the right places at the right time.

To be able to see the unusual among the birds at New Orleans requires experience in watching the weather and the progress of spring and fall as they affect migratory movements. The success of trips out of the city, measured by the variety of birds seen, is only conditional if, as is generally true, the expeditions are planned of necessity for a definite date without reference to the probability of favorable circumstances. One might go into the woods here for years, even in spring and fall, without ever coming upon certain birds, if the expeditions were made on days lacking the element of the weather necessary for brisk and all-embracing migration. On the other hand, during a flurry of intense migratory activity the suburbs fulfill nearly all the requirements of satisfactory observation. For detaining many of the Warblers, the normally constituted and usual woods do not surpass many peculiar spots whose condition has arisen somewhat through human means; for instance, growths, not native, planted with some special object, but which are not held to the exact state intended for them, are moulded back as a whole by nature to a likeness of themselves where they exist naturally. These often supply the very harbors which the passing migrants, accustomed to such growths in the land of their nesting life, are seeking. Examples of spots distinguished by this peculiarity are many of the suburban gardens in New Orleans; groves and high hedges about sparingly cultivated fields are likewise interesting places for the bird-lover in migration.

The best woods for observation near New Orleans are across the river from the city, in Jefferson Parish, especially those about a mile back from the river and from half a mile to nearly two miles west of the Harvey's Canal. The woods on the New Orleans side of the Mississippi are rather poor in varieties of birds, but some suburban localities repay many visits. In the upper districts of New Orleans, the neighborhood of Nashville and St. Charles avenues, particularly the unopened street called "Blue Alley," is visited by many unexpected birds. North of this neighborhood, out among the cut-up fields and generally moist pastures, are suf-

ficient diversifications of these open places to induce a considerable number of birds to establish themselves there, or at least to tarry. Audubon Park is undoubtedly growing more interesting each year in some of its bird conditions.

The expedition from New Orleans that one does well to save until late in April is out on a canal or bayou into the marshes. The Company's canal in Jefferson Parish, meeting the Mississippi at Westwego, is particularly favorable for bird-observing. It is like dreamland to pass quietly along this water alley, a mere fissure in the thick swamp, whose inner life thus crowds to the very edges of the parting. As for the birds, they are not to be held to the divisions this artificial intrusion has made in their domain, but continually break from the trees along the shores and hastily cross the water. During the first part of this route the songs and notes that issue from the swamp are the amassed representation of the birds that earlier in the season were severally distinctive of certain periods. There is now one general blend of the songs of the Red-eyed and White-eyed Greenlets, the Indigo Bunting, the Sycamore, Parula, Prothonotary, Hooded and Kentucky Warblers with each other and with the notes of the Tufted Titmouse, Carolina Wren, Carolina Chickadee and Cardinal. Some of this music is still assailing our ears when the view from the boat begins to open up; when, in fact, the principal hindrances to clearly seeing the marsh beyond are irregular ranks of regal old cypresses. The most constant tenants of these are the Parula, the Sycamore and the Prothonotary Warblers. It is curious to find Orchard Orioles common and thoroughly habituated to these swamp wastes. Small colonies of them live about the random willow groves on the beds of firmer land. In the part first traversed of this tract, the convergence of swamp and marsh, the Red-winged Blackbird is already common enough to suggest the character of the marsh avifauna, and among the most outlying low willows, where the unbroken extent of marsh grasses begins, the Red-wing's title to being the liveliest and the showiest bird in such situations is made good, if for no other reason, by the absence of any considerable rivals. But once well in the marsh, we are brought in contact with another typical product of the place, the Boat-tailed Grackle, a large, lumbering Crow-blackbird. Its voice is perhaps the most unmusical among all our birds, but this fact cannot have become evident to it, for its noisiness quite equals the Red-wing's. Whether rising laboredly from the marsh or flying over at some height, or only making an unimportant change in its position a Boat-tailed Grackle rarely fails to keep its companions apprised of its movements and actions. This it does by a flat, uninflected "chuck," a guttural "plup-plup-plup," etc., like the quick flapping of wings when

large birds rise from the water, or by more thin-voiced notes that would scarcely be rougher were they jolted out of the bird. The female would hardly be taken for the mate of such a resplendently glossy bird, being plain brown above, and a lighter, somewhat tan-colored shade beneath. As the tail feathers lack in the female the great length they attain in the male, the peculiar, keel-like arrangement which often they are made to assume in the latter is not particularly evident in the former. All the dimensions of the female are much less than those of the male.

If there is any ground for believing that opposites meet, the facts of bird-life in the marsh would seem to support such a cult. Hidden in the grass over which the Boat-tails vociferate ceaselessly are birds mute in comparison. Foremost of them at this season are the Least Bittern and that beautiful water hen, the Purple Gallinule. The fame of the Gallinule's splendor is spread in all localities, whose gunners, woodsmen, or boatmen know the "blue rail." Usually when the Gallinules retreat from intruders they prefer threading their way among the marsh grasses to rising dangle-legged, above their surface. But when reassured, they answer from their various stations. Sometimes the note sounds like the noise made by striking a tin pan lightly, but on other occasions there is a deliberate guttural sound given, rather resembling a low note from a large frog.

The season being so far advanced at this time, much of the nesting life of these different birds may be observed closely. Passing slowly from one to another of the platforms on which the Least Bitterns have laid their pretty, pale green eggs, or the Purple Gallinules the rich, flesh-colored, well-filled shells, with an extravagance of bright brown spots, and almost as large as hens' eggs, we are impressed with the sameness of purpose among these feathered tribes. When we tip-toe from the boat to peep into the pockets the Boat-tails have hung among the tall reeds, and see again the same pledges of future bird life, only concealed under a different exterior, the gaps between the birds themselves seems more nearly bridged than at any other time. In the fact of the workmanship on the structures made to hold the delicate, precious eggs: in the fact of the tireless care of the clustered treasures, existing birds, despite some renegades from these greatly honored traits, express elements of their being not matched in any other creatures.

[The matter on the following pages was compiled by the author for the tabular form, in which shape it would indeed be far more convenient, attractive and useful; but, we regret to say, the mechanical character of this work will not admit of either a folder or of a chart with great blanks scattered through it.—The Publishers.]

Following is a condensed view of bird life in the vicinity of New Orleans, giving—

1. The local popular name, when there is one.
2. The correct common name.
3. The scientific name, in parenthesis.
4. Marked characteristics.
5. Locations preferred by the bird.
6. Migratory movements and degree of abundance.
7. The breeding range and season.

(For the ducks and certain other birds not brought within this list, see supplementary remarks at the end.)

Die Dipper; Hell Diver. Pied-billed Grebe. (*Podilymbus podiceps*.) Ease of disappearance on the water. Somewhat duck-like in form. Ponds and small streams. Present from fall to spring; not particularly common. Nests northward from Indiana, Illinois, etc.

Loon; Diver. (*Urinator imber*.) Ability to swim considerable distances under water. Open water. Arriving some times in September and staying until spring. Not very common. Breeds in the northern United States and northward.

American Herring Gull. (*Larus argentatus smithsonianus*.) Heavy body and grayish-brown plumage in young. Seen about the shipping on the Mississippi at New Orleans and on Lake Pontchartrain. Present in winter after October and until March or April. Breeds in the northern United States and northward.

Ring-billed Gull. (*Larus delawarensis*.) Slim-winged and slight-bodied compared to the former species. Flies regularly about the shipping at New Orleans and on Lake Pontchartrain. Common, from November to mid-spring. Breeding range northern United States and northward.

Laughing Gull. (*Larus atricilla*.) Medium size birds seen on the Mississippi in winter; back and wings slaty blue, the latter with black tips. The river or the lake at New Orleans. Abundant, leaving the Mississippi at New Orleans in spring when nesting begins on the Gulf coast. May (?) to August (?)

Bonaparte's Gull. (*Larus philadelphia*.) Small size; much mingled blackish and white seen in the plumage of the birds on the Mississippi in winter. Seen on the Mississippi at New Orleans. Occasional in winter. Breeds in southern Canada and northward.

- Oyster Opener; Shearwater. Black Skimmer. (*Rhyncops nigra*.) Glossy black upper parts, snowy under parts and curiously formed red bill, whose lower mandible protrudes farther than the upper. Common on the coast, sometimes ascending the Mississippi.
- Water Turkey; Bec-à-lancette (Creole). Anhinga; Snakebird. (*Anhinga anhinga*.) Extreme length of neck and tail, which makes the linear dimensions almost or quite equal to the wing-spread. Plumage black. Open swamps and swamp lakes. Resident and common. April-July.
- American White Pelican. (*Pelecanus erythrorhynchos*.) A winter visitor to Louisiana waters. Nests in the northern United States and northward.
- Pelécan (with French pronunciation). Brown Pelican. (*Pelecanus fuscus*.) Great size and low, often labored flight. Tendency to move about in filing flocks. Salt water. Resident.
- Storm Bird. Man-'o-war Bird. (*Fregata aquila*.) Great wing-spread and gracefulness of flight. Salt water. Sometimes driven a considerable way from the Gulf by storms, and of possible occurrence at New Orleans.
- Flamingo. (*Phoenicopterus ruber*.) Its occurrence on the Gulf coast of Louisiana has been recorded, but there is no probability of its coming nearer New Orleans than that.
- Flamingo. Roseate Spoonbill. (*Ajaja ajaja*.) Rosy and carmine plumage, and spoon-shaped bill. Remote and deep swamps and marshes. Becoming a rare bird in the eastern parts of Louisiana.
- Spanish Curlew. White Ibis. (*Guara alba*.) White plumage, black wing-tips and sickle-shaped, pink bill. Swamps and marshes. Abundant in summer, a few wintering possibly. April-July.
- Wood Ibis; Wood Stork. (*Tantalus loculator*.) General resemblance to the White Ibis, but much larger and greater extent of black on wings. Swamps and marshes. Not known to be common near New Orleans.
- American Bittern. (*Botaurus lentiginosus*.) Marshy ditches and canals. Found principally, if not wholly, in winter. Breeds chiefly in the more northern parts of the United States.
- Gaze-soleil. Least Bittern. (*Botaurus exilis*.) Blackish and tawny feathers, long neck and peculiar crouching position when lit on the marsh grasses. Usual locations, marshes. Noticed chiefly in summer. Abundant. April-July.
- Sandhill Crane; Big Blue Crane. Great Blue Heron. (*Ardea herodias*.) Blue plumage, great size and hoarse notes. Swamps and marshes. Oftenest seen in summer.

American Egret. (*Ardea egretta*.) Large size, immaculately white feathers, graceful flight. Marshes and other open wet places. Common only in summer, but some probably winter.

Snowy Heron. (*Ardea candidissima*.) Purely white plumage, with yellow legs and black toes. Not to be confused with individuals of the Little Blue Heron in a white plumage. Marshes and other open wet places. Becoming a rare bird, known principally as a summer resident.

Louisiana Heron. (*Ardea tricolor ruficollis*.) The mixed plumage of blue, chestnut and white, the second of these colors being seen on the neck, and the last on the under parts. Marshy places. Like the other Herons, noted chiefly in summer.

Blue Crane; White Crane. Little Blue Heron. (*Ardea coerulea*.) Almost uniform blue or white color, and medium size. Swamps and marshes. Migratory, abundant; arriving by the middle of March or earlier. Late April to July.

Cap-cap. Green Heron. (*Ardea virescens*.) Somewhat crested appearance of head, length of neck, bluish green plumage and noisy notes. Wet woods, ponds and marshy places. Common in summer, the first coming after the middle of March, and great numbers passing at night late in April. April-July.

Black-crowned Night Heron. (*Nycticorax nycticorax naevius*.) Dark color of back and creamy color of breast, contrasting strongly with the slaty shade on the throat and under side of neck. Marshes. Common locally in summer. April-July.

Grosbec. Yellow-crowned Night Heron. (*Nycticorax violaceus*.) Harsh cry heard chiefly in night-time flights. Swamps and marshes. Common from March to September. Breeds April-July.

Whooping Crane. (*Grus americana*.) Occurs in lower Louisiana in winter. Breeds in northern localities.

Sandhill Crane. (*Grus mexicana*.) Tall stature, white plumage, black wing-tips. Marshes, prairies and other open wastes.

Marsh Hen; Ral Jaune (Creole). King Rail. (*Rallus elegans*.) Marshes. Resident and abundant.

Clapper Rail. (*Rallus longirostris crepitans*.) Salt marshes. Resident.

Virginia Rail. (*Rallus virginianus*.) Marshes and other wet places. Found from autumn until April. Breeds in the northern United States.

Soree; Ortolan. Sora Rail. (*Porzana carolina*.) Low, weak flight, small size, relatively shorter bill than in the large Rails. Marshes and other wet places. Abundant from August to April. Breeds in northern localities.

Yellow Rail. (*Porzana noveboracensis*.) Yellowish tan plumage, very small size. Marshes and other wet places. Found in winter; not common. Breeds to the northward.

Blue Rail; *Ral Bleu* (Creole). Purple Gallinule. (*Ionornis martinica*.) Purple plumage, yellow legs. Marshes. Common, occurring chiefly in summer. Breeds April-July.

Florida Gallinule. (*Gallinula galeata*.) General resemblance to the Coot, but distinguished by the red shield on the forehead and brighter color of legs. Marshes and marsh ponds. Usually observed in summer. Common. Breeds April-July.

Poule d'eau. American Coot. (*Fulica americana*.) Somewhat duck-like in appearance and of deep sooty color. Ponds and open water. Commonly arrives on the first cool moonlight nights after the middle of September. Abundant during the winter, but few probably remain to breed.

American Avocet. (*Recurvirostra americana*.) Upward curve of bill, and black and white plumage. Shallow water. Has been common formerly in Southern Louisiana, but now rare.

Black-necked Stilt. (*Himantopus mexicanus*.) Long pink legs and black and white plumages. Shallow water in marshes, rice-fields, etc. Seen in summer, arriving in March.

Becasse (Creole). Woodcock. (*Philohela minor*.) Swift rising and falling flight, long bill, peculiar position of the eyes. Bogs and swamps. Common in mid-winter, but a few remain to breed. The severer the winter the more plentiful they are.

Becassine (Creole); Jack Snipe. Wilson's Snipe. (*Gallinago delicata*.) Erratic flight, rasping note and long bill. Wet fields and marshes. The bulk arrive in September, the extent of the numbers remaining in winter probably depending on the condition of their feeding grounds where they arrive in the fall. North-bound migrants are abundant in the latter part of March.

Dormeur (Creole). Red-breasted Snipe. (*Macrorhamphus scolopaceus*.) Similar to common snipe in form, but has a reddish breast. Flies in flocks and not so swiftly as the Jack Snipe. Seashore or wet places inland. Fairly common in some localities in spring and fall. Breeds north of the United States.

Cherook (especially applied to this species, but also applicable to all its closer allies). Pectoral Sandpiper; Grass Snipe. (*Tringa maculata*.) Rapid, rolling, nearly chattering notes; compactness and strange manœuvres of flocks in

flight. Ponds, wet fields and pastures when occurring inland. Present at New Orleans, sometimes from the first week of March until May. Returns from the North by the middle of July, remaining until late in the fall.

Least Sandpiper. (*Tringa minutilla*.) Very small size. Coasts and pond-borders inland. Sometimes observed with the previous species during the migrations. Also winters sparingly.

Semipalmated Sandpiper. (*Ereunetes pusillus*.) Greatly resembles the previous species; slightly heavier and warier. Often occurs with preceding species.

Sanderling. (*Calidris arenaria*.) Extent of white and light gray in plumage. Seashore. As this bird is common in August and September on the coast of Mississippi, its occurrence on the beaches of Lake Pontchartrain is always probable.

Big Clook-clook. Tell-tale; Greater Yellow-legs. (*Totanus melanoleucus*.) Long, yellow legs and loud, but melodious double note. Marshes and other wet places. Common in spring and fall in the remoter localities. Some winter. Arrives from the South in March and return from the North in July, some wintering. Nests in Northern States and northward.

Clook-clook. Lesser Tell-tale; Yellow-legs. (*Totanus flavipes*.) Hardly distinguishable from the former except by its smaller size. Marshes and other wet places. Common in spring and fall in the remoter localities, and a little more common, perhaps, than the preceding. Nests as the preceding.

Swee-sweet. Solitary Tattler. (*Totanus solitarius*.) Shrill note and purely white under parts. Ponds. Arrives early in March and is abundant for over six weeks; returns from the North in July. Breeds in the Northern States and northward.

Papabotte. Bartamian Sandpiper; Field Plover. (*Bartramia longicauda*.) Soft, liquid notes, something like "quit-quit" or "whip-a-whip." Fields and pastures. Passes north in great numbers in the later part of March, and is present through April, at least. Returns from the North in July. Breeds northward from the Middle States.

Chevalier de Batture. Spotted Sandpiper. (*Actitis macularius*.) Wary and fond of shores and small streams, progressing by curved flights from point to point. Chiefly a migrant in April and after the middle of July in fall. A few remain to breed.

Long-billed Curlew. (*Numenius longirostris*.) Sickle-shaped bill, large size and dark plumage.

- Golden Plover.** (*Charadrius dominicus*.) Migrant in spring and fall. Breeds in the far North.
- Killdee.** Killdeer. (*Aegialitis vocifera*.) Shrill call, from which the name is taken. Fields, pastures, etc. Most abundant from November 1 to March 1. Breeds in all parts of the United States.
- Semipalmated Plover.** (*Aegialitis semipalmata*.) Resembles the former, but smaller, and has bright yellow legs. Edges of ponds when found inland. Migrant in April and in the fall after the first half of July.
- Turnstone.** (*Arenaria interpres*.) Variegation of the white, black and chestnut plumage. Seashore, and wanders inland. Near New Orleans occasionally.
- Partridge.** Bob White. (*Colinus virginianus*.) Fairly common on sugar plantations near New Orleans. March-August.
- Wild Turkey.** (*Meleagris gallopavo*.) Not uncommon within reasonable distance of New Orleans.
- Passenger Pigeon.** (*Ectopistes migratorius*.) In very cold weather a few of these birds have been driven southward to localities near New Orleans.
- Dove.** Mourning Dove. (*Zenaidura macroura*.) Doves always become more plentiful in the latitude of New Orleans about October 1.
- Ground Dove.** (*Columbigallina passerina*.) Small size and bright chestnut color on the under surface of the wings. Rather a rare bird, coming to Louisiana in summer.
- Buzzard.** Turkey Buzzard; Turkey Vulture. (*Cathartes aura*.) Numbers do not change throughout the year. Nesting begins in January.
- Buzzard.** Black Vulture; Carrion Crow. (*Catharista atrata*.) Wings without the pointed appearance and graceful curves seen in the preceding species, and having whitish spaces at their tips; flapping of the wings more frequent than in the Turkey Buzzard. Numbers do not change throughout the year.
- Swallow-tailed Kite.** (*Elanoides forficatus*.) Black and white plumage and long, deeply-forked tail. Soars over low woods, fields or marshy places. A summer bird, coming by April.
- Mississippi Kite.** (*Ictinia mississippiensis*.) Deep slaty and blackish plumage and shrill whistle. Open parts of the woods. A summer bird, coming by April.
- Chocolatier (Creole).** Marsh Hawk. (*Circus hudsonius*.) Conspicuous white spot on rump, contrasting with the slaty blue of the adult birds, and the reddish or chocolate brown of the younger ones. Fields, marshes and other open places. September-March.

- Sharp-skinned Hawk. (*Accipiter velox*.) Rather small size, medium wings and moderately long tail. Known at New Orleans chiefly or wholly as a winter bird.
- Blue Darter. Cooper's Hawk. (*Accipiter cooperi*.) Resembles the preceding, but larger. Known chiefly or wholly as a winter resident at New Orleans.
- Chicken Hawk. Red-tailed Hawk. (*Buteo borealis*.) Bright reddish upper surface of tail in mature birds. Tree-dotted fields in winter. October-March, commonest in mid-winter.
- Harlan's Hawk. (*Buteo borealis harlani*.) Blackish plumage, the bird being a dark sub-species of the preceding.
- Chicken Hawk. Red-shouldered Hawk. (*Buteo lineatus*.) Loud, screaming call, like "kee-air-kee-air," and rich reddish tan color of the under parts in mature birds. Tree-dotted fields. Commonest in winter, but found sparingly in summer. Mating begins in January or earlier.
- Broad-winged Hawk. (*Buteo latissimus*.) Woodland. Not found nearer New Orleans than in the neighboring pine belts.
- White-headed Eagle; Bald Eagle. (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*.) Dark plumage, large size, and white head and tail in adults. Regularly resident, but not common.
- Pigeon Hawk. (*Falco columbarius*.) General resemblance to Sparrow Hawk in form, but plumage darker and without red on tail. Fields and other open places with occasional trees. Arrives from the North in September and remains until March. Breeds north of the United States.
- Cleek-cleek. American Sparrow Hawk. (*Falco sparverius*.) Noisy notes, small size, and reddish tail, the back blue in the male. Fields and edges of the woods. Common from September until the middle or latter part of March. Breeds rarely or never in the latitude of New Orleans, but slightly to the northward.
- Fish Hawk; Osprey. (*Pandion haliaëtus carolinensis*.) Large size; whitish breast. Large bodies of water. May be observed in the vicinity of New Orleans occasionally.
- Barn Owl. (*Strix pratincola*.) Light, almost whitish plumage. Old buildings and sugar houses in the country about New Orleans. Resident and not particularly common.
- Field Owl. Short-eared Owl. (*Asio accipitrinus*.) Diurnal habits and fondness for grassy or slightly marshy fields. Rather common, October-March. Nests chiefly in the North.

- Hoot Owl. Florida Barred Owl. (*Syrnium nebulosum alleni*.) Strange, wild notes, heard mostly at night; cross barring of the breast and lengthwise streaking of the belly. Swamps and groves. Resident and common.
- Florida Screech Owl. (*Megascops asio floridanus*.) Small; high-pitched, trilling notes, heard at night. Trees in fields, often near houses. Resident; rather uncommon.
- Great Horned Owl. (*Bubo virginianus*.) Great size and conspicuous ear tufts. Swamps and woods. Resident, and only fairly common.
- Rain Crow. Yellow-billed Cuckoo. (*Coccyzus americanus*.) Slender form and rapid call of croaking notes. Groves, woodland and swamps. Abundant summer resident; common from April 20 to October 10; extreme dates of migration, April 6 and November 1. Breeds May-July.
- Black-billed Cuckoo. (*Coccyzus erythrophthalmus*.) Found only in migration; rare.
- Belted Kingfisher. (*Ceryle alcyon*.) Blue and white plumage, heavy crest, rattling notes. Ponds, streams, lakes, etc. Resident and common.
- Southern Hairy Woodpecker. (*Dryobates villosus audubonii*.) Black and white streaked back. Swamps and woodland. Resident; not very common.
- Downy Woodpecker. (*Dryobates pubescens*.) Similar to preceding, but smaller. Woods and groves. Resident; common.
- Yellow-bellied Sapsucker. (*Sphyrapicus varius*.) Yellow under parts, with black and crimson throat-patch. Woodland and groves. Winters plentifully from October 15 to March 15. Breeds in the North.
- Log Cock; Pileated Woodpecker. (*Ceophlæus pileatus*.) Large size, chiefly black plumage, red crest, loud rattling cry. Heavy swamps and woods (usually). Resident and rather common.
- Red-headed Woodpecker. (*Melanerpes erythrocephalus*.) Tri-colored plumage, the head being scarlet. Groves and edges of the woods about cultivated fields. Resident; in recent years well established at Audubon Park, and better represented there than anywhere else about New Orleans. April-July.
- Red-bellied Woodpecker. (*Melanerpes carolinus*.) The vermilion crown patch and otherwise plain, barred plumage. Swamps and groves. Resident; commonest in winter usually.
- Yellow Hammer. Flicker; Yellow-shafted Woodpecker. (*Colaptes auratus*.) Yellow feathers in wings; somewhat pigeon-like in shape. Open woods. Commonest in fall, but resident.

- Chuck-will's-widow. (*Antrostomus carolinensis*.) Evening cry resembling the words "chuck-will's-widow." Great gape of bill. Low growth of the woods. Found very rarely in such a country as lies about New Orleans. Arrives late in spring and leaves late in fall.
- Whip-poor-will. (*Antrostomus vociferus*.) The cry from which the bird is named. The lower parts of the woods. Known only as a migrant; rare.
- Bull-bat. Nighthawk. (*Chordeiles virginianus*.) Ease of flight, length of wings, large white mark on outer part of wing. Open places. Arrives by April 10, becoming common later in the month; most disappear early in May. Return in August, and a few remain until November 1.
- Chimney Swallow. Chimney Swift. (*Chaetura pelagica*.) Crescent-shaped outline, blackish plumage. Sometimes arrives March 14, becoming common from the last week of March. Leaves at the end of October. Abundant. Mating begins by April 1.
- Ruby-throated Hummingbird. (*Trochilus colubris*.) Spots where flowers are blooming. The majority arrive after March 20; most leave before October 15, the last migrants disappearing by November 1. Winters very rarely. Breeds April-July.
- Scissor-tailed Flycatcher. (*Milvulus forficatus*.) Long, forked tail and gray, whitish and pink or scarlet plumage. Fields near the edges of the woods. Has been found locally on sugar plantations near New Orleans, especially at the Fairfield plantation, Jefferson Parish, on the west bank of the Mississippi. It is common only as far as eastern Texas.
- Black or Big Grasset (Creole). Kingbird; Bee Martin. (*Tyrannus tyrannus*.) Blackish upper parts, white under parts. Edges of woods, orchards, etc. Arrives after March 20 and remains until October 1. Commonest in August and September, rarely seen at New Orleans in the nesting season.
- Croque (Creole). Crested Flycatcher. (*Myiarchus crinitus*.) Woods and groves. Arrives about March 25-28 and is common until fall.
- Phoebe-bird. (*Sayornis phoebe*.) Large head, with slightly crested appearance. The emphatic note from which the name arises. Fields, thickets, fence-rows, etc. Common winter resident, arriving the first week in October and leaving by April 1-6.
- Wood Pewee. (*Contopus virens*.) Plaintive note, like the word "pe-wee," much drawn out. Groves and edges of the woods. Common summer resident from April 1 to October 20, the last loitering until nearly November 1.

- Green-crested Flycatcher. (*Empidonax virescens*.) Swamps and woodland. Arrives about April 6-8 and remains until the end of October. Common, but not conspicuous.
- Traill's Flycatcher. (*Empidonax traillii*.) Thickets in fields and woodland. Has been noticed occasionally in spring and fall as a transient.
- Least Flycatcher. (*Empidonax minimus*.) Somewhat open places. A transient spring and fall migrant, unaccountably rare.
- Blue Jay. (*Cyanocitta cristata*.) Crested head, rather large size and blue feathers. Woods and groves. A common resident.
- American Crow. (*Corvus americanus*.) Commonest in winter.
- Fish Crow. (*Corvus ossifragus*.) Smaller than the common crow, skilled in picking small fish from the water; also feeds with vultures on animals not killed by itself, but not to be confused with the Black Vulture, or Carrion Crow. Rivers or the seashore.
- Ortolan; Ricebird. Bobolink; Reedbird. (*Dolichonyx oryzivorus*.) Streaky yellowish plumage of birds seen in the fall. Marshes and rice-fields. Passes northward from the tropics in April and is present in great numbers in the latter part of September, but is not often common in the immediate neighborhood of New Orleans.
- Cowbird. (*Molothrus ater*.) Nearly uniform black plumage of the male and grayish brown of the female, and stumpy bill. Wooded pastures and edges of the woods. Seen at New Orleans only in winter, especially during February.
- Ricebird (see also Bobolink); Petit Choc. Red-winged Blackbird. (*Agelaius phoeniceus*.) Red-shoulder patches of the male, contrasting with black. Marshes in nesting season, swamps in winter and in early spring. Always present and abundant, but not stationary. Breeds April-July.
- Caille Prairie (Creole); Field Lark. Meadow Lark. (*Sturnella magna*.) Brown-back, yellow breast and white feathers in tail. Fields and meadows. Commonest at New Orleans in the meadows of Audubon Park, where it has become resident. Mating begins in April.
- Pape Prairie (Creole); Poplarree; Pop. Orchard Oriole. (*Icterus spurius*.) Chestnut and black plumage of male and bright, loud song. Groves, meadows and orchards. Arrives March 22-25 and remains in abundance until September 15 or 20. Nesting begins the middle of April.
- Baltimore Oriole. (*Icterus galbula*.) Bright orange and black plumage. Groves and open woodland. Known only as a rare migrant in April, especially about the 25th.

Rusty Blackbird. (*Scolecophagus carolinus*.) Resembles the Red-winged Blackbird in size, but has no special markings. Females more gray than black. Open wet woods and thickets in fields. Abundant from the middle of November until the middle of April, the last leaving about May 1. Breeds north of the United States.

Choc; Choc de Bois (Creole). Florida Grackle; Crow Blackbird. (*Quiscalus quiscula agelaius*.) Rather large; comparatively uniform black plumage. Swamps, groves and woodland. Resident and abundant. Nesting begins about April 1.

Choc de Prairie (Creole). Boat-tailed Grackle. (*Quiscalus major*.) Large size, long tail in male; smaller size and grayish brown plumage in female. Marshes in mating season (beginning about April 1) and fields in winter. Resident and abundant.

Purple Finch. (*Carpodacus purpureus*.) Impurely rosy red plumage, becoming crimson on crown. Edges of woods. Sometimes fairly common in winters with very cold spells; has been known to remain until March 23. Breeds in the North.

Wild Canary (also applied to other yellow birds). American Goldfinch. (*Spinus tristis*.) Yellow plumage, with black crown and wings, becoming flaxen-brownish and whitish in winter. Canary-like notes. Woodland, thickets and fields with shrubs or trees. Abundant from the middle or latter part of November until the latter part of March.

Pine Siskin; Pine Goldfinch. (*Spinus pinus*.) Rare at New Orleans. A flock has been observed in the middle of March on their way northward. Breeds from the Northern States northward.

Vesper Sparrow. (*Pooecetes gramineus*.) Plain gray plumage, white feathers in tail. Fond of grass fields, hence called Grass Finch also. A winter bird, but decidedly uncommon. Breeds chiefly in the Northern States.

Savanna Sparrow. (*Ammodromus sandwichensis savanna*.) Small and fond of grassy places. Abundant winter bird from October 1 to May 1. Breeds chiefly in the North.

Grasshopper Sparrow. (*Ammodromus savannarum passerinus*.) Faint, grasshopper-like song. Meadows and weedy fields. At New Orleans hardly ever occurring outside of Audubon Park, where it arrives early in April and remains until August.

Lark Sparrow. (*Chondestes grammacus*.) Wood-bordered fields or other open places. Never observed at New Orleans, but occurring occasionally in most sections of Louisiana.

STANDARD HISTORY OF NEW ORLEANS.

- White-crowned Sparrow. (*Zonotrichia leucophrys*.) Conspicuous white paths on the black background of the head. Woods and thickets. A rare bird in the fall, winter and spring at New Orleans; has been seen as late as May 1. Breeds chiefly north of the United States.
- White-throated Sparrow. (*Zonotrichia albicollis*.) Sweet, modulated whistle and white chin. Woods and thickets. Abundant from the latter part of October to April 15, leaving by the 20th to the 25th.
- Chipping Sparrow. (*Spizella socialis*.) Apparently never occurring at New Orleans.
- Field Sparrow. (*Spizella pusilla*.) Pinkish-brown plumage; pink bill. More open places in the vicinity of the woods. Rather uncommon at New Orleans. Breeds mostly in the Northern States.
- Snowbird; Slate-colored Junco. (*Junco hiemalis*.) Slaty and white plumage; pink bill. Woods, especially their edges. Rare at New Orleans, coming only with the coldest weather. Breeds in the North.
- Song Sparrow. (*Melospiza fasciata*.) Fields and edges of woods. Almost unknown at New Orleans. Breeds chiefly in the North.
- Swamp Sparrow. (*Melospiza georgiana*.) Swamps, marshes and thickets. Abundant in winter from October 15 to 20 to April 15 to 20; a few remain until May 1.
- Fox Sparrow. (*Passerella iliaca*.) Large size, rufous tail. Thickets and woods. A winter bird, usually uncommon and never present in great numbers. Breeds north of the United States.
- Joree. Towhee; Chewink; Ground Robin. (*Pipilo erythrophthalmus*.) Black upper parts, brown and white under parts. Its call sounds like "jo-ree," last syllable on a higher pitch and more accented. Woodland and thickets in the woods. Resident and common.
- Redbird; Cardinal (with French accent). Cardinal. (*Cardinalis cardinalis*.) Red plumage, high crest and black space on head; plumage of the female, brown, showing red in flight. Breeds from the early part of April to July.
- Rose-breasted Grosbeak. (*Habia ludoviciana*.) Black and white plumage, with rosy breast-patch and wing lining on the male, replaced by tan on the female. Woodland. A rather uncommon fall and spring migrant. Breeds in the more Northern States.
- Blue Grosbeak. (*Guiraca coerulea*.) Uniform blue of male and heavy beak. Fields and edges of woodland. Rather rare about New Orleans, being found in spring and fall.

Evêque (Creole); Blue Pop. Indigo Bunting. (*Passerina cyanea*.) Intensely and uniformly blue plumage on the males, the females being plain brown. Edges of the woods, thickets, etc. Arrives the last of March, increasing in the first week of April. Many migrants are present the latter part of September and through much of October, all being brown at that season.

Pape; Pop; Red Pop. Painted Finch; Nonpareil. (*Passerina ciris*.) Variegated plumage of the male, red, blue, green and yellow appearing. Borders of the woods, orchards and high thickets. Arrives in numbers the first week in April, remaining until October. Breeds April to July.

Black-throated Bunting. (*Spiza americana*.) The quick song of bright, though somewhat wheezy notes. Fields or meadows, with bushes or low trees. Arrives about April 20 and is common for two weeks, after which very few are seen. Its movements in the fall are not obvious.

Scarlet Tanager. (*Piranga erythromelas*.) Black wings and tail and scarlet body, the red changing to yellow in autumn. Woods and groves. Sparingly common migrant in April and in September and October. Breeds chiefly to the northward.

Yellow Caille (the females and males in fall plumage). Summer Tanager. (*Piranga rubra*.) Completely red plumage, in males, with no crest. Woods and groves. Arrives April 3 or 4 and is common all summer. The last leave the latter part of October.

Martin; Purple Martin. (*Progne subis*.) Unmistakable form of the Swallow and purplish black (in the male plumage). Arrives at the latest by the middle of February, becoming common early in March; is not conspicuous after September 15.

Cliff Swallow. (*Petrochelidon lunifrons*.) Rather close resemblance to the Barn Swallow, except in there being a shorter tail and a light frontal bar on the head. Rare in the immediate vicinity of New Orleans, appearing in the localities where it occurs commonly chiefly in September.

Barn Swallow. (*Chelidon erythrogaster*.) Steel-blue back; reddish brown under parts; long forked tail; graceful flight. Arrives in great numbers, for the first time, about April 20, decreasing by May 1; none present in June or most of July, reappearing the last of that month and remaining until November 1, but only locally.

Tree Swallow. (*Tachycineta bicolor*.) Green upper parts, white under parts. Common at various times of the year excepting June; most abundant in April and October.

- Bank Swallow. (*Clivicola riparia*.) Brown upper parts, white under parts. Seen at various times in the spring and fall, and in late summer. Not very common.
- Rough-winged Swallow. (*Stelgidopteryx serripennis*.) Colors same as in preceding species, but throat and chin being continuously light grayish brown, instead of there being only a collar on the throat. Abundant in spring, late in summer and autumn.
- Cirier (Creole). Cedar-bird; Cedar Waxwing. (*Ampelis cedrorum*.) Conspicuous crest; disposition to keep in flocks. Groves and sometimes woodland. An erratic winter visitor, usually appearing in February and often remaining through most of April.
- French Mocking-bird. Loggerhead Shrike. (*Lanius ludovicianus*.) Heavy body; plumage resembles that of Mocking-bird. Fields with trees or bushes. Only a winter bird at New Orleans, arriving the last of August and leaving in March.
- Green Grasset. Red-eyed Greenlet. (*Vireo olivaceus*.) Small size, green back, gray cap, white under parts. Woodland and groves. Arrives about March 20 and remains until the latter part of October; especially common in August and in September. Nesting begins April 15.
- Philadelphia Greenlet. (*Vireo philadelphus*.) Strips of low woodland and low groves. A rather rare migrant, observed in the fall. Breeds only to the northward.
- Warbling Greenlet. (*Vireo gilvus*.) Groves. Arrives by the end of March and remains noticeable from its song until August.
- Yellow-throated Greenlet. (*Vireo flavifrons*.) Woodland and thickets. Commonest in the early part of April as a migrant; seen again in the fall.
- Blue-headed Greenlet. (*Vireo solitarius*.) Bluish-gray cap, and white line curling about the eye. Woodland. A winter resident. Rather common from December to March.
- White-eyed Greenlet. (*Vireo noveboracensis*.) The short, pleasing, emphatic song, heard everywhere in the woods and thickets in summer. Swamps, wet thickets and other shrubbery. Abundant summer resident from March 15 to October 20; a few winter. Breeds from April 10 to June.
- Black and White Warbler. (*Mniotilta varia*.) Finely variegated black and white plumage. Woodland. In spring it is seen occasionally late in March and in April; passes northward and returns late in July, remaining until October.

- Prothonotary Warbler. (*Protonotaria citrea*.) Slaty blue, bright yellow and white plumage. Swamps. Arrives March 15-20; is common in summer; transients are passing southward in the latter part of July and in August, forsaking the swamps then for more open country. Nesting begins about April 15.
- Swainson's Warbler. (*Helinaia swainsonii*.) Lower growths of deep, damp woodland. Extremely local near New Orleans and decidedly rare, arriving in one spot by April 6-8; probably breeds there.
- Worm-eating Warbler. (*Helmitherus vermivorus*.) Swamps and woodland. Found as a migrant in spring and late in summer and fall. Uncommon.
- Bachman's Warbler. (*Helminthophila bachmani*.) Swamps and woodland. Has been discovered near Lake Pontchartrain late in March. A very rare bird everywhere.
- Blue-winged Yellow Warbler. (*Helminthophila pinus*.) General resemblance to the Prothonotary Warbler, but is smaller and has a black line through the eye. Woods and thickets. An uncommon transient in spring and fall.
- Golden-winged Warbler. (*Helminthophila chrysoptera*.) Woods and thickets. A transient at New Orleans, noted in the fall migration about September 20. Rare.
- Orange-crowned Warbler. (*Helminthophila celata*.) Woods and thickets. A common mid-winter bird. Breeds north of the United States.
- Tennessee Warbler. (*Helminthophila peregrina*.) Borders of the woods and bushy or weedy fields. Abundant autumn migrant from September 20 to October 20, the last leaving by November 1. Rare or unknown in spring.
- Parula Warbler. (*Compsothlypis americana*.) Odd, buzzing song, blue back with golden spot in the center. Woods, thickets and groves. Arrives regularly the first week of March, becoming common at once; may remain all summer; all leaving by the end of October. Nesting begins the last of March.
- Yellow Warbler. (*Dendroica aestiva*.) Completely golden plumage. Orchards, groves and thickets. Arrives by April 3 or 4, but does not stop to rest. Thousands return in the last half of July from further north. All leave in October.
- Black-throated Blue Warbler. (*Dendroica coerulescens*.) Woods and thickets. A rare migrant in spring. Breeds mostly north of the United States.
- Myrtle Warbler. (*Dendroica coronata*.) Yellow spot on rump. Most places indifferently. Arrives sparingly by October 15-20, becoming very abundant in the early part of November; most have gone north by April 20-25.

- Magnolia Warbler. (*Dendroica maculosa*.) Black and yellow or gray and yellow plumage. Woods and hedges. Arrives about September 20 and is abundant until November 1, when all leave; is very rare as a spring migrant, being usually seen about May 1. Breeds chiefly north of the United States.
- Cerulean Warbler. (*Dendroica coerulea*.) Azure blue and white plumage, with no other colors. Woodland and thickets. Observed as a rather rare migrant, in the earlier part of April; does not remain in summer and is rare in the fall.
- Chestnut-sided Warbler. (*Dendroica pennsylvanica*.) Woodland and thickets. Never observed in the spring, but is sometimes fairly common in the fall for a few days, arriving September 20 or earlier. Nests in the Northern States.
- Bay-breasted Warbler. (*Dendroica castanea*.) Woodland and thickets. On rather rare occasions fairly common for a few days in the fall migration; rarer still in the spring, but migrating late, even up to May 5. Nests in the North.
- Black-poll Warbler. (*Dendroica striata*.) The perfect plumage is grayish, black and white. Woodland and thickets. Rare in the fall and spring migrations. Nests north of the United States.
- Blackburnian Warbler. (*Dendroica blackburniæ*.) The patches of black and white and the orange throat are the most marked features of this bird. Woodland and thickets. Rather rare, in spring and fall migrations, occurring chiefly at the end of April and in the last of September and part of October.
- Sycamore Warbler. (*Dendroica dominica albilora*.) Yellow throat, slaty back and black-streaked white sides. Swamps and woodland. Arrives by March 1 and is soon common, remaining all summer.
- Black-throated Green Warbler. (*Dendroica virens*.) Woodland and thickets. Seldom appears at New Orleans in spring; is occasional in the fall migration. Breeds in the Northern States.
- Pine Warbler. (*Dendroica vigosii*.) In breeding season, pine woods; in winter, mixed woods and in thickets. Usually found from December to March about New Orleans, but at no other times of the year. Breeds in pine woods North and South.
- Palm Warbler. (*Dendroica palmarum*.) Reddish cap, yellow under parts, and its ground living habits. Wood-bound fields and roadsides. Common in winter from November until April 1; a few remain a week or so later. Breeds north of the United States.
- Oven-bird. (*Seiurus aurocapillus*.) Green upper parts, specked, white under parts, and has a characteristic walking gait. Fairly common as a spring and fall

migrant throughout April and between September 15-20 and October 15. Breeds in the North.

Water Thrush. (*Seiurus noveboracensis*.) Has a peculiar walking gait. Ponds, sloughs or ditches in the woods or fields. Present throughout April and from the early part or middle of August to the first week in October. Breeds in the Northern States.

Louisiana Water Thrush. (*Seiurus motacilla*.) Closely resembles the last, from which it can scarcely be distinguished in life. Frequents clearer water than the preceding. Present at New Orleans as a transient in spring and fall, never stopping here to breed. Rather rare.

Kentucky Warbler. (*Geothlypis formosa*.) Lower growths in the woods. Arrives by the last of March; becomes inconspicuous in the fall. Common summer resident.

Mourning Warbler. (*Geothlypis philadelphia*.) A very rare transient. Breeds mostly north of the United States.

Maryland Yellow-throat. (*Geothlypis trichas*.) Black and yellow throat. Thickets, copses or wet, bushy places. Common and resident. Nesting begins the latter part of March.

Yellow-breasted Chat. (*Icteria virens*.) Large for a warbler, and has bright green, yellow and white plumage. Has several very odd notes. Thickets and borders of woods. Arrives April 12-15; common summer resident. Nesting begins early in May.

Hooded Warbler. (*Sylvania mitrata*.) Partial black hood, green back and golden under parts. Swamps and woodland. Arrives March 10-15. Common summer resident, leaving by the end of October. Breeds April 15-July.

American Redstart. (*Setophaga ruticilla*.) The male is black, with a salmon-splotted plumage; quick in movement in pursuing insects. Woodland and groves. Very rare in spring; returns from farther north July 20-25; common all fall, leaving by the end of October.

American Pipit. (*Anthus pennsylvanicus*.) Brown; characteristic walking gait; feeds in flocks on the ground. Fields and other open places. Arrives from the north October 22-25; very abundant all winter, some lingering until May 1. Breeds in the far North.

Sprague's Pipit. (*Anthus spraguei*.) Resembles in the more marked habits the common Pipit, except that it does not live in flocks and mounts very high in flight. Weedy or grassy pastures, fields and wastes. Of limited distribution,

from November to March; sometimes found in the pastures at Harvey's canal; wanders to Louisiana from the Northwest and West. Breeds in Dakota and northward.

Moqueur (Creole). Mocking-bird. (*Mimus polyglottus*.) Imitative powers of song. Neighborhood of dwellings. Resident and common. Breeds from late March to August.

Black Caille (Creole); Caille Laurier (Creole). Catbird. (*Galeoscoptes carolinensis*.) Nearly black plumage and strange, cat-like cry. Copses, briers and woodland thickets. Rather common throughout April; abundant from September 22-25 to November 1. A few winter, but none breed.

French Mocking-bird (see also Loggerhead Shrike); Moqueur de Canne (Creole).

Brown Thrasher. (*Harporhynchus rufus*.) Bright reddish brown; slim form; long tail. Borders of the woods, thickets, briers, etc. A winter resident, but most abundant in the latter part of September and throughout October and in the last part of March and first part of April. Breeds in the neighboring pine sections.

House Wren. Carolina Wren. (*Thryothorus ludovicianus*.) Loud, cheerful whistle, familiarity, rusty brown plumage. The neighborhood of houses and the woods indifferently. Resident and common. Nesting begins early in March.

Bewick's Wren. (*Thryothorus bewickii*.) Deep brown upper parts, ashy under parts and long, heavily barred tail. Bushy places, brush piles, etc. Occurs at most times of the year, excepting the nesting season. Never common.


House Wren. (*Troglodytes aedon*.) Plain in all its markings, color contrasts being absent. Weedy or bushy places and briers. Found only as a winter resident, from October 1 to the first week of April.

Winter Wren. (*Troglodytes hiemalis*.) Very small; short tail, but resembles the preceding species considerably. Low thickets and various compact or clustered growths. Chiefly in mid-winter and not very common. Breeds chiefly north of the United States.

Short-billed Marsh Wren. (*Cistothorus stellaris*.) Black, white and brown variegation of the back. Marshes or wet, weedy fields. A winter visitant; usually uncommon.

Long-billed Marsh Wren. (*Cistothorus palustris*.) Liquid, gurgling song. Fresh or salt marshes. Resident, but commonest in summer.

Brown Creeper. (*Certhia familiaris americana*.) Habit of ascending tree trunks in a creeping manner. Woodland. Uncommon winter visitor.

- Tufted Titmouse. (*Parus bicolor*.) Decided crest and notes resembling "peter, peter; peter, peter." Woodland, groves and thickets. Resident and common.
- Carolina Chickadee. (*Parus carolinensis*.) Small size, generally gray plumage, black and white head. Woodland, groves and thickets. Resident and common. Nesting begins by April 1 at least.
- Golden-crowned Kinglet. (*Regulus satrapa*.) Greenish plumage, small size, variegated bright crown-patch. Woodland, groves and thickets. Commonly present from the last of October until March 15. Breeds in the North.
- Ruby-crowned Kinglet. (*Regulus calendula*.) Close resemblance in life to the former, distinguished by the crown patch, which is simply vermilion or scarlet. Woodland, groves and thickets. Present from October 15-20 to April 1-6. Breeds in the North.
- Blue-gray Gnatcatcher. (*Poliophtila coerulea*.) Small size; long black and white tail; inconsequent notes. Hedges, woodland borders and thickets. Arrives about March 15, becoming common March 21-25 or earlier; a few winter; most disappear early in the fall. Nesting begins almost by April 1. 
- Speckled Caille (Creole). Wood Thrush. (*Turdus mustelinus*.) Clear brown upper parts, black-streaked, satiny-white under parts; great musical powers. Woodland. Arrives by March 25-28, and is common until October 15, being especially abundant about October 1; leaves by the end of October.
- Wilson's Thrush. (*Turdus fuscescens*.) Light brown upper parts, pale streaking of breast. Woodland and low groves. Known as a migrant, especially in the latter part of April and after the middle of September. Not common. Breeds in the North.
- Gray-cheeked Thrush. (*Turdus aliciae*.) Grayish or brownish-olive upper parts and purely white or gray throat and cheeks. Woodland and thickets. A transient migrant, sometimes very common late in April, and less common in the fall. Breeds in the North.
- Olive-backed Thrush. (*Turdus ustulatus swainsonii*.) Closely resembles the preceding; has tawny touches about the cheeks and throat. Woodland and thickets. Most regular in the fall after September 20 and until October 10-15; sometimes common late in April. Breeds in the North.
- Hermit Thrush. (*Turdus aonalaschkae pallasii*.) Tail bright rufous, otherwise resembling the last mentioned considerably. Woodland and thickets. A winter resident, coming after the middle of October and sometimes remaining until April 12.

Grive (Creole); Robin. American Robin. (*Merula migratoria*.) Medium size; gray upper parts and reddish or russet breast. Becomes very common by November 15; numbers decreasing after March 1. Breeds from 35 degrees north northward.

Bluebird. (*Sialia sialis*.) Blue back and chestnut-colored breast. Borders of woodland, fences and telegraph lines. Seen sometimes in winter about New Orleans, but never in summer.

The Terns, called also Sea Swallows, are known chiefly in the vicinity of New Orleans through their occurrence on Lake Pontchartrain, on the Louisiana and Mississippi Gulf coasts, and in the marshes of the extreme lower part of Louisiana. The usual species are the Royal Tern (*Sterna maxima*), the Forster's Tern (*Sterna forsteri*), the Least Tern (*Sterna antillarum*), and the Black Tern (*Hydrochelidon nigra surinamensis*).

Cormorants are represented on the various bodies of water near New Orleans by three species; the Double-crested Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax dilophus*), the Florida Cormorant (*P. dilophus floridanus*), and the Mexican Cormorant (*P. mexicanus*); the first of these is observed only in winter, the others having a more southerly range.

The Ducks of lower Louisiana have given it a reputation as a hunting ground surpassed in few parts of the country. Besides the continually present Wood or Summer Duck (*Aix sponsa*), there are in fall, more restrictedly in mid-winter and again in early spring, hosts of ducks belonging to a majority of the species found in North America. Important flights reach the latitude of New Orleans about October 1, a few Blue-Winged Teals having arrived shortly before that. Mallards and Green-winged Teals come together, sometimes being found feeding in the same spots, but such an association appears never to take place between the Mallard and the Blue-winged Teal. Of the other ducks best known and most prized among the hunters, the Widgeon, the Gray Duck, and the Pin-tail appear at very nearly the same time; the Scaups—Dos-gris, the Creoles call them—are in company with these birds, but they are indifferent table ducks. Midwinter produces a lull in the Duck season, many individuals having migrated much farther south, but Mallards, Pin-tails, Widgeons, Gray Ducks, Green-winged Teals, Dos-gris and Redheads remain in considerable numbers. Beginning in February, at least, these Ducks head northward, and migration among them is well under way in a short time. About the last of these Ducks are leaving when those birds that have wintered south of the United States begin to pass this latitude in large numbers. The

passage of great numbers of the transients continues until April. Teals and Pin-tails are the principal species in this spring movement. The Blue-winged Teal remains in small numbers until the first part of May.

Of the species which are plentifully represented among the sets of individuals that go no further south than Louisiana, the Mallard and the Pin-tail are the first to leave after the earliest beginnings of spring.

DUCKS OCCURRING ABOUT NEW ORLEANS.

American Merganser. (*Merganser americanus*.)

Red-breasted Merganser. (*Merganser serrator*.)

Bec-seie. Hooded Merganser. (*Lophodytes cucullatus*.) Black and white plumage and conspicuous crest.

French Duck. Mallard. (*Anas boschus*.) Large size and green head (in the drake).

Black Duck. Black Mallard. (Not the bird called "Black Duck" at New Orleans). (*Anas obscura*.) Resembles Mallard in size, but is of a general dark color.

Canard Gris. Violon. Gadwall. (*Anas strepera*.)

Zinzin. American Widgeon. (*Anas americana*.)

Sarcelle d'Hiver. Green-winged Teal. (*Anas carolinensis*.)

Sarcelle Printanière; Sarcelle Automnière. Blue-winged Teal. (*Anas discors*.)

Cinnamon Teal (very rare in Louisiana). (*Anas cyanoptera*.) General rich-reddish brown color and bright-blue specula on the wings.

Micoine; Spoonbill. Shoveler. (*Spatula clypeata*.) Paddle-shaped bill.

Paille-en-queue. Pin-tail. (*Dafila acuta*.) Greatly lengthened tail feathers and fine gray plumage.

Brancheur. Wood Duck. (*Aix sponsa*.) Great beauty of plumage and the habit of perching in trees.

Dos Gris (Audubon). Red-head. (*Aythya americana*.)

Canard Cheval. Canvas-back (not very common). (*Aythya vallisneria*.)

Dos Gris. Scaup; Blue-bill. (*Aythya marila nearctica*.)

Dos Gris. Lesser Scaup. (*Aythya affinis*.)

Black Duck. Ring-necked Duck. (*Aythya collaris*.) Generally black plumage, with white chin and brown ring about the neck.

Golden-eye. (*Glaucionetta clangula americana*.)

Marrionette. Buffle-head; Butter-ball. (*Charitonetta albeola*.)

Old Squaw (very rare winter visitor). (*Clangula hiemalis*.) Largely white plumage, and long tail.

Goddam. Ruddy Duck. (*Erismatura rubida*.)

The Geese found in southern Louisiana in winter, and which are consequently likely to occur at New Orleans at any time, are the Blue Goose (*Chen caerulescens*), the Lesser Snow Goose (*Chen hyperborea*), the White-fronted Goose (*Anser albifrons gambeli*), the Canada Goose (*Branta canadensis*), and its variety, Hutchins's Goose (*B. canadensis hutchinsii*).

Two Swans, the Whistling (*Olor columbianus*), and the Trumpeter (*Olor buccinator*), winter on the Gulf, and are of possible occurrence very near New Orleans.

Besides the Sandpipers named in the list, the White-rumped, the Baird's, and the Red-backed are of possible, but uncertain, occurrence near New Orleans.

On the nearest seacoast the Willet (*Symphemia semipalmata*), a large tattler, is found.

The Oyster-catcher (*Haematopus palliatus*) is found on the Gulf Coast, but probably comes no nearer to New Orleans.

The Duck Hawk (*Falco peregrinus anatum*) follows the ducks to their best feeding grounds in winter, there preying upon them.

The curious Burrowing Owl (*Speotyto cunicularia hypogaea*), found on the western prairies, is observed very rarely in southeastern Louisiana.

The country about New Orleans, like many other southern localities, was formerly the home of the Carolina Parakeet (*Conurus carolinensis*), but the bird has not been observed for many years.

The now rare Ivory-billed Woodpecker (*Campephilus principalis*) is not known to occur within short distances of New Orleans.

CHAPTER XV.

LITERATURE AND ART.

BY A. G. DURNO.

LITERATURE is ever a plant of slow growth in new soils, and notwithstanding the fact that there were among the early inhabitants of New Orleans many men and women of elegant culture and brilliant intellect, no one of them appears to have felt any ambition to conquer new territory for the realm of letters. There were, indeed, in those early days, few incentives to authorship. Not only would the hard conditions of life in the colony, contrasted as they were with homesick memories of "la Patrie" so dear to the French heart, tend to repress any native impulse toward composition, but the total absence of facilities for publication ("Le Moniteur," the first newspaper, was not founded until 1794) added an element of impossibility to any sort of literary undertaking before which the most robust inspiration must have died. Reports of officers and engineers, however able and accurate, can hardly be classed as literature, yet, with one exception, these are the only fruits yielded to the most painstaking search among the remains of the first century.

The single exception is an epic poem—no less—which, whatever its defects, has the merit of having been inspired by an incident of colonial life. The author was a Frenchman, and the hero whose martial deeds he celebrates, the Spanish Governor of a Spanish colony, circumstances which render his patriotic fervor all the more creditable.

JULIEN POYDRAS, the first poet of Louisiana, was a native of Nantes, born about the year 1740. As a youth he served in the French navy, but being taken prisoner by the English in 1760, and carried to England, he appears to have accepted captivity as a discharge from further naval service. Escaping from durance, he hid himself on board a West Indian merchant vessel, and so reached San Domingo, whence he passed over to New Orleans, arriving, as is supposed, in the fateful year 1768—memorable for the daring but ineffectual effort of the French colonists to snatch their adopted land from the clutches of Spain. Poydras

did not remain as a permanent resident of New Orleans, but he was a constant visitor to the little city, and appears to have taken a warm interest in its affairs, as is evinced by his generous donations to her charitable institutions. It is not probable that Poydras brought much money with him to the colony, but he had the instinct for business which quickly recognizes opportunity, and the energy and address which as quickly seizes upon it. He was soon engaged in commercial affairs which constantly increased in magnitude and importance, and to which he added the avocations of planter and banker, but in the midst of his multifarious occupations he found time to inscribe his name upon the roll of fame as author of the first poetical work printed in New Orleans. It celebrates the victory of Galvez over the English at Baton Rouge, and is entitled:

LA PRISE DU MORNE DU BATON ROUGE.

Par Monseigneur De Galvez.

Chevalier pensionné de l'Ordre Royal distingué de Charles Trois, Brigadier des Armées de Sa Majestie, Intendant, Inspecteur et Gouverneur General de la Province de la Louisiane, etc.

A La Nouvelle Orleans,

Chez Antoine Boudousquie, Imprimeur du Roi, et du Cabildo.

MDCCLXXIX.

Professor Alcée Fortier, who has restored the poem to the world after a century of oblivion, does not claim for it any great literary merit, but reminds his readers that in 1779 coldness and pomposity were characteristics of French verse. "The poetic inspiration of the seventeenth century," he adds, "was dying out and was only kept up by a few graceful and elegant writers. * * * Poets like Voltaire, like Gresset, like André Chenier, were rare in France in the eighteenth century. Why should we expect to find them in Louisiana? Let us be satisfied with Poydras' work and let us be thankful to him for having given us a poem in 1779."

Thirty-five years elapsed before another book was added to the literary roster of New Orleans. During that time Louisiana had undergone several political changes, having been again for a short time a French province, then a territory of the United States, and finally a sovereign State. Two years after this last event there was issued from the press of the *Courrier de la Louisiane* a small volume of 58 pages duodecimo, bearing the title of "Poucha Houmma."

LE BLANC de VILLENEUFVE, the author of "Poucha Houmma," was

an ex-officer of the French army who had been employed by the government from 1752 to 1758 among the Tchaetas. While thus engaged he heard the story of a Houmma chief who gave himself up to the avenger of blood to save his son. This instance of self-devotion so impressed M. de Villeneuve that more than fifty years afterwards, at the great age of seventy-eight, he made it the subject of a five act tragedy, cast in the regular classical mould, in order to prove to the world that the Indians were not, as had been charged, destitute of all human feeling.

THOMAS WHARTON COLLENS, a native of New Orleans, born June 23, 1812, was the author of one of the earliest dramas published in New Orleans. Mr. Collens was educated for the bar and rose to high position in his profession, being District Attorney of the District of Orleans at the age of twenty-eight, and at various times Judge of the City Court of New Orleans, Judge of the First District Court of the same city, and Judge of the Seventh District Court of the Parish of Orleans. While still a mere youth he wrote a five-act tragedy, based upon the revolt against Spanish rule in 1768, and the real tragedy which followed it. The play is called: "The Martyr Patriots or Louisiana in 1769," and was successfully performed at the old St. Charles Theatre a short time after its publication. Judge Collens was a fluent writer on serious subjects, and the author of two philosophical works, "Humanics," and "The Eden of Labor," published respectively in 1860 and 1876.

In connection with the tragedy above alluded to, it may be mentioned as a coincidence—by no means a surprising one—that in 1839 A. Lussan published in Donaldsonville a tragedy in five acts based upon the same historical incident, and entitled "Les Martyrs de la Louisiane." The play would seem to have been put upon the stage, though there is no record of its having been performed in New Orleans. A difference is observed in the dramatis personae of the two plays, O'Reilly not appearing in that of Judge Collens, where Lafrénière fills the leading role, and Aubry, the former French Governor, that of chief villain. M. Lussan makes O'Reilly the persecutor of the patriots, which is historically correct, and gives the principal role to Joseph Villeré.

CHARLES GAYARRE is one of the most distinguished names connected with New Orleans literature. Born only two years after Louisiana had passed into the possession of the United States, and connected through both parents with families closely identified with affairs of the colonial era, his attention, at an early age, was drawn to the romantic history of his native city and State. Judge Francois-

Xavier Martin's "History of Louisiana," published in 1827, was the first connected history of the then newly-made State, but aside from the fact that its severely condensed style made no appeal to the imagination, it was written in English, a language little understood among the Creoles of that day. Recognizing the importance to them of a history of their State written in their own tongue, and inspired, without doubt by a genuine enthusiasm for his subject, Mr. Gayarré published, in 1830, his "*Essai Historique sur la Louisiane*," a work of 144 duodecimo pages. About the same date, Mr. Gayarré, who had studied law in Philadelphia under William Rawle, author of a work on the Constitution of the United States, and had been admitted to the bar both of Pennsylvania and Louisiana, was elected to represent New Orleans in the State Legislature. He subsequently occupied the position of Presiding Judge of the City Court of New Orleans, and three years later was honored by being chosen to represent the interests of his district in the United States Senate. Failing health prevented him from taking his seat, and sent him across the sea in search of medical advice and remedial agencies. He remained eight years in France, devoting much of the time to historical research, the pursuit always of paramount interest with him. On his return he was again elected to the State Legislature for two successive terms, but gave up his seat to accept the State secretaryship offered him by the Governor. In 1846-47 appeared his "*Histoire de la Louisiane*," in two volumes 8vo. In this work he followed the plan so successfully adopted by the author of the "*Ducs de Bourgogne*," and still much in vogue among historical writers, of using contemporaneous records of the events narrated, whether personal letters and memoirs or official reports and documents. This method certainly makes very interesting reading, but it is criticised by Professor Fortier as failing to give "the philosophy of history." This initial work covered only the period of French domination. It was followed by a series of *historiettes*, beginning with a volume entitled "*Romance of the History of Louisiana*," in which the author has preserved the legends of the State, and ending with the "*History of the Spanish Domination*," published in 1854. All these works were revised in 1866 and included in three volumes, and in 1879 were again re-written in English, and expanded into four volumes as the "*History of Louisiana*." In addition to his History of Louisiana, which is everywhere recognized as a standard work, Mr. Gayarré wrote Philip II of Spain, which, says Professor Fortier, "is not in reality a history of the gloomy and cruel tyrant of the Escorial, but a series of striking and forcible tableaux which remind us of Carlyle's 'French Revolution'; 'Fernando de Lemos,' a novel; 'Aubert Dubayet,' a sequel to the

above; and a drama and a comedy, entitled, respectively, 'The School for Politics' and 'Dr. Bluff.' " Mr. Gayarré, however, was essentially a historian, and his fiction is inevitably cast in the historic mould. Fernando de Lemos has more claim to be considered a work of imagination than the sequel, but the pen that wrote it lacks the flexibility, and the hand, the lightness essential to romantic composition. In Aubert Dubayet is commemorated the career of a Louisianian, "who," says Professor Fortier, "shared with Kleber the glory of defending Mayence, who was a general of division in the army of the Republic, and who died at thirty-eight minister plenipotentiary of France at Constantinople."

The long and honorable life of this eminent man, the last years of which were rendered painful by ill-health and pecuniary embarrassments, came to an end February 11, 1895, at New Orleans.

JOHN JAMES AUDUBON, though born in the vicinity of New Orleans, has no legitimate connection with its literature. None of his works were published here, and there is no certainty that any portion of them was even written during his brief sojourn within our gates. It was accident rather than choice that brought his mother to the little town of Madisonville, where her famous son first saw the light in May of 1780 or 1781, and he was soon removed to France, where he was educated. He was not a very diligent student of books, and at the age of nineteen or twenty, his father, who was an officer in the French navy, gave him a piece of land in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and sent him to live on it. Here it was that he began that study of birds which was to occupy his life, and result in the two magnificent works of which every American is justly proud. He died in New York City in January, 1881.

ALEXANDER DIMITRY is a name which stands for profound scholarship and splendid ability. Without having left any body of collected works under his own name, Mr. Dimitry has perhaps done more to foster the growth of literature in his native city than some writers who count their volumes by the dozen. Not only was he the founder of the free school system of Louisiana and the staunch advocate of education, but he was in his own person an ever-flowing fountain of information, from which all were free to draw, and where more than one young literary aspirant is said to have filled his little ewer. It is greatly to be regretted that no effort has been made to gather up some of his writings into a form which would render them accessible to present day readers.

ADRIEN ROUQUETTE—Father Rouquette, as he is more familiarly and affectionately called by a wide circle of friends and admirers—and Dominique

Rouquette, his brother, were united by closer ties than those of common parentage and early association. A passion for poetry distinguished their early youth, which, far from being dissipated by advancing years, became the ruling principle of their lives, leading them away from the crowded marts and artificial needs and pleasures of the town to dwell with Nature in her calm retreats and minister to the humble children whom she keeps ever near her heart. They enjoyed every advantage of education and travel, supplementing the course at the *Collège de Nantes* by ten years' wandering in Europe, yet they chose as their home a retired and lonely spot among the magnificent pine forests of their native State. About them dwelt "the remnants of the Chactas, the faithful allies of the French; and in the wigwams of the Indians the brothers used to sit to smoke the calumet with the chiefs, or to look at the silent squaws skilfully weaving the wicker baskets which they were to sell the next morning in the *Marché Français*." Adrien, after a time, took the vows and assumed the cassock of a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, and devoted himself still more actively to missionary work among the Indians, though he never abandoned his first love, "*la Poésie*." Dominique, who is accounted the greater poet, wrote only in French, but Adrien employed both French and English. His principal work is "*Les Savanes*," a volume of poems inspired by American scenes. He also wrote "*Wild Flowers; Sacred Poetry*," "*La Thébaïde en Amérique*," "*L'Antonaïde ou la Solitude avec Dieu*," "*Poèmes Patriotiques*," and "*Catherine Tegchkwitha*." But the most beautiful of his poems was his own life, and that is written only in the hearts of those who knew him. It came to an end in July, 1887.

ALFRED MERCIER is one of the best known and most prolific of the numerous French writers of New Orleans. He was born at McDonogh, a suburb of New Orleans, June 3, 1816. Educated in France, as was customary with the Creole youths of his day, he remained in Paris for many years after his studies were completed. It was in that city in 1842 that his first works were published, three volumes of poetry: "*La Rose de Smyrne*," "*L'Ermite de Niagara*," and "*Erato*." They were very favorably received, particularly the two first mentioned, and thus encouraged, the young author resolved to try his hand at a prose romance. Arrangements had been completed for its publication in a literary journal, but the morning the first installment was to appear the office was raided by the commune, and the forms "*piéd*." Discouraged from further literary efforts by the disorders of the times, he now decided to study medicine, and returning to New Orleans after his graduation, he there took up the practice of his profession, but

the virus was in his blood, and he seems to have been unable to resist the fascination of pen and ink.

Returning again to romance, he published in 1873, a novelette, "*Le Fou de Palerme*," which was followed four years later by "*La Fille du Prêtre*," an attack upon the celibacy of priests, which created much commotion among the Catholics. "*L'Habitation St. Ybars*," published in 1881, is a story of life on a Louisiana sugar plantation in ante-bellum days. Professor Fortier says of it: "Although the work is of great interest as a novel, it is of still greater importance for the study of philology. Dr. Mercier, who is a master of the Creole patois, uses it freely in his book and keeps thus an admirable *couleur locale*. * * * It is a pity that '*L'Habitation St. Ybars*' has not been translated into English, for it is a much more correct picture of Louisiana life than is to be found in many other works better known outside our State."

In addition to the works already named Dr. Mercier published in 1881 "*Lidia*," an idyl, portraying the "romantic love of two noble hearts," and in 1891, "*Johnnelle*," a philosophical tale directed against the crime of infanticide. He was also an industrious and valued contributor to "*Les Comptes-Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais*," the journal of a society organized for the encouragement of the study of the French language, continuing to write for it both prose and verse, and even a drama in five acts, until well past the Psalmist's liminary of three-score and ten. Apropos of a pretty little poem, "*Message*," quoted by him in his "*Louisiana Studies*," Professor Fortier says: "These charming verses, written by a man over seventy years of age, are a good proof that the atmosphere of Louisiana is not so stifling as it is sometimes said to be." Dr. Mercier died May 12, 1894, at the age of seventy-eight.

ALEXANDER WALKER is a name often referred to in New Orleans as that of a man of strong personality and wide and varied knowledge. A native of Fredericksburg, Virginia, Mr. Walker came to New Orleans in 1840 and entered upon the practice of law, which, however, he soon abandoned for journalism. He was at various times editor of one or another of the newspapers of the city, notably of the *Delta*, which he conducted twelve years. His published works are: "*Life of Andrew Jackson*;" "*Jackson and New Orleans*," "*History of the Battle of Shiloh*," and "*Butler at New Orleans*." Judge Walker, as he became by virtue of his presidency over the City Court of New Orleans, was the possessor of a lucid style, at once graphic and dignified. Fond of color and of decorative phrases, he was yet too judicious to overload his descriptions with ornament, while his conscientious

regard for small details was not permitted to degenerate into prolixity. Judge Walker died January 24, 1893, at the age of seventy-three.

GEORGE W. CABLE was born in New Orleans in the year 1814. His father having died while George was still a mere lad, leaving but slender means for the support of the family, the son stepped from the school-room into the arena of commercial life, entering the lists against poverty in behalf of mother and sisters. Caught by the tide of patriotic feeling that swept through the South in 1860-61, Mr. Cable rode away to the war in the ranks of the Fourth Mississippi Cavalry. On his return he resumed his place in the business world, but his native bent toward literature began to declare itself, and he for a time filled a column of the *Sunday Picayune* with a series of light sketches under the title of "Drop-Shot." Some time during the seventies he made a successful dash for a broader field. A story sent to a Northern magazine was accepted, and was followed by a half dozen others, with the like result. This series of seven tales was later collected into book form under the general title of "Old Creole Days," and formed the corner-stone of the author's fame for good and for bad. Received with delight and applause by Northern readers, and by a large portion of the "American" population of New Orleans, the Creoles found in them bitter cause of offense, and scornfully repudiated as caricatures the pictures of themselves which to others appeared so charming. Without wishing to disturb the peace which has at last happily fallen upon the clamorously contested field, the present writer ventures to assert upon personal knowledge that there are Creoles who have read Mr. Cable's books with pleasure, and who recognize his portraiture as not being entirely unfaithful. Two cases in point may be cited—the first of a lady—a "Creole of the Creoles," as the saying goes, who said to the writer in the imperfect English which she only learned to speak after her children were grown: "I am reading the *Grandissimes* of Mr. Cable. I enjoy that book very much. I find there all my friends." The other case is that of a gentleman, Mr. B——, a Creole of education and good standing, who made some slighting remark about Mr. Cable's writings in the presence of Mr. G——, an "American" gentleman, and a friend of the author. Said Mr. G——: "Mr. B——, have you ever read any of Mr. Cable's stories?" "No," was the reply, "but I am told so and so." "But," returned Mr. G——, "it seems to me unfair to condemn a man you have not read. Mr. Cable is to read this evening from his own works, suppose you go and hear him. You will then be able to form an opinion of your own." The proposition seemed so reasonable that Mr. B—— promised to act upon it. The following day, happening to meet Mr. G——, he said to him: "Mr. G——,

I must thank you for introducing me to Mr. Cable. I heard him read last night, and I take back all that I have ever said against his writings. I am going again this evening, and take all my family with me. Moreover I have bought his books and intend to read them all and have my family read them. As for Jules St. Ange," he concluded in a burst of enthusiasm, "I know a dozen of him!" (Posson Jones, it may be proper to explain, had been one of the numbers on the evening's programme.)

These two instances which have the indisputable quality of hard facts, would seem to indicate that there is another side to Creole opinion as to the fidelity to life of Mr. Cable's portraiture from that represented by published criticism.

With regard to Mr. Cable's expressed views on social and political questions it is hardly necessary to point out that however much it is to be regretted that he should have forsaken for a time the field in which he had wrought with such happy results for himself and others, his opinions on such matters do not in the least impair the value of his strictly literary work. And since we are writing history, it is only proper to add that whatever view is taken of his first literary work, whether it be received as a faithful reflection of life, or condemned as false and misleading, it must be admitted that the appearance of his Creole sketches inaugurated a new era in the literary activities of New Orleans, and opened the eyes of the Creoles themselves to the value, as literary material, of the old-world ways of thought and speech, and the picturesque setting of their lives, staled to them by life-long custom, but strangely attractive to "*ces Américains*."

The list of Mr. Cable's works published since his *Old Creole Days* appeared in 1883 comprises "The Grandissimes," "Madame Delphine," "Dr. Sevier," "The Creoles of Louisiana," "The Silent South," "Bonaventura," "Strange True Stories of Louisiana," "The Negro Question," "Life of William Gilmore Simms," "John March, Southerner," and "Strong Hearts."

LAFCADIO HEARN, though neither a native nor a permanent citizen of New Orleans, belongs of right to her literary history, because here he first found conditions favorable to the development of his genius. Mr. Hearn was born on one of the Ionian Islands in 1850. His father was an English officer, his mother, a Greek. Deprived of his parents while still a mere infant, he was left to the guardianship of a paternal uncle. Much of his childhood was passed on the Welsh Coast under the care of an old nurse, a native of the country, who fed his youthful imagination with endless fairy tales and with the wild legends of the district. At the age of twenty Mr. Hearn came to this country, landing at New York a friend-

less and well-nigh penniless stranger. He found employment as proof-reader for a publishing house, an irksome occupation to one of his temperament. Mr. Hearn was never very communicative in regard to his personal affairs, but from his slight occasional references to this period of his life he appears to have looked back upon it as a sort of nightmare of distasteful drudgery and frigid weather. From New York Mr. Hearn drifted westward to Cincinnati, where he remained for some time, engaged in the hardly more congenial work of reporting for one of the daily papers. In 1877, in company with one of his fellow-reporters, he set out for a holiday excursion to New Orleans. It was in late winter, or early spring—a season, at all events, when frost and snow prevailed in the region they were leaving—and as they glided southward (they had chosen to make the journey by water) meeting the mild and milder breezes from the Gulf, and seeing wintry barrenness give way to verdure and bloom, it seemed to the warmth and beauty-loving Hearn that he was being transported to some one of the fabled gardens of his nurse's tales. When New Orleans was reached, and he found himself among orange groves (there were orange groves around New Orleans then) and rose-bowers, breathing an air redolent of violets and sweet olive, he felt that he had entered Paradise, and he said to his friend: "You may go back if you like, but I stay here." He secured a position as reporter on the *Daily States*, and the influence of his new environment was soon manifested by a series of fanciful little sketches that began to illuminate a column of the Sunday edition. The originality and fine literary quality of these bits of word-painting attracted the attention of Mr. Page M. Baker, editor of the *Times-Democrat*, who sought out their author and offered him a position on the staff of his paper. His contributions to the paper consisted chiefly of translations from the French, a language in which he was perfectly at home, and adaptations of Oriental legends. These last were afterward collected and published in book form under the title of "*Stray Leaves from Strange Literatures*." In the *Times-Democrat* also appeared a number of the Chinese legends which form the contents of that delightful little volume, "*Some Chinese Ghosts*," but by this time the author's genius had gained him a wider audience, and several of the legends were published in one of the Harper periodicals. "*Chita: A Memory of Last Island*," was the fruit of his annual summer trips to Grand Isle, where he met an old steamer captain, who told him the tragic tale of the great storm of '56, which Hearn has retold with a splendor and power unrivaled in the English language.

But now New Orleans had yielded to his curious and inquisitive mind all she held of interest for him. Always eager to penetrate beneath the surface of things,

he had made himself familiar with the strange composite foreign population that shelters itself in her slums and purlieus, he had haunted the markets and wharves, holding parley with Sicilian fruit vendors, "Dago" fishermen and sailors, Mongolian shopkeepers and laundrymen, from each of whom he gleaned some little fragmentary impression of that primitive under life which had for him so strong a fascination. Nor were these humble folk the only sources upon which he drew. Shy and recluse as he was by nature, knowledge drew him like a loadstone, and he numbered among his friends some of the most scientifically learned men in the city, to one of whom he has dedicated "Chita." But these things no longer satisfied him, and he was eager to drink from deeper and fuller fountains. The brown races seem always to have exercised a strong attraction upon him, as if he suspected them of being favorites of Nature, and holding secrets of hers not revealed to her white children. The Indies, West and East, beckoned him irresistibly, and he gladly embraced the opportunity offered by the Harpers to visit, in company with an artist, the Lesser Antilles and Guiana. His friends in New Orleans saw him go with regret, realizing that with him departed the most brilliant literary genius that had ever trod the streets of their quaint old town. "Two Years in the French West Indies," and "Youma," the story of a West Indian slave, both published by the Harpers in 1890, sum up the literary results of his voyage and of his sojourn in Martinique. Upon his return to the United States, Mr. Hearn set out almost immediately for Japan, where he has since resided. Three volumes, made up from papers contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly*, and published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., show that his pen has not lost its cunning in the land of the Rising Sun. The books are: "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," "Out of the East," and "Kokoro." The title of this last would seem to indicate that this eager, questioning spirit had last found the object of its restless search, "the heart of things." A valuable contribution of Mr. Hearn to the literature of philology is found in his "Gombo Zhèbes," a collection of Creole-negro proverbs from New Orleans, Martinique, French Guiana, Hayti and Mauritius.

WILLIAM PRESTON JOHNSTON, son of General Albert Sidney Johnston, was a native of Louisville, Kentucky. A graduate of Yale and of the Law School of the University of Louisville, the breaking out of the Civil War found him established in the practice of law in his native city. He served through the war as major and lieutenant-colonel of the First Kentucky Infantry, and as aid-de-camp on the staff of Jefferson Davis. Shortly after the close of the war he assumed the chair of English Literature in Washington College, Lexington, Va. In

1880 he accepted the presidency of the Louisiana State University, continuing to hold the position when the State University was reconstituted as the Tulane University. President Johnston was a close student of Shakespeare, and his "Prototype of Hamlet and Other Shakespearean Problems" won cordial recognition from other Shakespearean scholars of the country. Mr. Johnston was also the author of an excellent biography of his distinguished father, and of three volumes of verse: "My Garden Walk," "The Patriarchs," and "Seekers After God."

President Johnston died at the home of his married daughter in Virginia, September, 1899.

WILLIAM H. HOLCOMBE was for many years a prominent figure in the most intellectual circles of New Orleans, where in 1864 he established himself in the practice of his profession—a physician of the Homeopathic school. Before removing to New Orleans he had embraced the mystic doctrines of Swedenborg, to which he continued to adhere to the day of his death. His published works are: "The Scientific Basis of Homeopathy," "Essays on the Spiritual Philosophy of African Slavery," "Poems," "Our Children in Heaven," "The Sexes Here and Hereafter," "In Both Worlds; a Romance," "The Other Life," "Southern Voices," "The Lost Truths of Christianity," "The End of the World," "The New Life," "Helps to Spiritual Growth," and "Mystery of New Orleans." This last work is a novel which attracted general attention and was favorably noticed both in our own country and England. A brochure entitled "The Truth About Homeopathy" was published after his death, which occurred in 1893.

ALCEE FORTIER is a Creole of Louisiana, son of a planter of St. James Parish, who, like most of the planters of Louisiana, was ruined by the Civil War. Thrown upon his own resources at an early age, Mr. Fortier, who had been educated in part at the University of Virginia, became at twenty-three professor of the French Language and Literature in the old University of Louisiana, a position he still fills in its successor, "Tulane." Like all educated Creoles, Prof. Fortier is passionately attached to his mother tongue, and he has devoted much time and effort to the task of fostering in the community a more intimate knowledge of it, and a deeper interest in its literature. As president of "l'Athénée Louisianais" he has done much to encourage the growth of an indigenous literature in the French language, while as a member and president of the Louisiana branch of the American Folk-Lore Society he has made a valuable collection of Louisiana folk-tales in French dialect and English translation. He has also published in French two volumes of historical lectures, "le Chateau de Chambord"

and "les Conquêtes des Normandes;" two of literary lectures, "le Vieux Français et la Litterature du Moyen Age" and "Sept Grande Auteurs du XIXe Siècle;" "Gabriel d'Ennerich," a historical novelette, and "Histoire de la Litterature Française." In English, which Professor Fortier writes with great facility, and with only an occasional idiomatic slip, he has produced the very valuable and interesting work entitled, "Louisiana Studies," to which frequent reference has been made in this chapter.

JOHN R. FICKLEN, who contributes to this history the chapters on "Education in New Orleans" and "The Indians of Louisiana," has been for about eighteen years connected with the chief educational institution of New Orleans, first as professor of English in the High School of the University under the old régime, then as professor of History and Rhetoric in Tulane, and later as professor of History and Political Science, which position he still holds. Professor Ficklen is a Virginian, and an alumnus of the University of that State. After his graduation he taught for a year in the Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge as assistant professor of Ancient Languages, then went abroad for the purpose of studying the modern languages at Paris and Berlin. In collaboration with Miss Grace King, Mr. Ficklen has written a history of Louisiana, which has been adopted as a text-book in the public schools. He is also the author of "The Civil Government of Louisiana," and "Outline History of Greece," published by the Werner Company of Chicago; the article on New Orleans in Johnson's Encyclopedia, and the "Historical Sketch of the Acadians," in Mrs. William P. Johnston's "In Acadia."

PROFESSOR WILLIAM B. SMITH, who occupies the chair of Mathematics in Tulane University, is an important factor in the intellectual life of New Orleans. Professor Smith is a profound scholar, and a student of many things besides mathematics. His published works on the latter topic consist of "Coördinate Geometry," Ginn & Co.; "Introductory Modern Geometry," Macmillan; "Infinitesimal Analysis," (3 Vols.), Vol. I, Macmillan. He has also written much for the daily journals and for various periodicals and reviews on Economics and Biblical criticism. On the first named topic we may note a series of nine articles embodying a "Financial Catechism," contributed to the St. Joseph Daily News; another series of six articles reviewing Gov. Altgeld's Music Hall Address, and published in the Chicago Record; a brochure of fifty pages on "Tariff for Protection," and another of the same length on "Tariff Reform;" a series of seven articles published in the Unitarian Review under the title of "Studies in Paulinism," and three or

four other articles for the same publication, the *New World*, and the *Non-Sectarian*, are all that have yet been made public on Biblical criticism, but the Professor has been for some time engaged on a work which he regards as the most important one to which he has yet put his hand, and one volume of which is now ready for the press, but will be submitted to scholars in Holland before publication. The work will bear some such title as "Structure and Origin of the New Testament," and the first part will consist of two volumes entitled "To Romans: Vol I., *Argumenta Interna*; Vol. II., *Argumenta Externa*."

ROBERT SHARP is a Virginian, a graduate of Randolph Macon College, and of the University of Leipsic. Since the year 1880 he has filled the chair of Greek and English, first in the University of Louisiana, and subsequently in its successor, Tulane University. A "Treatise on the Use of the Infinitive in Herodotus," written in Latin, and published in Leipsic, bears his name as author, and he has contributed numerous articles on various subjects to journals of education and newspapers. "Beowulf," the old English poem which, in collaboration with James A. Harrison, of Washington and Lee University, he edited and furnished with Glossary and Notes, has had a pronounced success, having passed through four editions.

REV. BEVERLY E. WARNER, M. A., D. D., has been a resident of New Orleans only since '93, at which time he assumed the rectorship of Trinity Church. He is a native of Jersey City, New Jersey, and received his scholastic and theological training at Princeton and Trinity Colleges, and Berkeley Divinity School. Before his removal to the South Mr. Warner had lectured extensively for University Extension, and had established a reputation as a writer on economics and on literary subjects. He was also author of a novel, "Troubled Waters; a Problem of To-Day," treating of the "labor" problem. During the winter of 1893, Mr. Warner delivered a course of lectures on the study of history as illustrated in the plays of Shakespeare, which were afterwards collected into book form under the title of "English History in Shakespeare's Plays." These lectures deal with Shakespeare, the historian, wielding, as Heine has said, "not only the dagger of Melpomene, but the still sharper stylus of Clio," and enlightening "truth with song." It is gratifying, though not surprising, to learn that the volume is much used as a text-book, and is now in a second edition. A series of Lenten discourses on the rationalism of the Apostles' Creed was issued in 1897 under the title of "The Facts and the Faith." Mr. Warner has now "on the stocks" three or four books, mainly on Shakespearean subjects. With all his other occupations he finds time to serve as president of a scientific society, and as one of the Tulane Board of Administrators.

JOHN and CHARLES PATTON DIMITRY are the sons of Alexander Dimitry, to whom reference has already been made. They are both natives of Washington, D. C., but are connected with New Orleans by many ties. A portion of their boyhood was spent in that city, and they have both been connected with its press, John, the elder, having been for seven years dramatic and literary critic of the Times. He is the author of a "History and Geography of Louisiana," which was for a long time popular as a text-book in the public schools. A residence of two years at Barranquilla, United States of Colombia, supplied him with materials for a semi-historical novel—"Atahualpa's Curtain"—in which the customs of the people of Colombia are portrayed. He is also the author of a five-act historical drama: "The Queen's Letters." Charles has written several novels, among which "The House in Balfour Street" (1868) has been highly extolled. His latest work, "Louisiana Families," appeared serially in the New Orleans Times-Democrat, 1892-93.

ESPY W. H. WILLIAMS was born and educated in New Orleans, where he has been actively engaged in the insurance business since he was seventeen years of age. From early youth Mr. Williams' favorite reading seems to have been the works of the English dramatists, and his literary predilection is further emphasized by his first original work, "Prince Carlos," a tragedy in blank verse, written when he was twenty-one, and subsequently put on the stage by a local dramatic club. Other dramatic compositions are: "The Atheist," which is included in a volume of poems, "A Dream of Art, and Other Poems," published in 1892; "Eugene Aram," "The Last Witch," "Dante," and "Parrhasius; or Thriftless Ambition." This last has been made the basis of a tragedy, "Parrhasius," which Mr. Robert Mantell purchased and added to his repertory. "Eugene Aram" has also been recast for stage representation.

HENRY RIGHTOR is another native New Orleanian, who has adventured in the Thespian art. He has written two comedies, "The Military Maid" and "The Striped Petticoat," both of which have been produced upon the stage with encouraging results, and two one-act comedies, "Metaphysis" and "A Creole Cigarette," which are meeting with much success. In the last named piece the "Creole," as he lives and moves and has his being in New Orleans, is for the first time accurately portrayed upon the stage. Mr. Rightor is also the author of an extremely clever little volume of pithy sayings in prose and verse, contributed originally to *Harlequin*, in which paper Mr. Rightor conducts a weekly column. The title of the column, "Harlequinade," is repeated as the title of the book.

MR. SCUDDAY RICHARDSON has written, in addition to numerous poems and stories, exhibiting force and originality, a novel, "The Youth and First Love of Philip Reynolds," which has attracted wide attention on account of the sincerity and simplicity of its treatment. Mr. Richardson is a native of New Orleans and has had a varied experience in both the civil and military branches of the government service, as well as in metropolitan journalism.

The Civil War gave occasion for a number of historiettes, monographs, and biographical sketches, among which may be briefly mentioned the "Military Operations of Gen. Beauregard," by Col. Alfred Roman, son of Governor André Bienvenu Roman; and a prominent member of the New Orleans bar; Gen. Beauregard's own "Commentary on the Campaign and Battle of Manassas," and his "Summary of the Art of War;" Napier Bartlett's "A Soldier's Story of the War;" Col. Wm. M. Owen's "In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery;" and Mrs. Sarah A. Dorsey's "Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen."

Mrs. Dorsey was a novelist as well as a writer of biography, and stands credited with the authorship of "Lucia Dare," "Agnes Graham," "Atalie; or a Southern Villeggiatura," and "Panola; a Tale of Louisiana." A native of Natchez, Mississippi, Mrs. Dorsey is connected with New Orleans only by the fact that she resided in that city for a short time toward the close of her life, and died there in 1879. Her name, however, may serve as a passing note wherewith to introduce some account of

THE WOMEN WRITERS OF NEW ORLEANS.

MARY ASHLEY TOWNSEND is undoubtedly the most distinguished name among the pioneers of the feminine corps of the quill. Mrs. Townsend is a native of the Empire State, but has lived almost constantly in New Orleans since her marriage in 1856. Her first literary venture was in prose, "Brother Clerks; a Tale of New Orleans," published in 1859. She is chiefly known, however, by her poetical works, of which there are now three volumes extant, viz.: "Xariffa's Poems," "Down the Bayou and Other Poems," and "Distaff and Spindle." "The Captain's Story," a poem of between six and seven hundred lines, first published separately in 1874, was in 1895 incorporated into the same volume that contains the new edition of "Down the Bayou," a long descriptive poem, full of the warmth, and color and fragrance of a sub-tropical summer morning. It is much the custom to cite "Creed" and "A Woman's Wish" as having laid the foundation of Mrs. Townsend's reputation. While it may well be that these two beautiful and womanly poems were the first to attract attention, those who have restricted their acquaintance with

Mrs. Townsend's work to them have but a very imperfect idea of the scope of her genius. Even among her earlier poems there are a number which, tried by the severer standards of literary excellence, are superior to them, but in the sixty-nine sonnets that form the contents of her latest volume, "Distaff and Spindle," we have the ripened, full-flavored fruit of which those others were but buds of promise. These sonnets, so strongly wrought, so nobly keyed, so steeped in love and prayer and praise, ought to set Mrs. Townsend's name among the foremost singers of the country.

M. E. M. DAVIS is a writer whose fame is steadily increasing. Mrs. Davis is the daughter of Dr. John Moore, and was born at Talladega, Ala., but her childhood and early youth were passed in Texas, where her father was engaged in the occupation of a planter. Mrs. Davis began to rhyme while still in short skirts, and her first book of poems, "Minding the Gap, and Other Poems," was published before she was out of her teens. In 1874 Miss (Mary Evelyn) Moore was married to Major Thomas E. Davis, associate editor of the *Houston Post*. Shortly afterward the *Post* changed hands, and Major Davis and his wife removed to New Orleans, where he became engaged on the staff of the *Picayune*. Mrs. Davis now began to write prose as well as verse, her first attempts in this new line being a series of local sketches published in the *Sunday Picayune*, under the catching title of the "Keren-happoch Papers." As her touch became surer, and the Northern public began to show an interest in pictures of Southern life painted by those best fitted to describe it, she found herself writing for the wider circle of readers opened up to her by the Harper periodicals, and since 1885-86 her name has graced the pages of all the leading magazines. "In War Times at La Rose Blanche" is a volume of sketches in which are set forth the author's recollections of the bitter strife between the States, and probably Mrs. Davis will never write anything that will strike so deep a chord of sympathy in the hearts of her readers. It has that poignant charm, half pain, half pleasure, which invests the experiences of childhood when seen through the softening vista of intervening years. In "An Elephant's Track, and Other Stories," and in her two novels, "Under the Man-Fig" and "The Wire Cutters," Mrs. Davis has utilized her knowledge of West Texas life. "A Masque of St. Roche, and Other Poems," contains, besides the poetic pageant, "Père Dagobert" and "Throwing the Wanga," two of her most unique and widely known poems. Mrs. Davis' verse is always musical, and covers a wide range of thought, feeling and fancy. A new novel just from the press bears the attractive title of "The Queen's Garden." The scene is laid in New Orleans, with whose topography and social life the author is thoroughly familiar.

GRACE ELIZABETH KING is a writer whose talent New Orleans may claim as purely indigenous. Not only is she a native of the city, but it is there that she received her education and has so far passed her life. During her school-days and earlier years her residence was in that region of the city known as the "Creole Quarter," and the intimate knowledge of Creole life and character shown in her short stories and novels is inwrought among the indelible impressions of childhood. Even the Creoles do not dispute the accuracy of her presentation, and one young lady of that race has been heard to declare that the pictures of convent school-life are perfect, and to admit having "rolled on the floor" in spasms of laughter over the story of the girl who "lost her sins." Unsolicited testimony of this sort from one to the "manner born" is worth more than columns of formal criticism from persons who know nothing of the matter. For the last few years Miss King has been devoting herself to historical writing. In addition to the school "History of Louisiana," of which she is joint-author with Prof. Ficklen, she has written a "Life of Bienville," "New Orleans, the Place and the People," and "De Soto and His Men in the Land of Florida." Her works of fiction are: "Bon Maman," "Monsieur Motte," "Earthlings," "Tales of Time and Place," and "Balcony Stories."

RUTH McENERY STUART has obtained wide and rapid success as a writer of dialect stories. Mrs. Stuart's life on plantations, first as a child in Avoyelles Parish, where she was born, and later in Arkansas, where her married life was spent, gave her opportunities for studying the negro under circumstances in which his native characteristics have been least modified by contact with white influence. Her Africans are the genuine "darkies" of the sugar belt and the cotton regions, and are noticeably different from those of Mr. Page and Joel Chandler Harris. Mrs. Stuart did not begin to write until after the death of her husband, when she took up her residence in New Orleans with her mother and sisters. In 1892 she removed to New York in order to be nearer the "market," and also for the purpose of availing herself of better educational advantages for her only son. She supplied Mrs. Margaret Sangster's place as editor of Harper's Bazaar during that lady's absence in Europe, and has done much of her best work for the Harper publications. Her collected stories are comprised in five volumes: "A Golden Wedding, and Other Tales," "Carlotta's Intended, and Other Stories," "The Story of Babette," "Solomon Crow's Christmas Pockets and Others," and "In Simpkintown."

CECELIA VIETS JAMISON (née Dakin) is a native of Yarmouth, Can-

ada. She was married to Samuel Jamison, of New Orleans, in 1879, since which time she has resided in the Crescent City. Her novel, "The Enthusiast," was the first to attract general attention. "Lady Jane," "Toinette's Philip," and "Seraph, the Little Violinist," are tales of child life in New Orleans, which were first published serially in the *St. Nicholas Magazine*. Her other works are: "Woven of Many Threads," "Crown From the Spear," "Ropes of Sand," and "Lilly of San Miniato." She has also contributed many short stories to *Harper's* and other magazines.

JULIE K. WETHERILL BAKER is known in literary circles, north and south, as an essayist, critic, and poet of much ability. Mrs. Baker was born in Woodville, Miss., but educated in Philadelphia, her father's native city. Her literary tendency manifested itself very early, and even as a school-girl she was in the habit of writing romances and tales, which were often accepted by the papers to which they were sent. As her years increased poetry became her favorite form of expression, though she still wrote occasional stories and sketches. In 1885 she became the wife of Mr. M. A. Baker, literary editor of the *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, and since that time her pen has been chiefly occupied with critical and literary work for that journal. In addition to the fine natural taste and the sensitiveness to literary effect so essential to the critic, Mrs. Baker possesses the wide acquaintance with the best literatures, ancient and modern, which alone can furnish a proper standard of judgment. Her criticism is not, therefore, a mere expression of personal preference, but a reasoned opinion, based upon an understanding of the principles that underlie every composition which can justly lay claim to the title of literature. Her prose and her poetry express opposite sides of a richly gifted and finely balanced nature. While the latter, full of melody, fancy and exquisite imagery, breathes almost always a pensive strain, the former, direct and explicit, almost to severity, is often penetrated with a vein of subtle humor or of quiet irony that sends little thrills of merriment along the nerves and keeps a smile upon the lips. It is a subject of regret among Mrs. Baker's friends that she has never thought it worth while to collect either her poems or a selection from her essays into book form.

ELIZA J. NICHOLSON (née Poitevent) made her debut before the New Orleans reading public under the nom-de-plume of "Pearl Rivers." Her first efforts in metrical composition appeared in the *New Orleans Picayune*, whose editor, Mr. Holbrook, she subsequently married. After Mr. Holbrook's death she married in second nuptials Mr. George Nicholson, business manager of the *Picayune*, in con-

junction with whom she conducted the paper until her death in 1897. Mrs. Nicholson wrote a good deal of verse, but, except for one volume—"Lyrics"—published in 1873, none of it has ever been collected. Her longest and best known poem, "Hagar," appeared in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, November, 1893.

MARTHA R. FIELD, (née Smallwood) was for many years connected with the *New Orleans Picayune* as creator and conductor of the Woman's Department. She wrote on many topics, and in a bright and pleasing style that attracted many readers. Mrs. Field made several trips to Europe, and her lively descriptions of what she saw and how she saw it added much to the interest of the *Picayune's* Sunday issue. A few years before her death, which occurred in the fall of 1898, Mrs. Field became connected with the *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, for which journal her last work was done. A selection from her voluminous writings, edited by Mrs. M. E. M. Davis, has been published under the title of "Catherine Cole's Book."

(Mrs.) A. G. Durno has been for years connected with the *Times-Democrat*, conducting with ability and characteristic modesty an anonymous weekly column of book reviews for that journal. Mrs. Durno is distinguished alike for the power of her intellect and the purity and delicacy of her imaginative faculty. She has written verses of singular sweetness and melody, while her prose is clear, strong and picturesque. Some of Mrs. Durno's best work has been in the shape of literary editorials, written for the regular Sunday columns of the *Times-Democrat*, during the absence or illness of Julia K. Wetherill (Mrs. Marion A. Baker). Much of Mrs. Durno's writing has been under the name of "Felix Gray." Mrs. Durno is a native of Ohio, but came to New Orleans when young.—Ed.

ART.

The history of art in New Orleans is neither long nor complicated. Indeed, the historian who sets out to inquire into the art conditions of the earlier years of the city will find growing up in his mind a dire suspicion that his intended chapter will furnish a parallel to the famous chapter on snakes in Ireland. The contention of some writers that the supremacy of the ancient Greeks in the liberal arts was due to the leisure afforded the upper classes by the institution of slavery is hardly sustained by the record of art in the South. While it is true that our country as a whole has been very backward in developing anything worthy of the name of native art, it cannot be denied that the South has lagged far behind even the snail-like progress of the North. In the case of New Orleans this appears all the more singular when it is reflected that the ties of race which affiliated so large and

influential a class of her population with France brought about a closer intercourse between her citizens and Paris, the great modern center of art, than obtained in any other section of the Union. As has been noted in the case of Dr. Mercier, the Rouquette brothers and Charles Gayarré, it was quite the custom among wealthy Creoles to send their sons to France to be educated, or for the young men to betake themselves thither of their own volition, yet the atmosphere of Paris and the contemplation of the masterpieces that line the walls of the great galleries of the Louvre, the Luxembourg and Versailles, do not seem to have awakened in any of these youths an ambition to become the pioneer of art in their own State.

The chronicles of the colonial period yield the names of three legendary artists, all Spanish, who are said to have sojourned in New Orleans an indefinite period of time something like a hundred and thirty years ago. The first of these bore the name of Salazar, and in 1769, it is said, painted the portraits of Mr. Charles Trudeau, surveyor of Louisiana, and of Madam Trudeau, his wife. Another, whose name was Romegar, is said to have done some "landscape work," for which he was awarded a bronze medal in Paris. After these came one whose name has not been preserved, but who painted several portraits, notably a "very fine" one of a Mr. Regio, but finding that he could not compete with Salazar, returned to his native land. This closes the record for the eighteenth century, and the next artistic incident of sufficient importance to deserve mention brings us down into the third decade of the nineteenth. It is of another nameless Spaniard, who had "been traveling in Mexico," and who had painted a large landscape, 8x6 feet, "representing the scene of a famous murder," for which the St. Louis Exchange presented him with a bronze medal. After this date the names multiply rapidly. There were Lanseau, Vaude Champ, Leon Pomarede, who painted the three large altar pieces still to be seen in St. Patrick's Church; Julian Hudson, a very light colored man who painted portraits which were much esteemed; Catlin, the Indian painter, who remained but a short time; and A. G. Powers, who came about 1848-9, and resided here many years, painting portraits of a number of the most distinguished citizens. A full length portrait of General Taylor, which he made in 1848 at Baton Rouge, hangs at present in the mayor's parlor at the City Hall. Powers had his studio at No. 102 Canal street.

Bernard was a portrait painter of much talent who came to New Orleans about 1850 and did some very good work. His style was similar to that of Julien and of Healy, the latter of whom also made a short sojourn on the banks of the Mississippi.

Mr. George D. Coulon is an old resident of New Orleans, where he has won considerable reputation, both as a landscape and portrait painter and teacher.

Theodore S. Moise was a South Carolinian who painted many portraits in New Orleans and its environs in ante-bellum days. Among the specimens of his work which are accessible to the public are an equestrian portrait of General Jackson, which hangs in the City Hall; a portrait of Governor P. I. Herbert, which is in the State Library, and a piece known as "Life on Metarie," which contains likenesses of forty-four prominent turf men.

Cicéri was a French artist of established reputation in his own country, whose government had intrusted him with a commission to Egypt in the interest of art. He came to New Orleans by invitation of the Opera House Association about 1859-60, to decorate the interior of the opera house, then in process of building. Cicéri made friends in his new home, and remained there to practice his art. He painted many small pastels and guaches, which are highly prized by their owners, and had also much success as a teacher.

Julio, a native of St. Helena, who came to New Orleans shortly after the war, was a painter of some pretensions. He painted the famous "Last Meeting of Generals Lee and Jackson," which has been so widely circulated by means of engravings and photographs, and of which the original hangs in Washington Artillery Hall. His best works are "An Ox-team," and "A Cypress Swamp." His crayons and charcoal sketches are considered better than his work in colors. Julio died some years ago.

Richard Clague was another Frenchman of recognized ability in his own country who made his home in New Orleans. Clague was a landscape painter, and made a specialty of Louisiana landscapes, of which he painted a great number. He died in 1873, since which event his pictures have more than doubled in value.

Paul Poincy is a native of New Orleans, who received his art education in Paris at the Beaux Arts and in the studios of Gleyre and Leon Cogniet. Mr. Poincy is chiefly a painter of portraits and of children, though he has produced some landscapes and street scenes which are highly esteemed. Among his best work in portraiture is a speaking likeness of the late beloved Archbishop Perché. In the City Hall hangs an enormous canvas whereon is depicted a parade of the old volunteer Fire Department passing on Canal street, which is the joint work of Mr. Poincy and Mr. Moise. This piece contains sixty-four portraits of prominent members of the old Fire Department, and possesses a certain historic interest as a memento of departed glories. Mr. Poincy has also painted a number of pictures

on sacred subjects, and it is perhaps toward this branch of art that his natural bent, would he follow it with profit, would most incline him. A well-known local connoisseur says of him: "Poincy ought to have lived in the days of Raphael, when art was consecrated to the church. His genius is not appreciated in these modern times." His representations of sacred scenes are distributed among various religious institutions of the city, and Marshall J. Smith is the owner of an unfinished sketch of Christ on the way to Calvary which is spoken of as a conception of striking originality and power.

Andres Molinary is a native of Gibraltar, a British subject, therefore, though of Italian ancestry, and speaking Spanish as his mother tongue. He was educated at the Fine Art Academy of Seville, and at Lucca's Academy in Rome under such masters as Valles and Alvarey. After quitting the school he traveled extensively in Europe and in Africa with the famous artists Fortuny and Reynold. Mr. Molinary has resided for many years in New Orleans, where his reputation, both as a painter and teacher, has steadily increased. As a portrait painter he has no superior, perhaps no equal, in the South, and his fame is rapidly spreading to other cities. In the room of the Louisiana Supreme Court hang portraits of Judges Rost, Buchanan, Marr, Merrick and Poché, and in the Charity Hospital those of Drs. Miles and Picard, all examples of Mr. Molinary's work, and in the gallery of the Newcomb Art Building, loaned by the owner, Mr. P. M. Westfeldt, may be seen a most life-like presentation of Achille Perelli, the sculptor, who died in 1896.

Achille Peretti, a native of Piedemonte, Italy, and a member of the third generation of a family of artists, came to New Orleans in 1885. Mr. Peretti is a pupil of the Milan Reale Academia di Belle Arte, and a winner of diplomas and medals, both at the academy and at Rome. Since his advent in New Orleans he has decorated several churches, notably the interior of the Church of St. John the Baptist and that of St. Stephen, where he reproduced as a center piece the Stephen of Raphael in Genoa. Some eight or nine years ago Mr. Peretti was engaged to decorate the Church of St. Columbkil in Chicago, a work which elicited the highest encomiums from the press of that city. Mr. Peretti is a painter of landscapes, as well as of the human figure, and is besides an expert wood-carver.

About fourteen years ago, that is, in 1886, the little band of professional artists in New Orleans was reinforced by the arrival of Mr. B. A. Wikstrom, a native of Norway, and a pupil of the finest art schools of Europe. As seems quite natural in one of his nationality, Mr. Wikstrom's chosen *métier* is that of the marine painter. For years he followed the sea in order to study it in all its moods and

phases, and his painted images of ships racing before a spanking breeze or ploughing heavily across the tossing heights and hollows of mid-ocean have for the beholder much of the exhilaration and solemn fascination of the sea itself. Mr. Wikstrom, however, does not confine himself altogether to marine painting, and his landscapes and interiors form no mean second to his sea pieces. An industrious worker during his season of production, Mr. Wikstrom keeps himself fresh and au courant with the great world of art by a yearly pilgrimage to Europe, whence he returns with renewed inspiration.

The first symptom of the awakening of anything like a general interest in art matters among the people of New Orleans was shown in the organization of "The Southern Art Union" in 1883. The Union owed its existence to Molinary, who, with the assistance of Edward Livingston and Marshall J. Smith, undertook to induct such of the members as felt an impulse toward artistic expression into the mysteries of line and color. The organization began life under flattering auspices. The membership increased rapidly, reaching at one time the very respectable figure of five hundred, and the financial basis seemed all that could be desired. A collection of paintings from the North was secured for exhibition in its gallery, at first with the charge of a small admission fee, and afterward free, which resulted in the sale of a number of the pictures. But the road to success in art is no less difficult than that of any other of the more elevated lines of human endeavor, and presently sundry of the neophytes began to long for something at once easier of accomplishment and more showy in effect than the results of their efforts with brush and pencil. To satisfy these cravings, various forms of decorative work were introduced, at which the artist instructors complacently winked, but when it was proposed to add "art embroidery" to the course of instruction, they packed up their brushes and colors, shouldered their easels, and incontinently abandoned the field to the false gods preferred by so many to the severe divinity of "high art." The Union lingered on through some months of slow degeneration and disintegration, but finally gave up the ghost in 1886. "Too many cooks" was the verdict of the jury of experts who informally "sat upon" the remains.

The same year saw the inception of another art society which, although it can hardly be said to have sprung, Phœnix-like, from the ashes of the defunct Union, certainly included some of its former members. The new organization, styled "The Artists' Association of New Orleans," was the happy thought of Mr. B. A. Wikstrom, then but newly arrived from lands where art has long flourished, and was accepted with enthusiasm by his brethren of the brush. The fraternity had but

little spare cash, but they made up in abundant good will for the deficiencies of their exchequer. Every man was ready to put his hand to the work, and fingers that were accustomed to the delicate manipulation of palette colors now grasped the coarse brushes of the kalsominer and the house painter, and flourished other implements equally alien, but serviceable in the task of fitting up a home for their club. In order to increase their influence in the community, as well as to create a fund for the furtherance of art purposes, it was decided to form classes in the various branches of painting, the artist members giving their services as teachers free of other charge than the initiation fee and annual dues. The corps of instructors included B. A. Wikstrom, water colors and out-door sketching; Paul Poincy, cartoon and perspective; Andres Molinary, oils; A. Perelli (sculptor), modelling. For a time the classes were full and the signs seemed bright with promise, but again the interest of the students died out, the classes dwindled, and finally, after three years of unremunerated labor, it was decided to discontinue them and to maintain the Association purely for the cultivation of good fellowship among the members, its relations with the public being confined to exhibits of original work and of such collections from other places as can be secured. In 1899 the directors of the Fisk Free and Public Library placed at the service of the Association a room adjoining the large reading room as a sort of gallery for the permanent exhibition of paintings.

The Association has held fourteen exhibitions, the last one in December, 1899, to which twenty-two artists contributed. Of these, sixteen are residents of New Orleans, professional and amateur. Prominent among the non-resident artists represented by their work were Dodge McKnight, of Mystic, Conn., who has once before exhibited in New Orleans, and George H. Clements, a native of Louisiana and an artist of European reputation, now located at Flushing, L. I. The other non-residents are Walter Burridge and F. L. Linden, of Chicago, Ill., Miss L. L. Heustis, of New York, and Robert Koehler, of Minneapolis, Minn. Mr. Robert B. Mayfield, a local artist who was represented by a dozen canvases, has studied in Paris, where he spent three years in the ateliers of the best masters. He paints both figures and landscapes, though his time is chiefly given to illustrative work. Mr. Mayfield is the regular artist of the Times-Democrat. Among the amateur members of the Association who have achieved a very creditable degree of skill may be mentioned its president, Mr. P. M. Westfeldt, its vice-president, Mr. Frank Cox, and Mr. A. J. Drysdale. The Association numbers among its members several ladies, who are also among its most zealous workers. Mrs. Gertrude Roberts Smith and Miss Mary G. Sheerer are artists by profession, and are actively engaged as

teachers in the Art Department of Newcomb College. Miss M. M. Seebold, although she modestly styles herself "amateur," is enlisted heart and soul in painting, to which she devotes all her time. She is a pupil of Molinary, and was one of the first women in whose behalf the rigidly exclusive rules originally adopted against the admission of ladies to the Association were relaxed. Miss Seebold is distinctively a flower painter, although she often diverges into other lines. Her canvases meet with warm appreciation and bring good prices.

Miss Jenny Wilde is known as the Carnival Artist from the fact that her time and talent are chiefly devoted to the work of designing the floats and tableaux of one of the most prominent carnival organizations. Miss Wilde is a granddaughter of Richard Henry Wilde, the Irish-American poet, who had made his home in New Orleans a short time before his death.

Marshall J. Smith, who has been already mentioned as one of the original promoters of the Art Union, studied painting first in New Orleans under Clague, and afterward in Europe, where he spent two years, working in various studios in Rome and Munich, traveling and visiting the most noted galleries. On his return to his own country he opened a studio, and for a time devoted himself exclusively to art. Subsequently he became engaged in the insurance business, and painting has since occupied a secondary position in his active life, if not in his affections.

W. H. Buck, a Norwegian by birth, was also a pupil of Clague and painted much in the style of his master. He went to Boston and studied for a time, with the effect of producing some variation in his manner. Buck was little more than an amateur, although his pictures found purchasers. He was a cotton-weigher by occupation.

There remains to be spoken of the work of Professors William and Ellsworth Woodward, a work which, without question, is destined to prove the most potent factor in the development of the art spirit in New Orleans, and the creation of an art center whose influence shall be felt throughout the South.

The work was begun in 1884-85, and seems to have received its first impulse from the bringing together of a vast number of paintings, drawings, sculptures, etc., by the Cotton Centennial Exposition of that year. The impulse led to the organization of drawing classes in Tulane College and High School, which held a session each afternoon in the gallery of the Government and States building. The following year free drawing classes were established in connection with Tulane, free to all, and attended by hundreds of men and women, overjoyed to avail themselves of such an opportunity. The classes were under the supervision of Professor William

Woodward, and were continued until the removal of the University to its new building, opposite Audubon Park. From the decorative art classes, composed of women, grew up an Art League which for several years conducted a "supply store" and "art pottery," a cabinet-maker's shop, reading and exhibition rooms, etc. In this work Professor Woodward was aided by his brother, Ellsworth, who had been secured as an assistant after the experiences of the first year had demonstrated that the newly opened field promised to yield a rich harvest. When, in 1887, President Johnston, of Tulane, was engaged in the organization of the H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, the art department of the new institution was confided to the care of the Woodward brothers, who continued to work together, both there and in the free drawing classes, until the enlargement and removal of the Memorial College to its present location compelled a division of labor. Professor Ellsworth then assumed entire charge of the Newcomb art classes, having as assistant Miss Gertrude Roberts, of Boston, while William remained with Tulane, where he now occupies the position of Professor of Drawing and Architecture in the College of Technology and the University Department.

At Newcomb, Professor Ellsworth Woodward has inaugurated and is carrying forward with ever growing success, a great work, for which ample facilities are afforded by the large and handsome building designed expressly for art purposes. The work falls under three heads: The academic and collegiate art studies, which enter into the general plan of a liberal education, and in which the object is educational, rather than technical; the Normal Art classes, for which the studies are graded and planned to extend through a period of four years, finally fitting the student to teach art as a profession; and the studio classes, which are conducted on a plan similar to those of the other art schools of the country. A noteworthy development in this department is its pottery, which originated a few years since, and has already become an art industry of richest promise. In this department Professor Woodward is using every means to make the work in every sense native to the locality. Only Southern clays are used, and experiments are constantly being carried on with new specimens brought to the attention of the director. The students are encouraged to select their models from objects about them, and the result is that many humble flowers, weeds, insects and members of the great family of crustacea have been pressed into the service of beauty. Specimens of the Newcomb pottery have found their way to Northern cities, where they have elicited much admiration, both for originality of design and beauty of coloring and finish.

The Woodwards are natives of Massachusetts, where their early life was spent.

They are both graduates of the Rhode Island School of Design. William, after his graduation, spent a summer in Julien's art school at Paris. He paints landscapes and portraits, both in oils and water-colors, and has recently exhibited a number of exquisite fruit pieces. Mr. Woodward is an ex-president of the Artists' Association, president of the Louisiana Art Teachers' Association, and vice-president of the Louisiana Chautauqua, Ruston, 1898-9.

Ellsworth's studies at the School of Design were supplemented by a term of study in New York and another in Munich, where he was under the instruction of Professor Carl Marr. He is a rapid worker and a master of technique, and his annual vacation is a season of fruitful production, whose results are displayed to the public in the studio at the college.

The following extract from a letter from the artist, George H. Clements, to Professor William Woodward, may be taken as an unsolicited expert opinion of the brothers and their work: "As the first days of surprises and contrasts have passed, I am able to recall the delightful impressions of my recent vacation in Louisiana. Among them stands distinctly my visits to you and your brother in your cozy workshops, where I was greatly pleased to see such work as one finds in the most advanced centers of art. I think Tulane and Sophie Newcomb so handsomely equipped in their art departments that their gifted pupils will have nothing to unlearn in the future, which is a rare advantage to be found in any but a few well-known cities. I was so sincerely pleased with your water-colors, in particular, that I wish you might exhibit with us in the Fifty-seventh street gallery. The New York Water-Color Club is an association of the most talented specialists in the country. It seems to me their exhibitions are equal to the best in Paris, and equal to any other I have seen abroad, therefore you will be in excellent company."

With Newcomb and Tulane to spread abroad in the community a practical knowledge of the principles of art, and to furnish a yearly recruited band of finished artists, and the Art Association to foster the art sentiment and to supply inspiration and incentive by placing before the public examples of the best work of the world, it seems permitted to hope that the next casting up of accounts in matters of art may show a large balance on the credit side of the ledger.

CHAPTER XVI.

FLORA OF LOUISIANA.

BY REGINALD S. COCKS

THE geographical position of Louisiana is such that its flora could hardly fail to be of extreme interest. Traversed through a large portion of its territory by the Mississippi River, it is on the border land of two very distinct floras, "the eastern and western," of which this river forms a very natural division line. From its position again at the mouth of the Mississippi we find that the seeds of many plants which usually live in more northern States are washed down and deposited on its banks, while on the other hand, the winds and currents of the Gulf wash to its shores many plants belonging rather to more southern climates. When, furthermore, we take into consideration the fact that its climate combines in a remarkable degree the two factors of humidity and warmth, which more than anything else are conducive to a luxuriant vegetation, we can hardly be surprised to find its flora exceedingly large and varied.

The surface and soil of Louisiana can be divided into four distinct divisions, each characterized by its own flora. Firstly, there are the cypress swamps, which comprise a great many square miles of Louisiana's territory. The flora of this region is characterized, of course, by the presence of the cypress *Taxodium distichum* L.; and it is worth noticing that in these cypress swamps there is usually little or no undergrowth of any kind, the ground being often absolutely bare for many miles. Secondly, there are the pine barrens, where, though of course pines are the predominating feature, there is an abundant undergrowth and profusion of wild flowers. In fact, it is in this region that the botanist finds his choicest specimens. Thirdly, there are the large open lowland prairies, whose vegetation consists mainly of rank grasses and sedges, though not unfrequently interspersed with flowers of the brightest hue, such as *Aselepi paupercula* and several varieties of the *Hibiscus* family. Fourthly, there are what is called the hummock lands, covered by a variety of timber trees, as oaks, magnolias, sweet gums, etc., and with a luxuriant undergrowth of creepers, shrubs and flowers of many kinds.

Probably the earliest investigator of the flora of Louisiana was the historian Le Page du Pratz. Over one hundred years ago he made a report upon it to the French government and sent home for their inspection three hundred species of plants supposed to be of medicinal value. Speaking of the flora, he wrote that "the flowers are so varied and so beautiful that the perplexed collector cannot make up his mind which to take and which to leave behind." He was much interested in the so-called Spanish moss, *Tillandsia usneoides*, which forms such a feature of the Louisiana forests. Not imagining it to be a plant, he calls it "an excrescence," and attributes its early name, *Barbe Espagnole*, to the likeness which the Indians detected in it to the beards of the Spaniards. The first book devoted entirely to the botany of the State was a "*Flora Ludoviciana*," published in the year 1803 by a French gentleman, C. C. Robin. To him belongs the honor of having been the first to describe very many of the native plants of the State. A few years later this book was enlarged and in many ways improved by Mr. Rafinesque. From time to time after this we find various scattered notices of the flora of Louisiana, but it was not until about the year 1850 that a serious attempt was made to explore the botanical resources of the State. In the year 1851 there was published in *The New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* a catalogue of all the flowering plants known at that time in the State. This catalogue represented the joint labors for twenty years of Professor Riddell, of New Orleans, Professor Carpenter, also of New Orleans, and Dr. Hale, of Alexandria. It enumerated about sixteen hundred species of flowering plants, but omitted the large and important families of the grasses and sedges. In the troubled times that followed in the succeeding two decades, not only was the study of the flora of the State absolutely neglected, but also the large collections which represented the labors of these three gentlemen were in a great measure ruined or lost, so that the work of exploration had almost to be begun anew. The most prominent workers in the State since that date have been Professor Featherman, a professor at the Louisiana State University, who about the year 1871 sent to the Smithsonian Institution a report upon the botany of the State, which, however, was never published; Dr. Joor, lately of Tulane University, who died in the year 1892; and the Rev. Father A. B. Langlois, now of St. Martinville, La. To the latter gentleman more perhaps than to all the others we owe our present knowledge of the flora of the State. Gifted with the power of the closest observation, this indefatigable worker has devoted all his leisure time for many years to the study of the botany of the State, with a success that has fallen to the lot of few. His name will be always indissolubly associated with the study of botany

in Louisiana. He published, in the year 1886, a provisional catalogue, not only of the flowering plants, grasses and sedges of the State, but also of the flowerless plants, including the ferns, mosses, fungi, etc.

As a result of the labors of these gentlemen, and perhaps of some few others, there are at present known to exist in the State about twenty-two hundred different species of phanerogamic plants growing without cultivation, and no doubt this number will be increased when the whole State shall have been thoroughly explored.

No part of the flora of any region is of more general interest than its trees, of which there are in Louisiana about one hundred and thirty different kinds. Foremost of these, both in its economic importance and in the number of individuals, is the Long-leaved Pine, *Pinus palustris* Miller, known also in Louisiana under the names Southern Pine, Yellow Pine, Hard Pine, Heart Pine, and elsewhere by a variety of other names. Some idea of the importance of this tree to the State of Louisiana may be gathered from the fact that during the year 1892 it was estimated that 275,000,000 feet were sawn up in the different mills throughout the State. Besides the Yellow Pine, there are three other pines found in more or less abundance in different parts of the State. These are the Loblolly Pine, *Pinus tæda* L.; the Short-leaved Pine, *Pinus echinata* Miller; and the Cuban Pine, *Pinus heterophylla* Ell.

Of hardly less importance than the pine is the Cypress, *Taxodium distichum* L., which forms such a feature of the Louisiana swamps. The curious so-called Cypress knees have long been, and still are, an interesting puzzle to botanists.

The Oak family is well represented throughout the State by fifteen different species, prominent among which might be mentioned the Live Oak, Water Oak, Red Oak, Spanish Oak, Post Oak, Chestnut Oak, etc. The Live Oaks, especially in the vicinity of New Orleans, have long been famous for their size and beauty.

The Magnolia is represented by five different species, and the Hickory by seven, including the well-known Pecan. Of the Sour Gum or Nyssa, known also by the name Tupelo, three kinds occur in abundance in the swampy regions. Without attempting to give a catalogue of the trees of the State, it is hardly possible to omit the names of the Liriodendron, or Tulip tree, the Beech, the Elm, represented by five different species; the Ash by four, the Hackberry by two, the Maple by four, and the Chestnut by two, while the Sycamore, Sweet Gum, Walnut, Red Bay, Linden and Mulberry are all more or less plentiful. Several trees, though not native, have become so completely naturalized as to deserve mention. Amongst these are the

Fig tree, the Crape Myrtle, the Paper Mulberry, the Umbrella tree, *Melia azederach* L., and perhaps even to a certain extent, the Orange tree.

Of equal value to the trees of any region are the grasses and forage plants occurring in it, and of these Louisiana has a bountiful share. There are known to the writer something over two hundred different kinds of grasses, with habits so various that the season is indeed short when some species is not available for pasture. How large a number of species of grasses two hundred means may be better understood when it is stated that in Great Britain, which has been explored botanically in a way Louisiana will not be for many years to come, there are only one hundred and twenty. Amongst grasses particularly characteristic of Louisiana may be mentioned the Wild Rice, the magnificent Giant Millet, *Chaetochloa magna*, which frequently attains a height of seven or eight feet, and the various species of "plume grass," *Erianthus*.

Hardly second in importance numerically to the grasses are the sedges and rushes, of which there are about one hundred and seventy kinds occurring in the State. Though of little use economically, in which respect they differ greatly from their near relatives, the grasses, they form such a feature of the lowlands of Louisiana that even the most casual observer could hardly fail to be struck by their abundance and variety. *Cladium effusum*, or Saw grass, the giant of the family, frequently attains a height of eight or nine feet, and its dark chestnut brown spikes are very conspicuous in the prairie swamps around New Orleans.

Outside of the grass family the order next in importance from an economic standpoint is perhaps the Leguminosæ, or Bean family; for to this family belong the majority of plants, exclusive of grasses, useful for forage purposes. This family is well represented in Louisiana by about one hundred and twenty species. Of these, the most important is, perhaps, the well-known *Lespedeza striata*, or Japan Clover, which, though not a native of the State, has become so extensively naturalized that it shares with the Bermuda grass and Crab grass the honor of being the most valuable pasture food in this region. Though composed principally of herbs, there are some few trees belonging to this order found in the State, among them the Red Bud or Judas tree, *Cercis canadensis*; the False Acacia or Robinia; and a very handsome tree naturalized from Mexico, *Parkinsonia aculeata*, now thoroughly at home in certain parts of the State.

The largest order of plants in Louisiana is the Compositæ, or Thistle family, of which there are over three hundred different species. Though very few plants of this large order are of much economic importance, it contains so many showy

flowers, especially those which bloom in the autumn, that it deserves more than passing mention. The Goldenrods, of which we have in Louisiana about twenty-nine different kinds, and the Asters, about the same number, are the two largest representatives of this family. To this same family also belongs what, in the writer's opinion, is the handsomest wild flower in the State, *Stokesia cyanea*, which, though very common in the pine barrens, and of a magnificent purplish blue, a rare color, has not so far been honored with a popular name, and is by no means so well known as it deserves.

Of edible berries and wild fruits, Louisiana has a fair share. It is sufficient, perhaps, to mention here the Muscadine grape, the Blackberry, the Huckleberry, the Pawpaw, two or three kinds of Plum, the Persimmon, Hickory and Pecan nuts; while on the other hand the poisonous plants are few in number, two only, perhaps, being deserving of special notice—the Poison Sumac and the Poison Oak.

With brilliant flowering trees and shrubs the State is abundantly supplied, as anyone can testify who, at the end of February or beginning of March, has seen the woods a blaze of color with the bright yellow *Jesamine*, *Gelsemium semper-virens*, the snow-white *Dogwoods*, *Cornus floridana*, and the quaint *Daddy Graybeard* or *Fringe tree*, *Chionanthes virginica*. While, as should be expected from the large amount of standing water throughout the State, there is a very great abundance of *Water Lilies* and other water-loving plants.

In conclusion, it might be said that, though perhaps the flora of Louisiana lacks the tropical beauty of that of Florida, or the stupendous grandeur of the forests of California, yet in the diversity and variety of its plant life it is second probably to no State in the Union.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BENCH AND BAR OF NEW ORLEANS.

BY B. R. FORMAN, JR.

IN THE following sketch of the bench and bar of New Orleans, but a brief mention has been made, on account of the limit of space, of some of the distinguished figures. For the same reason many who would be entitled to an extended notice in a complete work upon the subject have necessarily been omitted.

For the preparation of the biographical sketch of Judge Martin, acknowledgment is made to the admirable life of Judge Martin by Judge W. W. Howe, prefaced to Gresham's edition of Martin's history. For the preparation of the other sketches numerous authorities have been consulted; Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography for some; the eulogies in the Louisiana Annuals for others, and other authorities.

The quotations from Charles Gayarré relative to many of the subjects of these sketches are taken from an article of that author entitled "New Orleans Bench and Bar in 1823," published in Harper's Magazine in 1888.

For much of the information contained in the introductory sketch acknowledgment is made to an article in the New Orleans Book of 1851, by Mr. Henry J. Leovy, of the New Orleans bar, entitled "Louisiana and Her Laws."

In the early days it was a question whether the laws of Louisiana were the laws of France or of Spain. Until 1769, when Don O'Reilly took possession of the colony in the name of Spain, the laws of Louisiana were the laws of France. The Fifteenth Article of the charter of the Mississippi Company provided that the "Judges established in the aforesaid places shall be held to judge according to the laws and ordinances of the Kingdom (of France); and to conform themselves to the Provosty and Viscounty of Paris." Crozat's charter contained the same provision. When O'Reilly took possession, however, he issued a proclamation establishing the laws of Spain and giving a synopsis of them in the proclamation itself, because the "limited knowledge which the King's new subjects possess of the Spanish laws might render a strict observance of them difficult." The question that arose after the

cession to the United States was whether the proclamation of O'Reilly had repealed the laws of France. Jefferson seems to have held one opinion and Judge Martin another. As both systems of law took their origin from the same source practically, the difference was not great.

It was not until 1828 that the Legislature of Louisiana abolished the Roman, French and Spanish laws previously in existence. As late as 1819 the Legislature had ordered the publication of such part of the Spanish *Partidas* as were still in force.

The people of Louisiana, under the rule of Spain, were governed by the *Fuero Viego*, *Fuero Juzco*, *Partidas*, *Recopilaciones*, *Leyes de las Indias*, *Autos Accordados*, and *Royal Schedules*.

The Civil Code of Louisiana to-day is founded on the Code Napoleon. Many of its articles are but translations of that code. There are amendments of the different Legislatures to different parts of it; the original compilers, Messrs. Brown and Moscau Lislet in 1808 and Messrs. Livingston, Derbigny and Lislet in 1825, made various changes, yet substantially it is the Code Napoleon still, and it is the boast of French and of Louisiana lawyers that that code has never been surpassed in any country in the world.

The original Louisiana Code of 1808 was taken from the *projet* of the Code Napoleon. The Code of 1825, which was revised in 1870 (the Revised Civil Code of 1870 is the present Louisiana Civil Code) was taken from the Code Napoleon itself.

From the earliest time the Roman *Corpus Juris Civilis* and its commentators were cited in the courts with the Spanish law writers during Spanish times, and since the cession to the United States the French commentators on the Code Napoleon and Pothier have been constantly resorted to.

When it is considered that in addition to being a civilian, which, whatever the merits of the controversy between the learned in the civil and in the common law with regard to the merits of their respective systems, implies beyond dispute an acquaintance with a greater body of law than a common law lawyer has to apply himself to, the Louisiana lawyer has to acquaint himself with the Federal jurisprudence followed in the Federal courts, derived from the common law and of a totally different system, it is seen that the Louisiana lawyer must needs be learned in the law to a degree that is unessential to his brother lawyers in other parts of the country. It is this acquaintance with two systems undoubtedly that has broadened the minds of the New Orleans lawyers and helped to render so many of them distinguished in proportion to their total number.

FRANCOIS XAVIER MARTIN.

François Xavier Martin, one of the great jurists of the world, was born in France at Marseilles, March 17, 1762. Little is known of his parentage or his education. At the age of eighteen he emigrated to the French Colony of Martinique. Then he emigrated to Newbern, N. C., and it is said that while here he volunteered in the Continental Army in the last years of the war of the American Revolution and saw some service. At the close of the Revolutionary war he returned to Newbern, taught French, and finally became a printer. Then he published a newspaper, and in addition to his printing business and his newspaper, published some books, some novels which other people had written, and some law books which he wrote himself; "Martin's Sheriff," "Martin on Executors," and "A Revision of the Statutes of North Carolina." The printing and publishing business was now a partnership, the firm being Martin and Ogden.

In 1789, Martin having studied law, was admitted to the bar of North Carolina, although he seems to have still continued his old business, and, as is not unusual in country towns in those days and at the present, to combine the legal profession with other work.

In 1806 Mr. Martin was elected to the Legislature of North Carolina, in which he served one term.

In 1802 he had published a translation of "Pothier on Obligations," which shows that although he had practiced his profession in a State where the common law prevails, he had not neglected the study of the civil law, in which he afterwards became so distinguished.

While in North Carolina, although he had practiced with ability as a lawyer, it was as a law-writer that he had made his principal reputation. It was for this reason that in 1809 President Madison appointed him to a judgeship in the Territory of Mississippi.

In Mississippi Judge Martin served for about a year, when on March 21, 1810, he was transferred to the bench of the Superior Court of the Territory of Orleans, which sat in New Orleans.

In 1812, when the Territory of Orleans was admitted into the Union as the State of Louisiana, the territorial courts ceased to exist. Judge Martin was appointed the first Attorney General of Louisiana, and served in that office until February, 1815, when he was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the State.

Upon this bench he sat for thirty-one years. From 1846, when Judge Matthews

died, Judge Martin was Chief Justice. In 1817 he was elected a member of the Academy of Marseilles. In 1841, he was given the degree of Doctor of Laws by Harvard College.

Besides the labor of the sessions of the court and his judicial opinions, Judge Martin was reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court, eighteen volumes of the reports bearing his name, "Martin, Old Series," and "Martin, New Series," being familiar to every Louisiana lawyer and every student of the jurisprudence of Louisiana.

In 1827 Judge Martin published his "History of Louisiana," which, although it labors under the disadvantage of being written in English and composed in French, is an accepted authority of high rank among scholars. No lawyer in Louisiana can take high rank in his profession without studying the decisions of Judge Martin, and no writer upon the history of Louisiana can do competent work without consulting Martin's History.

In 1846, under the constitution adopted in that year, a new Supreme Court was formed and Judge Martin was thus retired from the bench.

On the 10th of December, 1846, Judge Martin died, at the age of 84. He left a fortune of \$400,000. For the last eight years of his life he had been blind. This circumstance was urged in the suit to contest his will that was brought by the State. It was claimed that a blind man could not make a valid olographic will. Unlike Tilden and other lawyers who have made their own wills, Judge Martin had known how to make his. The will was held good and his brother, Paul B. Martin, to whom his estate had been left, came into possession of it. Judge Martin had never married.

There were brilliant advocates in New Orleans in the first part of this century, yet the legal reputation of Louisiana, which is as high as that of any other State in the Union, though spread abroad by their eloquence, was founded upon the genius of Martin. Matthews and Porter and his other confreres were able men, but it was Martin who was the court. Never has there sat upon any bench in any country in the world a judge whose decisions were more able, more clear, more authoritative. There is that brevity in them to which only a master mind in jurisprudence can attain. More than the decisions of any other judge, the decisions of Martin read like the Code.

JOHN RANDOLPH GRYMES.

John Randolph Grymes was named after his father, who was a Virginia tory in the time of the Revolution, and a soldier of some distinction. He was born in

Orange County, Virginia, in 1786, and died in New Orleans on the 4th of December, 1854. He came to New Orleans not long before the battle of New Orleans, in which he served as an aide to General Jackson, and in the dispatches of that General to Washington, the name of John Randolph Grimes received complimentary mention.

Colonel Grymes was counsel for Jackson in the United States bank case. He was also counsel in the Gaines case, and opposed to Daniel Webster. He was United States District Attorney, Attorney General, member of the Legislature for several terms, and a member of the State Constitutional Convention.

During his professional career he fought two duels, after the fashion of the times, although he was not a particularly quarrelsome man. He was very popular with all classes, and while it is said that his learning was not profound, he was undoubtedly one of the ablest advocates of the early bar.

Mr. Gayarré thus describes Mr. Grymes :

"John R. Grymes claims to belong to one of the first families of Virginia, and of course is not destitute of a coat of arms. He is an elegant, *distingue* looking man, above the middle size, always fashionably well dressed and always systematically courteous. He brings to the bar some of the etiquette and forms observed in the saloons of refined society. He is never boisterous, loud, passionate, and rough in his tone and gesticulations. * * * As a lawyer he has a lucid, logical mind, and speaks with the richest fluency, never being at a loss or hesitating about a word ; but that word, although presenting itself with the utmost ease and confidence, is not always the proper one. His style is far from being classical or even grammatical, but it is effective, it is persuasive, and the meaning which it intends to convey is understood without effort even by the dullest. His pronunciation denotes at once his Virginian origin ; but his voice is musical, and his easy, pleasing flow of speech leaves no time and no desire to the hearer to analyze its constructive elements.

"There is nothing of the scholar in Grymes ; his collegiate education has been imperfect ; his reading is not extensive as to legal lore or anything else. But there is infinite charm in his natural eloquence, and his powerful native intellect knows how to make the most skilful use of the materials which it gathers at random outside of any regular course of study and research. * * * He stands among the highest in his profession, and exercises great influence over judges and jurors.

"He has a decided taste for luxurious living, for horse racing, cock-fighting and card gambling. * * * Notwithstanding the considerable fees which he

annually receives for his services as a very able and popular member of the bar, there are few men known to be more dunned than he is. But he possesses privileges and immunities to which nobody else would aspire. * * * For instance, as an example of the liberties which he takes, if dunned too actively he will give a check on any bank of which he bethinks himself at the moment, and the person who presents it becomes an object of merriment. It is looked upon as done in fun. There is not, of course, any idea of swindling, or of doing any real impropriety. It is only one of Grymes' practical jokes. He will pay in the end, as everybody knows, with any amount of interest in addition, and without questioning the rate. * * * Such was John R. Grymes, the most careless of men about money, coining it by the bushel, and squandering it in the same way. But toward the end of his life he became more economical, honorably paid all his debts, and left to his family a competency when he died at a ripe old age."

ALFRED HENNEN.

Alfred Hennen, one of the most distinguished lawyers of the first part of the Nineteenth Century in Louisiana, was born at Elk Ridge, Maryland, on the 17th of October, 1786, and died in New Orleans, on the 19th of January, 1870. He was graduated from Yale and studied law and came to New Orleans in 1808. He was one of the most prominent of the Protestants in New Orleans and one of the founders of the first Presbyterian Church in the city. He accumulated the largest private library, both of law and of general literature, in the city. Besides being a profound lawyer, he was a man of wide culture, a linguist of considerable attainments, with a strong leaning towards the love of literature. He was professor of Constitutional Law for many years at the University of Louisiana.

Several members of the present bar received their legal education in the office of Alfred Hennen or attended his lectures at the Law School. Everybody who is now living who remembers him has a kind word for that venerable counsellor, for many years one of the most distinguished figures at the New Orleans bar. He was upwards of eighty when he died and had come to be regarded as the Nestor of the profession.

In his "The New Orleans Bench and Bar in 1823," Charles Gayarré thus describes Mr. Hennen: "Hennen is from New England. He is a tall, well-formed, massive man, with a handsome benevolent face, glowing with the warm tints of a florid complexion, which denotes his Northern origin. He is invariably self-possessed, and no provocation can throw him off his guard, in his fortress of cold

and passionless reserve. Nothing can ruffle his temper, and if the attempt is made he turns it off with a good-natured laugh, which blunts the edge of his adversary's weapon. He is an erudite, but plain, dry, plodding, practical lawyer, who never aims at any fancy flight of eloquence. He has a large and well furnished library which he liberally puts at the disposal of his friends. He is laboriously industrious and always comes into court with a long string of authorities, which he uses as a lasso to throw around the neck of his opponent. He is not much addicted to urge upon the court argumentative deductions from the broad principles of jurisprudence, but prefers relying on an overwhelming avalanche of precedents and numerous decisions gathered from far and wide, in cases which he deems similar to his own. His fees amount to a large income, of which he takes thrifty care, although he lives according to the exigencies of his social position. He is a conspicuous and worthy member of the Presbyterian Church. He is abstemious in his habits, very fond of exercise on horseback and on foot, and a strict observer of the rules and prescriptions of hygiene. Like all members of the legal profession from the other States of the Union, he much prefers the common to the civil law, the latter being looked upon by them as an abortive creation of the Latin mind, which they hold, of course, to be naturally inferior to the Anglo-Saxon intellect."

CHRISTIAN ROSELIOUS.

Christian Roselius, said by some to have been a Swede, by other authorities to have been born near Bremen, Germany, 10th of August, 1803, came to New Orleans in 1819, at the age of 16, on the bark *Jupiter* as a "redemptioner," that is, he hired his services for a stated period as a consideration for his transportation, a common enough arrangement with the emigrants to Louisiana of that day. Roselius was at first a printer, and it is said that he learned French at the case, setting up French manuscript. Then he studied law and the French civil law became a passion with him. He studied law in the office of A. Davezac, and gradually rose into prominence. For a while at first he had to support himself by teaching.

In 1825, while still a printer, he started the first literary journal in Louisiana, *The Halycon*, which had a short-lived existence.

In 1841 Roselius was Attorney General of the State. Not long afterwards his legal reputation had become so great that he was offered a partnership by Daniel Webster, but declined it, as he preferred to live in New Orleans.

For many years Christian Roselius was Dean of the law faculty of the

University of Louisiana, where for twenty-three years he was professor of civil law.

In 1863 he was offered a position as Chief Justice of the Supreme Bench, but declined it, as New Orleans had been captured by the Federal army, and was held under military law and Roselius refused to serve as a judge on a bench when he would be subject to military interference.

Besides being a profound civilian Roselius became a very cultivated man in a literary sense, and collected a magnificent private library. At his large house surrounded by magnificent grounds in Carrollton, which was then just above New Orleans, but has since been absorbed into it, for many years he exercised a liberal hospitality. In his private life he was very charitable.

While not a remarkably eloquent speaker Christian Roselius was a profoundly learned lawyer, one of the ablest civilians that ever practiced at the New Orleans bar. Tradition has handed down the memory of his magnificent voice, of immense volume and great carrying power. When he spoke, it is said, it was as if there was a lion at the bar.

Christian Roselius died in New Orleans on the 5th of September, 1873.

JOHN ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

John Archibald Campbell was born in Washington, Wilkes county, Georgia, on the 24th of June, 1811. His ancestry was of Revolutionary stock. His father had been a distinguished lawyer before him.

Judge Campbell was educated at the University of Georgia, from which he was graduated in 1826. In 1829 he was admitted to the bar by a special act of the Legislature, dispensing him from attaining his majority, as he was then only eighteen years old.

On the 22d of March, 1853, President Pierce, on account of the eminence to which he had attained in his profession, appointed him one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. Here he served with marked ability and distinction until 1861, when at the outbreak of the Civil War, out of sympathy with the Southern cause, he resigned and went to Richmond as Assistant Secretary of War in the Confederacy.

In 1856 Judge Campbell was one of the Confederate peace commissioners appointed to meet Lincoln and Seward. After the war he was held as a prisoner at Fort Pulaski by the Federal authorities, but was soon discharged on parole. Then he came to New Orleans, where he practiced law with marked success and distinction until his death.

Judge Campbell will be remembered in history as a distinguished jurist, as a statesman, who did as much as any man in either section in the country in 1861 to endeavor to avert the war, and as a patriot who resigned one of the highest offices in the world, of which he had a life tenure, to serve the South.

JUDAH P. BENJAMIN.

Judah P. Benjamin—Judah Philip Benjamin his full name was—was born in 1811 at St. Croix, West Indies. His parents were English Jews, and were emigrating to America. The British fleet was blockading the entrance to the Mississippi river, the second war with Great Britain just having commenced, and not being able to make New Orleans, their destined port, they put in at St. Croix, one of the islands of the West Indies, and here Judah P. Benjamin was born.

Part of his boyhood was passed at Wilmington, N. C. In 1825 he entered Yale College and remained there three years, finally leaving without a degree. Next he studied law in New Orleans in a notary's office, and was admitted to the bar on the 11th of December, 1832.

At first, he met with small success and devoted himself to teaching, meanwhile keeping up his legal studies by taking notes from the reports which he afterward embodied in the Digest of Louisiana decisions, published by him with Slidell in 1834. This was one of the first digests of Louisiana decisions ever published, and formed the basis of the digest of Hennen, which has superseded it, and is in use in the courts of Louisiana at the present day.

Benjamin finally succeeded in establishing himself in his profession, and had become a member of the firm of Slidell, Benjamin & Conrad, which had a large clientèle among the planters. In 1845 he had begun to turn his attention to politics and became a member of the Constitutional Convention of that year.

In 1847 Benjamin was retained in the cases of the Spanish land titles in California, and went to Washington on this legal business. Henceforth he had a considerable practice, his reputation as a lawyer having become national.

In 1852 he was elected to the Senate of the United States from Louisiana and re-elected, his term continuing until, with the other Southern Senators and Representatives, he left Washington and his seat in the Senate at the outbreak of the Civil War. While serving as Senator he established a great reputation as an orator and a statesman among the giants that were in those days. So great was his reputation for ability that Northern writers have written of him in his after career as "the brains of the Confederacy."

It was while he was in the Senate that his defense of slavery was so zealous and aggressive that Senator Wade, of Ohio, wittily referred to him as "a Hebrew with Egyptian principles." While there is no recorded reply to the witticism of Senator Wade, Benjamin never came off second best in his contests with the statesmen of the North. Any one can understand this who reads his magnificent farewell address to the Senate. Jefferson Davis' farewell address is cold, logical, deliberate. He even asks pardon if in the heat of debate he has unwittingly given offense to anyone or hurt the feelings of anyone. Mississippi has called and, as the delegate that Mississippi has sent to represent her in the Senate, it is his duty to obey the call. He goes because it is his duty to go. The eloquence is the slow and stately eloquence of Brutus. Not so with the fiery Senator from Louisiana. He admonishes, upbraids, and attacks them. It is a philippic. Like Mark Anthony over Cæsar, or Demosthenes accusing the Athenians of subserviency to Philip, or Cicero accusing Cataline, or Burke impeaching Warren Hastings, he brings his accusation against the statesmen and people of the North and charges them with high crimes and misdemeanors, with fanaticism, uncharitableness and bad faith. In his peroration he bids the assembled Senate farewell forever in the tone of an orator of the ancient days. No one who heard it and no one who reads it can ever forget the ringing words of that speech. It is one of the masterpieces of modern oratory.

When the Confederate Government was first formed Benjamin was appointed Attorney General. In August, 1861, he was transferred to be Secretary of War and then later he was made Secretary of State, remaining in the Confederate Cabinet until the close of the war.

After the war was over he escaped off the coast of Florida to the Bahamas and took passage to England. In effecting his escape his knowledge of French gained in Louisiana was of immense service to him, as he was enabled to pass himself off for a Frenchman, and so elude his enemies.

Arrived in England, the country from which his parents had come, he at once entered himself as a student of law, to perfect himself in the knowledge of English law. This was on the 13th of January, 1866, and he enrolled himself at Lincoln's inn. The following summer he was graduated. For a time, as when thirty-four years before, he had begun at the Louisiana bar, he was unsuccessful. He had to resort to journalism to support himself. But he persevered, and after the appearance of his book on Sales his practice became established. Benjamin on Sales is the recognized text-book of English law on that subject. It is pronounced by competent authorities to be the greatest book on Sales ever written.

Benjamin's practice at the English bar grew and increased to an extent that was marvelous. In June, 1872, he was created Q. C. In the latter years of his practice he only accepted briefs on appeal and appeared only before the House of Lords and the privy council. It was said that at one time on his single law docket he had one-half of the appealed cases of all Great Britain.

In 1883 he retired. On the 30th of June, of that year, he ~~was~~ banqueted at the Inner Temple and toasted as one of the greatest lawyers that had ever been a member of the English bar. Shortly thereafter he went to Paris, where his wife and daughter were, and there on the 8th of May, 1884, he died. Without doubt Judah P. Benjamin was a great statesman and one of the greatest lawyers that ever lived. His portrait in the gallery of the Supreme Court of Louisiana shows in the dark black bearded face the stupendous intellect of the man. His work as a statesman was for a country that has been conquered; as a lawyer his memory will live in a text-book that is now a daily authority in practice and will always be one of the classics of the law.

MOREAU LISLET.

Moreau Lislet, who was a member of the commission appointed by the Legislature that framed the Civil Code of Louisiana, is described by Mr. Gayarré as follows:

"Moreau Lislet is a rotund Frenchman past the meridian of life. His eyes sparkle with good-natured wit under the large spectacles which bestride his small nose. Everything seems soft in him, even his bones. His flesh is tremulous, like blanc-mange or jelly, and as yielding under the touch. His hands are diminutive and plump. He does not look formidable, does he? No. Well, you had better beware of him. He is an artesian well of legal lore—deep, very deep. He is one of those two or three jurists who were entrusted by the Legislature with the work of adapting the Napoleon code to the wants and circumstances of Louisiana under her new institutions. He has no pretensions to oratory. He addresses the court or the jury in a sort of conversational, familiar way. He is always in a good humor, which is communicative. He is a very great favorite with the judges, the clerks, the sheriffs, the jurors, the members of the bar—in fact, with everybody. He is so kind, so benevolent, so amiable in all his dealings and sayings! His *bonhomie* is so captivating."

But Moreau Lislet, *bonhomie* and all, was a great advocate, as Mr. Gayarré shows concluding his description of this famous lawyer with "Ho, ho! beware of Moreau Lislet and of his *bonhomie*!"

EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

Edward Livingston, of the distinguished American family of Livingstons, was the son of Robert Livingston, one of the early American statesmen, and was born in Clermont, New York, on the 26th of May, 1764. He died at Rhinebeck, N. Y., on the 23rd of May, 1836. He was graduated from Princeton in 1781, and studied law in Albany, N. Y., with John Lansing. He was admitted to the bar in January, 1785, and removed to New York City, where he had as competitors, Benson, Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton, where he held his own with these formidable rivals. In 1794 his political career began, in which he afterwards attained the highest distinction. He was elected to Congress, to the House of Representatives, where he served three terms, till March, 1801. In this year, he was appointed United States District Attorney in New York, and before the expiration of that year, was elected Mayor of New York City. His extreme popularity was demonstrated when he stuck to his post, during the yellow fever epidemic in New York in 1803. He took sick of the fever, and it was learned, that although his physician had prescribed Madeira wine for him, he had given away all the Madeira in his cellar to those who were more in need of it than himself. When this became public, the people of New York sent him all the wine that he could use, and crowds daily gathered around his house to learn the condition of the charitable hearted mayor.

In 1804 he left New York for New Orleans. His brother Robert had just completed the negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana. He left New York because he had run deeply into debt to the United States Government, by reason of the defalcation of his business agent, who had embezzled some forty-three thousand dollars of the Government money. With his characteristic and impulsive sense of honor, before it could be discovered exactly how much he was indebted to the Government, Livingston confessed judgment in favor of the United States for one hundred thousand dollars.

In New Orleans in 1805, he drew up the Code of Procedure which was adopted by the Legislature as a foundation of the Code of Practice of Louisiana. It was subsequently used in making the present Code of Civil Procedure of New York.

During his early days in New Orleans, he had as a client, John Gravier, who gave him as part of his fee, in a litigation in which he employed him, a part of the batture St. Marie, out of which grew the famous batture case. The people of New Orleans claimed that the batture belonged to them, and Livingston, who was about to improve his property was, by the authority of the United States Govern-

ment, ejected from it. He promptly brought suit in the court to vindicate his rights, and then it was that Jefferson assailed him, in a published pamphlet, although when in Congress he had supported Jefferson as against Burr in the vote for the Presidency. It was said, in justification of Jefferson's conduct, that Jefferson was influenced by the slander that Gen. Wilkinson had circulated, that Livingston was implicated in Burr's conspiracy, an absurd charge, of which Livingston completely cleared himself as soon as it was brought. Livingston replied to Jefferson in kind. It was universally admitted that Livingston had very much the best of the President in the controversy. Besides that, Livingston won his suit in court and got possession again of his land. The charge of complicity in the Burr conspiracy brought against him was originated by Gen. Wilkinson, and had only the slender foundation, that a private debt which had been reduced to judgment against Livingston in New York had been assigned to Aaron Burr.

During the battle of New Orleans, Livingston was an aide to Gen. Jackson, and served him with such ability that Gen. Jackson formed a personal friendship for him, which continued through his life, and which was of the utmost service to Livingston in his political future, when Jackson was elevated to the Presidency. When Jackson left New Orleans he presented Livingston with his portrait painted on ivory.

In 1820 Livingston was a member of the Louisiana Legislature. In 1822 he was sent to Congress, where he served for three terms. In 1823 he was appointed on the Louisiana Code Commission and drew, besides the Revision of the Civil Code, a Criminal Code, which was never adopted by the Legislature, but is considered by jurists of the highest rank.

In 1826 Livingston paid his debt to the Government, which, with interest, amounted to over one hundred thousand dollars, by transferring land that he had acquired to the United States.

In 1829 he was elected United States Senator from Louisiana, and in 1833 he was Secretary of State in Jackson's Cabinet. It was charged by Jackson's political opponents that Edward Livingston was the President's brains. He is suspected of being the author of the famous Nullification Proclamation of December, 1832. In 1833 he was appointed Minister to France, and formed a close friendship with Gen. Lafayette.

On his return from France he retired to his estate at Rhinebeck, New York, which had been left him as a legacy by his sister.

Undoubtedly Edward Livingston was one of the greatest lawyers that ever



Emile Rost

lived. His knowledge of law was inexhaustible. His legal works are of the highest authority: Judicial Opinions of the Mayor's Court of New York (1802), published in 1803; Report of the Plan of the Penal Code of New Orleans (1822); System of Penal Law for the State of Louisiana (1826); System of Penal Law for the United States (Washington, 1828); and there also has been published his complete works on Criminal Jurisprudence (New York, 1873). Livingston is thus described by Gayarré:

"Among the Americans who had come to New Orleans to better their fortune, none was so distinguished as Edward Livingston. He was of an illustrious family, and before emigrating to the extreme South he had been mayor of the city of New York. * * * He at once became one of the leading members of the bar, notwithstanding his enemies who spread evil reports against him, and his having incurred a great deal of unpopularity in consequence of the part he took in the famous "batture case," which gave rise to riots in New Orleans, and to an acrimonious controversy between Thomas Jefferson and himself, in which he showed that he was at least equal if not superior to his great adversary. * * * Conquering prejudices, calumnies, and envy, he grew rapidly as he became better known and appreciated, upon the esteem and confidence of his fellow-citizens in his newly elected home, and was sent to represent Louisiana in the Senate of the United States. His career as such, as Secretary of State under the Presidency of General Jackson, and as Minister Plenipotentiary in France is well known. For the present I have only to deal with him as a member of the New Orleans bar, where he towered up as one of the giants.

"Edward Livingston was tall and spare in body, and with strong, clear-cut features which denoted his Scotch ancestry. The habitual expression of his face was meditative and rather austere, but his smile was indicative of the benignity of his heart. He was mild in manner, courteous, dignified, and indefatigably laborious. * * * His eloquence was of the classical order, and uniformly elegant. It would in forensic debates, flow at first with the modesty of a gentle stream, but by degrees, swelling and rushing like the mighty tide of the ocean, it would overflow far and wide and leave to opposition not an inch of ground to stand upon."

DOMINIQUE SEGHERS.

One of the most noted of the old French lawyers of New Orleans was Dominique Seghers. The following description of this old French avoné of the *ancien regime*, as Mr. Gayarré describes him, is typical:

"Dominique Seghers was a perfect type of the red-tape old French *avoué* of the ancient *regime*. He looked into every case entrusted to his care *con amore*, almost with paternal affection. * * * The very moment a subject of litigation was placed in his hands, he doubted not of its being founded in law, and if that law was not apparent, he felt convinced that by dint of patient researches he would discover in the end that the projected suit could be based on some article of the Civil Code, some special statute, some applicable precedent, some decision of court, if not on the broad principles of jurisprudence. For him professionally there was no right or wrong outside of the text of the law. Everything else was vaporous sentimentality, sheer romance. * * *

"He had to contend against a peculiar and very serious impediment for a man of his profession; it was the extreme difficulty he had to express himself. In court he painfully struggled for words. They stuck in his throat, and when at last they came out, it was as if they had forced their way through an obstructed passage. * * * No interruptions from court or jury, or from the adverse party, however frequently repeated, could put him out of countenance. * * * After a while he would start again, in his humorous style, precisely from the point where the thread of his discourse had been cut off. * * *

"His physical appearance would easily have denoted the inward man to a physiognomist. There was a great deal of character in his features. They were strongly marked—a sharp, long face; a large mouth; a much protruding and big nose; gray eyes participating of the elongated olive shape, with furtive and oblique glances to detect anything suspicious, from whatever part of the horizon it might come; large flat ears that stuck close to the side of his head, and for which no approach of a velvet-footed cat would have been noiseless. This gentleman acquired by his profession a considerable fortune."

ETIENNE MAZUREAU.

The next of the famous advocates of the olden time, still following Mr. Gayarré, is Etienne Mazureau, a native of France, who has emigrated to Louisiana in search of a better fortune, and who in a few years has risen to be one of the magnates of the New Orleans bar. Of a medium size, compactly built, with flashing dark eyes, intensely black hair and a brown complexion, he is a perfect specimen of the Southern type as if to the manner and the manor born. He is of an ardent temperament, and the sacred fire of the orator glows in his breast. He is an adroit and most powerful logician, but on certain occasions his eloquence becomes

tempestuous. He delights in all the studies appertaining to his profession, and possesses a most profound and extensive knowledge of the civil law, from the twelve tables of Rome and the institutes of Justinian to the Napoleon Code. He is also thoroughly familiar with the Spanish jurisprudence, which is derived from the same source. He is deeply versed in the common law, which, however, when the opportunity presents itself it is his special pleasure to ridicule and treat with spiteful depreciation. * * * He is equally great and successful in civil and criminal cases. Hence his income is very large; but he has a peculiar knack of getting into debt and parting with his money in the most unaccountable manner. He has this characteristic in common with many men of splendid abilities, through whose pockets silver and gold run as through a sieve much to the mortification of their creditors."

GEORGE EUSTIS.

One of the most distinguished Judges of New Orleans was Judge Eustis, who was a nephew of Governor William Eustis, of Massachusetts. Judge Eustis was born in Boston on the 20th of October, 1796. He died in New Orleans on the 23rd of December, 1858. He was graduated from Harvard in the class of 1815, and then became private secretary to his uncle, Gov. Eustis, who was then Minister of the United States to Holland at The Hague. It was while at The Hague, at the United States Legation, that he began the study of law. In 1817 he came to New Orleans, where he continued his legal studies, and was admitted to the bar in New Orleans in 1822.

Judge Eustis' public services began with his election to the State Legislature, in which he served several terms. He then became Secretary of State, and was subsequently appointed one of the Commissioners on the Board of Currency. In this office he acquired a very considerable reputation as a financier, on account of the reforms he introduced in Louisiana, tending to give to the finances of the State a more staple basis. He was next Attorney General of the State, in which office he served one term. Then he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1845. He was appointed to the Bench as Chief Justice, and served until 1852. On account of the distinction he obtained as a jurist, Harvard, his Alma Mater, conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.

Judge Eustis' sons were both distinguished men: George Eustis, a member of Congress and Secretary of the Confederate Legation in France, and James Biddell Eustis, who enjoyed a long career of public distinction.

PIERRE ADOLPH ROST.

One of the most accomplished civilians who ever sat upon the Bench of Louisiana was Mr. Justice Pierre Adolph Rost. Judge Rost was born in France in 1797, and died in New Orleans on the 6th of September, 1868. He was educated at the Lycée Napoleon, and at the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris. While he was yet a lad he served as a soldier in the defense of Paris when Napoleon was in retirement at the Island of Elba, and but for the defeat at Waterloo would have been given a commission in the French Army under the Empire.

In 1816 he came to America and settled in Natchez, Miss., where he studied law with Jos. E. Davis. From Natchez he removed to Natchitoches, where he practiced law with distinction. In 1826 was elected to the State Senate. In 1830 he was nominated for Congress, but defeated. The same year he removed to New Orleans. In 1838 he made a trip to Europe and on his return was appointed to the Supreme Bench, where he served for some time, but resigned to engage in the occupation of planting, in which he had extensive interests. In 1846 he was again appointed to the Supreme Bench, and served for several years.

During the war Judge Rost was Commissioner to Spain for the Confederate Government, and attained high rank as a diplomatist. After the war he returned to New Orleans and resumed the practice of law and devoted himself to caring for his large planting interests.

Judge Rost was an able Judge, a profound civilian, and distinguished for his learning in the Commercial Law. As a jurist, he was one of the ablest that ever sat upon the Bench in Louisiana.

THOMAS COURTLAND MANNING.

Thomas Courtland Manning enjoys the distinction of having been three times appointed Judge upon the Supreme Court Bench for the State of Louisiana. He was born at Edenton, North Carolina, in 1831. He died in New York City on the 11th of October, 1887. Judge Manning was graduated from the University of North Carolina and admitted to the Bar in North Carolina and practiced in his native town of Edenton for some years.

In 1885 he removed to Alexandria, La., where his marked ability, in a short time, brought him a large practice. In 1861 he was a member of the Convention in Louisiana which decided upon secession. Immediately after this, the war breaking out, he was given the command of Lieutenant in a Louisiana Confederate regiment, and was subsequently promoted to be a Lieutenant Colonel upon the

staff of Gov. Moore, the War Governor of Louisiana. In 1863 he was again promoted to be Adjutant General of Louisiana, with the rank of Brigadier General. In 1864 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and served until the end of the war. In 1872 he was offered the nomination for Governor, but declined. His political prominence still continued, although he held no public office. In 1876 he was vice-president of the National Convention which nominated Samuel J. Tilden. In 1877 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and served in that capacity until 1880, when the new Constitution of 1879 went into effect, and a term was put to his office by the formation of a new court under that Constitution. He was appointed, about this time, one of the trustees of the Peabody fund.

In 1880 he was again a Presidential Elector, and in this year was appointed to the office of Senator of the United States, but his seat was refused him. In 1882 he was, for the third time, appointed on the Supreme Bench and served until 1886, when he was appointed by President Cleveland United States Minister to Mexico. He held this office until his death.

Judge Manning was one of the ablest Judges that ever sat upon the Supreme Court Bench of Louisiana. Not only was he a jurist, but he was a man of culture as well. His attainments, as a scholar, and his accomplishments as a man of the world, were recognized by President Cleveland by his appointment to the Mexican mission. His popularity as a Judge was greater, and his place in history more marked, inasmuch as he was the Chief Justice of the Court which succeeded the Ludeling Court, which held office during the period of reconstruction, and which is held by the people of Louisiana, as all the government at that time, as infamous.

JAMES BIDDELL EUSTIS.

James Biddell Eustis was born in New Orleans in 1827. He received a classical education and was graduated from the law school of Harvard. He was admitted to the Bar in New Orleans in 1856 and practiced in New Orleans.

During the Civil War he was appointed on the staff of Gen. Magruder as Judge Advocate, and subsequently transferred to the staff of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, where he served to the end of the war. He was one of the commissioners sent to Washington to President Lincoln with regard to Louisiana affairs at the close of the war. After the war he resumed his practice in New Orleans and began his life as a public man. In 1872 he was elected to the State House of Representatives. In 1874 to the State Senate. In 1876 he was elected Senator of the

United States and served until 1879. He was then appointed professor of Civil Law to the University of Louisiana. In 1884 he was elected for a second term to the United States Senate and was subsequently appointed Ambassador to France by President Cleveland. Senator Eustis is only recently deceased. He was one of the ablest of the Southern statesmen and was a man of culture, and an accomplished writer. His writings show literary ability in a marked degree.

EDWIN THOMAS MERRICK.

One of the oldest and most distinguished of the practitioners at the bar of New Orleans in the early days, who survived until almost the present day, was Edwin Thomas Merrick, who, under the Constitution of 1852, was Chief Justice of the State. Judge Merrick was born in Massachusetts in 1810. Having received his early legal education and training in a common law State, in his long practice at the bar in Louisiana and on the Bench he was able to add to the profound knowledge of the civil law to which he had attained the broader point of view derived from his common law learning. In the United States Court in New Orleans he was distinguished for his eminence in the equity practice.

When Judge Merrick first came to Louisiana he settled in the Felicianas, where he practiced with distinction until elected Chief Justice in 1855. After his term of office, he practiced in New Orleans with much distinction until his death at the age of eighty-seven in 1897.

HENRY CARLETON MILLER.

Henry Carleton Miller, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, was born in Covington, St. Tammany parish, Louisiana, in 1828, and died in New Orleans on the 4th of March, 1899. His father was S. W. Miller, a member of the Bar, of some distinction, who was one of the first reporters of the Supreme Court of Louisiana. Judge Miller was educated at private schools in New Orleans, and when he was a young man entered into commercial life, not having the means, on account of his father's death, to begin, at once, his legal career, in which he afterwards was so distinguished. He succeeded, however, by his own efforts, in obtaining the legal education necessary to admittance to the Bar and passed his examination before the Supreme Court. Once at the Bar he soon displayed the ability that so distinguished him throughout his professional career, and at the outbreak of the Civil War he was United States District Attorney, and had attained such prominence in his profession as to be considered a rival of the Honor-

able Thomas J. Semmes, who, for many years, was the leader of the Bar in New Orleans. After the war, Mr. Miller formed a co-partnership for the practice of law, with E. W. Huntington, and later was a member of the firm of Lee, Finney & Bradford, which was the successor of the firm of Benjamin & Bradford, and composed of Judah P. Benjamin, of whom an extended notice has been given here, and of E. A. Bradford, who, just prior to the war, had been nominated to the Supreme Court of the United States. During his practice, Mr. Miller, among other important cases, in which he was engaged, gained distinction in the Premium Bond case—the Consolidated Bond case, and as attorney of the Board of Liquidation. He was dean of the faculty of the Tulane Law School for many years, lecturing on Admiralty and International Law. In 1894, he was appointed to the Supreme Bench, to succeed the Honorable Charles Parlange. In 1896, he was re-appointed for the full term of twelve years. Had Judge Miller not been appointed to the Supreme Bench, it was acknowledged that he would have been recognized as the leader of the Bar upon the death of the Honorable Thomas J. Semmes. On the death of both of these distinguished lawyers, there has been found no lawyer in New Orleans sufficiently above his fellows to deserve the position of leader. As a lawyer, Judge Miller, was painstaking, logical and profound, and was one of the most thorough lawyers who ever argued a case in the Louisiana courts. He was acknowledged to have been one of the ablest Judges ever appointed to the Bench.

THOMAS JENKINS SEMMES.

Thomas Jenkins Semmes, one of the greatest Louisiana lawyers, was born in Georgetown, District of Columbia, December 16, 1824. He was educated at Georgetown College, where he was graduated in 1842, and then studied law and went to the Law School at Harvard, where he graduated in law in 1845. He practiced law for a number of years in Washington, and in 1850 removed to New Orleans. He was appointed United States District Attorney by President Buchanan, and attained such prominence in his profession, he was elected Attorney General of the State before he was thirty years of age. He was a member of the Confederate Senate from Louisiana, and made the report of the committee that devised the motto of the seal of the Confederacy. After the war, he resumed his practice in New Orleans, holding, until the end of his life, the position of leader of the Bar. He was twice professor at the Law School of Tulane University—first, professor of Civil Law, and later, professor of Common Law, which position he held at the time of his death. His lectures to the law

classes have never been surpassed in learning or brilliancy. His arguments before the courts always attracted a crowd, and he was listened to by the judges and the lawyers with the utmost attention. His oratory was of the old school, but surcharged with profound learning and of a range that has rarely been equaled. It was when he had a case that was seemingly difficult that his ability was the most strongly called forth. He took absolute delight in presenting what seemed to be an untenable proposition and in demonstrating, with his remarkable logic and eloquence, that sound reason required that that proposition should be held. He was president, for a term, of the American Bar Association. Many of his addresses have been printed—notably, “Codification the Natural Result of the Evolution of Law,” delivered before the American Bar Association. Mr. Semmes was a profound civilian, and although learned in the common law, of which he was professor at the Law School, preferred the Civil Law as the superior system. He was fond of arguing that all the improvements in the Common Law have been derived from a Civil Law source.

Mr. Semmes accumulated a large fortune in his practice, which he employed liberally in charity. His character was as kindly as his learning was profound. His demeanor, both in the court room and out, was always of the utmost courtesy of a gentleman of the old school. Without doubt, he was the most distinguished figure of the Louisiana Bar during the period from the close of the war to the present time. He died in New Orleans on the 23rd of June, 1899.

PRESENT BENCH AND BAR.

The present Judges in New Orleans are:

Of the Supreme Court—Chief Justice Francis T. Nicholls, Lynn B. Watkins, Joseph A. Breaux, Newton C. Blanchard, Frank A. Monroe.

Of the Court of Appeal—Judges R. N. Ogden, Horace L. Dufour, I. D. Moore.

Of the Civil District Court—Judges N. H. Rightor, T. C. W. Ellis, Fred D. King, and George H. Théard, and John St. Paul.

Of the City Courts—Judges R. H. Downing, P. J. Patorno, Wynne Rogers, and Thomas F. Maher.

Of the Criminal Court—Judges James C. Moise and Joshua G. Baker.

Of the City Criminal Courts—Judges Thomas M. Gill, Jr., and A. M. Ancion.

The present Bar of New Orleans has, in its numbers, many distinguished lawyers, who would bear comparison with the famous advocates of the past days. It is considered more in accordance with traditional propriety not to mention any of the living members of the Bar.



J. Matthews

CAUSE CELEBRES.

The famous cases arising in Louisiana have been numerous, on account of the quantity of litigation which the city has seen, and the number of distinguished lawyers who have practiced at the New Orleans Bar. There may be mentioned the case for contempt against Gen. Andrew Jackson, in which Judge Dominick Hall, of the United States Court, fined him one thousand dollars; the famous *batture* case of Edward Livingston, in which he got into a controversy with President Thomas Jefferson, and they printed pamphlets against each other, a controversy in which Livingston was acknowledged to have gotten considerably the better of his distinguished opponent; the McDonogh will case, in which was involved the large bequests of John McDonogh to the public schools in New Orleans and Baltimore; the Martin will case, which has been referred to under the notice of Judge Martin; and the Gaines case, perhaps the most celebrated case in the United States, which was brought by more lawyers, before more courts, and involved more property, and attracted more notoriety, and was more romantic than any other case, in any court in the world, of which there is record. An excellent resume of the litigation as it finally took shape, is found in the 131 U. S. Reports, page 192, summarized by the reporter of the Supreme Court of the United States, the title of the case being, *New Orleans vs. Gaines' Administrator*.

The Louisiana Law Association, now the Louisiana Bar Association, was incorporated in 1847 by John R. Grimes as president, and Alfred Hennen as vice-president, Thomas Allen Clark as secretary and treasurer, and Pierre Soule, Charles Watts, Christian Roselius, Richard H. Wilde, Edward Rawle, John Winthrop and William W. King, as the committee on membership.

In 1899 the association was reorganized and its name changed to the Louisiana Bar Association, at the same time the extensive addition to the association's library was begun, which has raised the number of volumes to some twelve thousand volumes. The State library in the Tulane Hall is also a law library of considerable value.

LAW WRITERS.

On account of the peculiar system of Civil Law in Louisiana, differing from that of the sister States, and the consequent limitations put upon the themes to which a law writer in Louisiana can appeal, the number of authors upon legal subjects has been less than it otherwise would have been. The Digest of Benjamin and Slidell, referred to under the notice of Judah P. Benjamin, may be mentioned, and the Criminal Code that was drawn by Edward Livingston, although it was

never adopted, is considered by lawyers to be of the highest rank. David Hennen, the son of Alfred Hennen, compiled the first of the Digests which are now in use, which was the model for the subsequent Digests, which were compiled by Charles Louque, of the New Orleans Bar, and Jas. F. Taylor, of the Minden Bar. The edition of the Civil Code now commonly used was edited by Judge Albert Voorhies. Mr. E. D. Saunders has published a book on Taxation, and Mr. Henry Denis one on Pledges. Mr. Solomon Wolff has edited an edition of the Revised Statutes, and Mr. Henry L. Garland is the editor of the last edition of the Code of Practice. Mr. Robert H. Marr compiled an admirable index of the statutes. Mr. Edwin T. Merrick has gotten out the first volume of a new edition of the Code, which will undoubtedly supersede all other editions.

Since the year 1847 there has been a law department attached to the University of Louisiana, in which the most distinguished members of the Bar and Judges have been professors. The present faculty is: Henry Denis, Professor of Civil Law and Lecturer on the Land Laws of the United States; Thomas C. W. Ellis, Professor of Admiralty and International Law; Frank Adair Monroe, Professor of Commercial Law and the Law of Corporations; Harry Hinckley Hall, Dean and Professor of Criminal Law, the Law of Evidence and of Practice under the Code of Practice of Louisiana; and Eugene D. Saunders, Professor of Constitutional Law, Common Law and Equity.

SUPREME COURT GALLERY.

In the room of the Supreme Court there are hung on the walls, from floor to ceiling, portraits, in oil, of the distinguished judges and members of the Bar of New Orleans who have passed away. There are busts of Judge Martin, Pierre Soule, Judge Marshall and Edward Livingston, and the portraits of all the celebrities—Roselius, Hennen, Judge Rost, Grymes, Slidell—all the famous judges and advocates of former times.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND CHARITIES.

BY A. G. DURNO.

PERHAPS the most interesting of the public buildings of New Orleans is the old Cabildo building, on Chartres street, adjoining the Saint Louis Cathedral. Like its neighbor, the sacred edifice, the Cabildo was built by Don Almonaster y Roxas, the contract for this and the sister building on the other side of the church having been secured at the same time with that for the cathedral itself. It was called the Cabildo from the fact that it was here that the Governing Council, called by the Spanish the *cabildo*, held its sessions. This body was instituted by O'Reilly to replace the Superior Council of the French administration, though with greatly diminished powers. It consisted of ten members, besides the governor, who presided at its meetings, and an *escribano*, or clerk. Four of the members were elected on the first of each year by the whole *cabildo*, including the members who were about to retire. Two of these filled the office of *alcaldes ordinarios*, or common judges, each holding his daily court in the town hall, and, for causes involving not over \$20, an evening court for one hour at his own house, where he rendered unwritten decisions. A third elective officer was the *sindico-procurado-general*, or attorney-general-syndic, the official advocate of the people in the deliberations of the *cabildo*; and the fourth, the *mayor-domode propios* or municipal treasurer. The other six members were styled *regidores*, or administrators—literally rulers, and acquired their seats in the *cabildo* by purchase. They were the *alfarez real* an honorary office, without official functions except in case of the death or absence of one of the *alcaldes*; the *alcalde mayor provincial*, a magistrate whose jurisdiction extended beyond the city limits; the *alguazil mayor*, a civil and criminal sheriff; the *depositario-general*, keeper and dispenser of the government stores; the *recibidor de penas de camara*, receiver of fines and penalties; and a sixth, to whom no official functions were assigned. The *cabildo* held its sessions every Friday, though the

governor had power to convene it at any time. When he did not attend one of the ordinary Alcaldes presided and immediately after adjournment two of the Regidores went to his house to inform him of what had been done. The ordinary Alcaldes had the first seats in the Cabildo, immediately after the governor, and below them sat the other members in the following order: the alfarez real, alcalde mayor provincial, alguazil mayor, depositario-general, recibidor de penas de camara, sindico-procurador-general, and clerk.

The old Cabildo has passed through many vicissitudes, and witnessed many changes. It was within its hall that the transfer of Louisiana from Spain to France took place, and here a few weeks later, Laussat, the French Colonial Prefect, delivered up the keys of the city, so recently surrendered to him by Governor Salcedo, to Commissioners Wilkinson and Claiborne, and turned over the Territory of Louisiana to the United States. When Lafayette visited New Orleans in 1825, as the city's guest, the Cabildo was fitted up as his residence during his stay, and the Democrats, in their contest for the mayoralty in 1858, turned it into a fortress. With the removal of the city offices to the new City Hall on St. Charles street, the glory of the old Spanish Cabildo departed. Its historic hall is now used by the Supreme Court of the State, while the lower floor serves as a magistrate's court and temporary jail. But it is found illy adapted to even these purposes, and there is a question as to what disposition shall finally be made of it. Some iconoclastic individuals have suggested tearing it down, but the proposal brought out a storm of protest from citizens who are interested in the preservation of the few remaining monuments of the past, and it is not probable that it will ever be carried out. The Historical Society have taken the matter up, and it is proposed by them to thoroughly renovate and restore the picturesque old building, and convert it into a museum for the reception of "pictures, statuary, old furniture, old books, miniatures, silver and gold works, parchments, velvets and brocades, arms and musical instruments," everything, in short, that recalls the past of the city. This project meets with the warm approval and support of Charles Dudley Warner, who takes a deep interest in the history of New Orleans, and who, during a recent visit, made an eloquent appeal in its behalf through the columns of one of the daily papers. It is proposed to obtain possession of the building in time to have it in readiness for opening on the centennial of the cession of Louisiana to the United States, and to celebrate its inauguration as a museum with religious and military ceremonies similar to those that accompanied the great event of December 20th, 1803.

Lowenstein, in his History of the Saint Louis Cathedral, says that at the time of

the acceptance of his proposal to rebuild the parish church, Don Almonaster also secured the contract for, and built the buildings on each side of the Cathedral, at about \$5,000 apiece; the one on the left intended for a presbytery, * * * the one on the right built for a town hall and jail, in which the cabildo held its sessions." From a passage in the petition addressed by the Wardens of the Cathedral in 1842, to Judge Maurian, of the Parish Court, praying for relief and protection from the usurping pretensions of Bishop Blanc, who claimed the right of appointing a curate to succeed the deceased Father Moni, it would appear that the presbytery, whenever begun, was not completed until after 1805. The passage reads as follows:

When, in 1805, the first Church Wardens elected by the Catholics took possession of the property and commenced the administration of the affairs of the Church of St. Louis, the real estate belonging to it consisted in a space of ground situated on the left side of the church, and comprised between Chartres, St. Anne, Royal and the continuation of Orleans street. Said space of ground was at that time covered with small buildings of brick and wood, of little or no value, and yielding but a small revenue. The large building, which is in part opposite the Place d'Armes, had only been commenced, and in the imperfect condition in which it then was, being only raised to the first arches, was used by being temporarily covered with boards by the person to whom it had been rented, and produced only a small annual rent. The large building fronting on Place d'Armes has been finished and completed by your petitioners according to its original plan, and distributed in such a manner as to be conveniently occupied at first by private individuals, and afterwards by some courts of justice in this city. When the public desired that all the courts sitting in New Orleans should be held in the same building, your petitioners, both with a view to conform to the public exigency, and to derive a certain annual revenue from the property, caused important additions and alterations to be made to and in said building, so as to afford convenient halls for the session of different courts, and for the clerks and sheriffs thereof.

This passage renders it certain that the Cabildo's twin building was erected, not by Don Almonaster, nor, as has been asserted, by the United States Government in 1813, but by the Wardens of the Cathedral, at some period subsequent to 1805. Though of similar appearance to the Cabildo, its columns, wrought iron balconies, entrance, etc., will not bear rigid comparison with those of the older building. Its pediment is a flat plaster space relieved only by a medallion, while that of the Cabildo is ornamented with the American eagle and piles of cannon balls, which no doubt replaced some similar emblem of Spanish dominion. In 1850, probably about the time of the repairing of the Cathedral, the low flat roofs of the two buildings were ill-advisedly surmounted by French mansards, which it is to be hoped will disappear under the restoring hands of the architects employed by the Historical Society.

THE NEW ORLEANS MINT.

An act of Congress passed in 1835 to become effective in July, 1838, authorized the establishment of three branch mints, one to be located at Charleston, S. C.,

one at Dahlonga, Ga., and one at New Orleans. Work was begun on the New Orleans building in 1836, and it was completed in 1838, the work of coining beginning in the following year. The building is the largest mint building in the United States, the cost of erection having been \$182,000, and the capacity of the plant being about \$5,000,000 per month. The structure is of fire brick, granite, and iron, very strong and fire-proof. The supports, ceiling and beams are all of cast iron, the flooring throughout of stone, on which plank is fixed. Outside it is of brick, covered with cement, and painted a reddish brown. It occupies the site of the old fort St. Charles, at the foot of Esplanade avenue and Barracks street.

Up to 1853 there had been expended on this establishment, including the cost of construction, the putting in of machinery, and pay of employes, \$778,630.78. The imports of specie for the four years, 1846-47 to 1850-51, inclusive, were as follows: 1846-47, \$6,630,050; 1847-48, \$1,845,808; 1848-49, \$2,501,250; 1849-50, \$3,792,662; 1850-51, \$7,937,119. During the year ending July 31, 1851, the gold deposits amounted to \$8,285,637.14, and the silver deposits to \$822,085.25. The gold coinage for the same year was \$8,994,000, and the silver coinage, \$1,050,500.

In 1861 the mint was abandoned by those in charge, and did not resume operations under the auspices of the United States Government until 1878. Immediately after the abandonment of the mint, citizens went through the building as they chose, taking away such tools as they found. Between January 26 and May 31, 1861, the State of Louisiana had possession of the mint, and during that period coined in double eagles, \$195,000, the Confederate Government coining during the same period, \$59,820 in double eagles. In February and March of the same year the State of Louisiana coined 1,240,000 silver half dollars, and the Confederacy coined in April and May, 962,633 half dollars, making a total by the two governments of \$1,101,316.50. All of this coinage was done with the regular dies of the United States supplied late in 1860 for governmental use during the following year.

Thirty-two pairs of dies of 1861, more or less complete and of all denominations, of United States coins, were found at the mint by the agent of the United States Mint Bureau in January, 1865, and destroyed by him on the 15th of that month. The following items of information are from Dr. W. F. Bonzano, melter and refiner of the mint, during the period above referred to:

"The branch mint at New Orleans, with all its contents, was 'taken in trust' by secession convention in December, 1860, through a committee of the convention, at the head of which was the president of the convention, ex-Governor A. Mouton.

The committee called at the mint, ascertained the amount of bullion in the hands of the treasurer, melter and refiner, and coiner, and required an especial bond for same from each of these officers. A rough settlement was made, and all dies of 1860 were defaced in the presence of all the officers, except Mr. Guirot. By order of the superintendent, coinage was immediately resumed with the new dies of 1861, and continued until the 31st of May, 1861, when a final settlement was made and all bullion transferred to Mr. A. J. Guirot, who had in the meantime been appointed Assistant Treasurer of the Confederate States; at the same time all the United States dies, of whatever description, after careful examination and recognized agreement with the coiner's die account, were, with the consent of the coiner, defaced by the foreman, Mr. John F. Brown, with the assistance of a workman, Mr. Richard Stevenson.

"Under the auspices of the superintendent, treasurer and coiner, designs for a Confederate coin were made, and that for half dollars offered by the coiner, accepted, and was executed by an engraver of New Orleans, who produced a die of such high relief as rendered it impracticable for use in a coinage press. From this die four pieces were struck by successive blows of a screw press. The four pieces differed from the United States standard only in the legend. With the exception of these four pieces, no coins of any kind, different from the United States standard, were ever made at the New Orleans branch mint during the interval from May 31, 1861, to the early part of 1879.

"Another mark in the mint's life was the alleged burning, in June, 1893, of \$25,000 in United States paper currency, in bills of various denominations and character, which were deposited in a large tin box in the steel vault connected with the cashier's office, then in charge of Mr. James M. Dowling, who was cashier, appointed by Dr. A. W. Smythe, recent director of the mint, under Harrison's administration. There was some mystery and doubt as to the manner in which this money caught fire, and suspicion falling on Mr. Dowling, he was arrested on a charge of embezzlement, and bound over to await the action of the Federal grand jury; was indicted, tried and prosecuted vigorously and ably by the United States District Attorney, Frank B. Earhart, and was acquitted.

"The theory of the defense being, that the wires connected with the electric globe or bulb lighting the vault became overcharged with electricity, causing the bursting of the bulb, which was made of very thin glass, and scattering about the heated glass and carbon, and that the currency was ignited by these fragments, electrical experts testified that such ignition was possible. Mr. Dowling was

indicted for embezzlement, a government witness, expert in such matters, testifying that a minute microscopic examination of the ashes of the burnt money, disclosed a sum of original bills amounting to only \$1,185, Dowling alleging \$25,000 as being in the box."

The method of working the metal is as follows: Bullion is received by the superintendent's weigh clerk in many different forms and conditions, such as bricks, bars, dust, washings, old jewelry, plate, spoons, etc., which are called, and treated as deposits. No smaller value than \$100 in either gold or silver is received, and since November 2d, 1893, the purchase of silver has been discontinued. The depositor, on delivering his metal to the weigh clerk, receives a certificate of deposit, showing the gross weight of the metal deposited, but he is not paid therefor until the metal has been carried through many processes of refining, assaying, etc., to ascertain its exact value, which he is paid, less the mint charges. This system prevents fraud upon the government in the shape of deposits of gilded bricks, plated iron dust, and other simulations of gold, since an attempted fraud is certain of discovery, and the would-be cheat never calls for payment.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that gold has the following degrees of fineness:

Carat.	Fineness.	Value per Ounce. Troy.	
10	416.66	\$ 8.61	
11	458.33	9.47	
12	500	10.33	
13	541.66	11.19	
14	593.33	12.26	American Jewelry.
15	625	12.91	
16	666.66	13.78	Better American Jewelry.
17	708.33	14.64	
18	750	15.50	French Jewelry.
19	791.66	16.36	
20	833.33	17.22	
21	875	18.08	
22	916.66	18.94	English Sovereign.
23	958.33	19.81	
24	1000	20.67	
21.6	900	18.60	United States Coins.

One carat is equal to one pennyweight, or the one-twentieth part of an ounce Troy—the only weight used in any department of the mint. All the scales are of very delicate construction and are examined, weights adjusted, etc., several times a week by an expert, which insures exact weighing and the best possible conditions of the instruments. Gold is weighed to the one-hundredth part of an ounce, and silver to the one-twentieth part.

The following tables show the amount of coinage at the New Orleans mint from the time of its establishment in 1838 down to June 30, 1898, it being understood that operations here were suspended from 1861 to 1879, since which time it has been in continuous operation:

	Double eagles.	Eagles.	Gold. Half eagles.	Quarter eagles.	Dollars.	Silver. Dollars.
1838....						
1839....				\$44,452		
1840....			\$152,000	65,500		
1841....		\$25,000	41,750	18,450		
1842....		274,000	82,000	49,500		
1843....		1,751,620	505,375	920,005		
1844....		1,187,000	1,823,000			
1845....		475,000	205,000			
1846....		817,800	290,000	165,000		\$59,000
1847....		5,715,000	60,000	310,000		
1848....		358,500				
1849....		239,000			\$215,000	
1850....	\$2,820,000	575,000		210,000	14,000	40,000
1851....	6,300,000	2,630,000	205,000	370,000	290,000	
1852....	3,800,000	180,000		350,000	140,000	
1853....	1,420,000	510,000			290,000	
1854....	65,000	525,000	230,000	382,500		
1855....	160,000	180,000	55,500		55,000	
1856....	45,000	145,000	50,000	52,750		
1857....	600,000	55,000	65,000	85,000		
1858....	705,000	200,000				
1859....	182,000	23,000				360,000
1860....	132,000	111,000				515,000
1861†....	100,000					
1879....	46,500	15,000				2,887,000
1880....		92,000				5,305,000
1881....		83,500				5,708,000
1882....		108,200				6,090,000
1883....		8,000				8,725,000
1884....						9,730,000
1885....						9,185,000
1886....						10,710,000
1887....						11,550,000
1888....		213,350				12,150,000
1889....						11,875,000
1890....						10,701,000
1891....						7,954,529
1892....		286,880	50,000			2,744,000
1893....		170,000	550,000			300,000
1894....		1,075,000	83,000			1,723,000
1895....		980,000				450,000
1896....						4,900,000
1897....		425,000				4,004,000
1898*....						1,100,000
Total.	16,375,500	19,433,850	4,447,625	3,023,157	1,004,000	128,765,529

†No coinage from 1862 to 1878, inclusive.

*Six months only.

	Silver.			Total Coinage.			Total Value.
	Half dollars.	Quarter dollars.	Dimes.	Half dimes.	Gold.	Silver.	
1838....			\$40,243			\$40,243	\$40,243
1839....	\$81,488		124,327	\$54,827	\$44,452	260,642	305,095
1840....	427,550	\$106,300	117,500	46,750	217,500	698,100	915,600
1841....	200,500	113,000	200,750	40,750	85,200	555,000	640,200
1842....	478,500	192,250	202,000	17,500	405,500	890,250	1,295,750
1843....	1,134,000	242,000	15,000		3,177,000	1,391,000	4,568,000
1844....	1,002,500	185,000		11,000	3,010,000	1,198,500	4,208,500
1845....	1,047,000		23,000		680,000	1,070,000	1,750,000
1846....	1,152,000				1,272,800	1,211,000	2,483,800
1847....	1,292,000	92,000			6,085,000	1,384,000	7,469,000
1848....	1,590,000			30,000	358,500	1,620,000	1,978,500
1849....	1,155,000		30,000	7,000	454,000	1,192,000	1,646,000
1850....	1,228,000	103,000	51,000	34,500	3,619,000	1,456,500	5,075,500
1851....	201,000	22,000	40,000	43,000	9,795,000	327,600	10,122,600
1852....	72,000	24,000	43,000	13,000	4,470,000	152,000	4,622,000
1853....	664,000	333,000	110,000	100,000	2,220,000	1,225,000	3,445,000
1854....	2,620,000	371,000	177,000	78,000	1,274,500	3,246,000	4,520,500
1855....	1,844,000	44,000		30,000	450,500	1,918,000	2,368,500
1856....	1,329,000	242,000	118,000	55,000	292,750	1,744,000	2,036,750
1857....	409,000	295,000	154,000	69,000	805,000	927,000	1,732,000
1858....	3,647,000	130,000	29,000	83,000	905,000	3,889,000	4,794,000
1859....	1,417,000	65,000	48,000	28,000	205,000	1,918,000	2,123,000
1860....	645,000	97,000	4,000	\$53,000	243,000	1,314,000	1,557,000
1861†....	165,000				100,000	165,000	265,000
1879....					61,500	2,887,000	2,948,500
1880....					92,000	5,305,000	5,397,000
1881....					83,500	5,708,000	5,791,500
1882....					108,200	6,090,000	6,198,200
1883....					8,000	8,725,000	8,733,000
1884....						9,730,000	9,730,000
1885....						9,185,000	9,185,000
1886....						10,710,000	10,710,000
1887....						11,550,000	11,550,000
1888....					213,350	12,150,000	12,363,350
1889....						11,875,000	11,875,000
1890....						10,701,000	10,701,000
1891....		17,000	454,000			8,425,529	8,425,529
1892....	195,000	660,000	384,170		336,880	3,983,170	4,320,050
1893....	694,500	849,000	176,000		720,000	2,019,500	2,739,500
1894....	1,069,000	713,000	72,000		1,158,000	3,577,000	4,735,000
1895....	883,000	704,000	44,000		980,000	2,081,000	3,061,000
1896....	462,000	371,000	61,000			5,794,000	5,794,000
1897....	316,000	353,000	66,600		425,000	4,740,300	5,165,300
1898*....						1,100,000	1,100,000
Total.	27,421,038	6,324,250	2,784,590	812,327	44,356,132	166,129,335	210,485,467

†No coinage from 1862 to 1878, inclusive. *Six months only.

The above totals include three-cent pieces to the amount of \$21,600 minted in 1851, and three dollar pieces to the amount of \$72,000 minted in 1854.

For purposes of comparison it may be stated that at the Philadelphia mint there were coined from the time of its organization in 1793 to June 30, 1898, a total of \$1,303,635,491.42 in all kinds of coin; at the Charlotte, N. C., mint, from its establishment in 1838 to its suspension in 1861, a total of \$5,059,188; at the Dahlonega, Ga., mint, from its organization in 1838 to its suspension in 1861, a total of \$6,106,569; at the San Francisco mint from the time of its establishment in 1854 down to June 30, 1898, a total of \$1,143,994,428.80; at the Carson City, Nev., mint from its organization in 1870 down to June 30, 1898, a total of \$49,274,434.30; and, as given above, at the New Orleans mint, \$210,485,467.60, making a grand total at all the mints in the United States down to June 30, 1898, of \$2,718,555,579.12.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, there were coined at the New Orleans mint the following amounts: In standard silver dollars, \$10,540,000; in halves, \$627,000; in quarters, \$707,000. In checking up the several accounts or amounts of bullion, subsidiary coin and other forms of money, the year's balance sheets closed without the variation of a cent.

Following are the lists of the several officers of the mint since its establishment:

Superintendents—David Bradford, 1837-1839; Joseph N. Kennedy, 1840-49; R. McAlpine, 1850-52; Charles Bienvenu, 1853-57; Logan McKnight, 1858; William A. Elmore, 1859-61, resigning January 30; from April 18, 1861, to May, 1862, "mint of the Confederate States;" M. F. Bonzano, on May 16, 1862, ordered to return to New Orleans to take charge of the mint, and in 1874 was assayer in charge; Michael Hahn, July, 1878, to January, 1879; Henry S. Foote, December, 1879, to June, 1880; Martin V. Davis, 1880-82; A. W. Smyth, 1882-85; Gabriel Montahue, 1885-89; A. W. Smyth, 1889-93; Overton Cade, 1893-98; C. W. Bothby, 1898.

Assayers—Dr. William P. Hart, 1837-52; H. Millspaugh, 1853-61; Dr. Joseph Albrecht, 1878-83; Dr. B. F. Tatlor, 1883-84; W. C. Wilson, 1884-85; F. F. Claussen, 1885-93; R. A. Schroeder, 1893-94; A. M. Delavallade, 1894-96; F. F. Claussen, 1896-97; Dr. W. M. Lynch, 1897.

Melters and Refiners—James Maxwell, 1837-38; John L. Riddell, 1839-48; M. F. Bonzano, 1849-61 and 1878-83; F. F. Claussen, 1883-85; L. Magruder, 1885-91; Dr. J. Cecil Lagare, 1891-93; Lewis Guion, 1893 to March 1, 1899; H. Dudley Coleman, March 1, 1899.

Coiners—Rufus Tyler, 1837-38; Philo B. Tyler, 1839-47; John Brooks, 1848-

50; A. Devall, 1851-53; A. J. Guirot, 1854-57; Dr. B. F. Taylor, 1858-61; Dr. M. F. Bonzano, 1878-79; Martin V. Davis, 1879-80; Jacob Helfrich, 1880-81; F. K. Jones, 1881-85; General Allen Thomas, 1885-90; A. R. Burkdell, 1890-93; H. Gibbs Morgan, 1893 to March 1, 1899; Mayer Cahen, March 1, 1899.

Philo B. Tyler, mentioned above as coiner from 1839 to 1847, was the inventor of the Tyler Cotton Press and of the converting machine for coin. John L. Riddell, melter and refiner from 1839 to 1848, was the inventor of the binocular microscope and of the rotary ingot mold. The first gold dollar coined at this mint was on June 11, 1849, at 6 P. M.

The total coinage for the New Orleans mint for the calendar year 1898 was \$5,770,000, and for 1899, \$14,078,000; eagles (gold), \$370,470; standard silver dollars, \$12,290,000; half dollars, \$862,000; quarters, \$661,000; and dimes, \$265,000.

POSTOFFICE.

A postoffice was established in New Orleans soon after the acquisition of the Territory of Louisiana by the United States, with Blaise Cenas as postmaster, his commission being dated October 1, 1803. On October 9, 1804, Postmaster Cenas made public the following announcement: "The mails for the future will arrive at New Orleans on Monday at 5 P. M., and will start every Tuesday at 7 A. M., closing at 6 A. M. on the day of departure." On February 22, 1805, the postmaster removed his office to the residence of Dr. Zerbau, on Royal street. The mail via Fort Stoddart started for the first time on Saturday, September 21, 1805, and returned to New Orleans for the first time on the following Thursday, September 26. In November, 1807, the postmaster, B. Cenas, gave public notice that the mail via Fort Adams would in the future arrive every Saturday at 10 A. M., and would be closed every Monday at 11 o'clock, and that he would deliver on Sunday between 11 A. M. and 1 P. M. letters received by that day's mail, "but not at other times on that day, and to no other person whatever."

Thomas B. Johnston succeeded B. Cenas as postmaster, his commission being dated April 1, 1810. In August, 1810, the postoffice was removed to Custom House street, between Royal and Chartres streets, to "the house lately occupied by Tully Robinson, attorney-at-law." In September, 1810, the mails began to arrive and depart more frequently, those via Fort Stoddart arriving every Saturday and departing the same day; those via Fort Adams arriving every Tuesday and departing every Friday, and those by way of the Balize boats arriving every Friday and departing every Sunday. By May 1, 1811, the mails began to make such fast time as

to attract special attention, and to be something to boast of. From Washington they came through in twenty days; from Baltimore, in twenty-one days, and from Philadelphia, in twenty-three days.

In 1852 or 1853 the postoffice was removed to the United States District Court room between Canal and Custom House streets, and in 1860 into the Custom House building, where it still remains. Two stations were established in 1882, one in Algiers, the other in Carrollton, and in 1890 four other stations were added, all being called sub-stations. On October 1, 1895, the sub-station at Algiers was made a full station, and denominated Station A; that at Carrollton was converted into Station B; Station C was established at 3314 Magazine street; Station D on Dauphine street, between Louisa and Piety; and on January 1, 1896, Station E was established on Euterpe street, near Dryades. The special delivery system was put into operation in 1895, and the collection carts, September 1, 1899.

The following statements for the year ending June 30, 1886, and for the year ending December 31, 1898, will serve to show the increase in the business of the postoffice for the last thirteen years:

For the first year named the total receipts were \$264,890.14, and the total expenditures, \$119,355.96, outside of the money order department, the receipts of which amounted to \$4,018,277.57, while the total amount paid out on money orders was \$2,391,906, and remittances to New York, \$1,613,235.04. The number of carriers employed was sixty-four. The total number of pieces of mail matter delivered was 11,596,263, and the number collected was 8,705,454.

For the second year named the gross receipts in the cashier's division were \$437,588.44, and the total expenditures, \$201,414.46, while the total money order business amounted to \$1,985,000.90. The total number of pieces of mail matter handled was 97,669,037, and the total business for the year amounted to \$5,379,158.

Following is a list of the postmasters at New Orleans since Louisiana was ceded to the United States, together with the dates of their appointment, furnished upon request by Joseph L. Bristow, Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General:

Bloise Cenas, October 1, 1804.
 Thomas B. Johnson, April 1, 1810.
 George Croghan, November 5, 1824.
 Antoine Dupuy, March 27, 1826.
 David C. Kerr, April 23, 1829.
 William H. Kerr, June 6, 1829.

William McQueen, July 27, 1839.
 Gabriel Montamat, September 9, 1840.
 William Debuys, July 10, 1841.
 John B. Dawson, April 18, 1843.
 Alexander G. Penn, December 19, 1843.
 Michael Musson, April 18, 1849.

William G. Kendall, April 7, 1853.	Charles W. Ringgold, March 1, 1873.
Robert M. Adams, April 14, 1855.	John M. G. Parker, April 6, 1875.
Arthur S. Nevitt, May 3, 1855.	Algernon S. Badger, July 19, 1878.
Robert E. McHatton, March 23, 1857.	William L. McMillen, February 19, 1879.
Samuel F. Marks, February 10, 1858.	Washington B. Merchant, March 2, 1883.
John L. Riddell, August 16, 1860.	Samuel H. Buck, July 23, 1885.
John M. G. Parker, February 19, 1863.	George W. Nott, May 19, 1887.
Robert W. Taliaferro, March 20, 1865.	Stephen M. Eaton, August 13, 1890.
Walter M. Smallwood, July 30, 1868.	Frank A. Daniels, May 9, 1894.
Charles W. Lowell, April 5, 1869.	John R. G. Pitkin, September 17, 1898.
B. P. Blanchard, December 2, 1870.	

THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

Some time in the forties the First Municipality, as the district between Canal street and Esplanade avenue was then called, offered the United States Government its choice of several squares to be conveyed to it in fee simple provided that a custom house adequate to the demands of the growing commerce of the city should be erected thereon. The proposition was accepted November 22, 1847, and the Secretary of the Treasury selected "Custom House square" as the most eligible of those offered. This square, which is bounded by Canal, Custom House, Decatur and Peters streets, is the site where formerly stood Fort St. Louis of the colonial days. At that time it fronted directly upon the river, but the constant "making" of the bank upon this side has interposed a stretch of "batture" ground between the site and the stream from which four new blocks have been cut. These, having been sold to private individuals, a number of large stores and business houses now occupy the place where formerly ships lay at anchor. The old Custom House, which was torn down to make room for the new structure, was, according to the first directory of the city, published in 1822, "a spacious, plain brick building, with a coating of white plaster, situated on the levee, where, besides the offices connected with the customs, are the United States District Court room, and offices of the United States Clerk, Marshal and Land" (commissioner, probably).

The corner-stone of the new building was laid by Henry Clay in 1847, and on October 23d, 1848, work was begun, the plan of A. T. Wood having been adopted. This plan called for a large granite building in the Egyptian style, to cost \$800,000. It was proposed to construct in the center of the edifice a large hall to be devoted to the business of the customs, the remainder of the building to be used as a general bonded warehouse. In furtherance of this plan it was determined to make

the building very strong and thoroughly fire-proof. The walls of the vaulted rooms were made of great thickness, and only iron and brick were used in the construction of the floors, there being perhaps less wood used in the whole structure than in any building of its size in the world. The nature of the soil upon which this enormous mass of brick and stone was to be superimposed rendered it necessary that the greatest care be taken with the foundations. The huge cypress logs which formed their base were laid at the depth of 17 feet, and it being foreseen that there would still be a gradual subsidence of the massive structure, the walls were bound together by strong iron bands, in order to insure its settling evenly. These bands remained in place over thirty years, but notwithstanding all the precautions, the walls sunk at one corner fully two feet, and it was found necessary to substitute an iron cornice for the stone one contemplated by the original plan. The work was carried on with greater or less expedition, according to the means at disposal, until the beginning of the Civil War, when, for a time, it was entirely suspended. It was resumed soon after the close of the war, and continued at intervals up to November 1st, 1884, when, the appropriations being discontinued, the work ceased. Up to the date mentioned above, the total cost had been \$4,212,368.50, and it is estimated that nearly a million more will be required to bring it to completion.

The building, which is constructed of Quincy (Mass.) granite, is 81 feet high, with a frontage on Canal street of 340 feet, and a depth of 297 and 309 feet, respectively, on Decatur and Peters streets. Entering by the great door on Canal street, and ascending to the principal floor, the visitor finds himself in a wide vestibule roofed with thick glass skylights, which are supported by iron columns. From this he passes into a hall extending around the whole building, and giving access to all the offices. In the center of the building, and encircled by this corridor is the famous "Marble Hall," one of the finest rooms in the world, and perhaps the very finest room devoted to business. While not so large as St. George's Hall of Liverpool, it surpasses it in point of material, only marble and iron entering into its construction. This room is a parallelogram, measuring 128 feet in length by 84 in breadth, with a height of fifty-four feet from floor to glass dome or roof. An iron frame painted white and gold forms the setting for the great plates of heavy ground glass, which are ornamented with an elegant Grecian border in blue. Fourteen lofty columns are so placed as to give the central part of the room a space of 45x65 feet, for the use of the general public, the officers and clerks being accommodated outside. The columns are of the Corinthian order, with Attic bases, the lower portion of the shafts plain and polished, the capitals varied

to allow of designs indicative of the purpose to which the room is dedicated. At the top of each is a basso-relievo of Juno and another of Mercury, together with designs of cotton and tobacco plants. These are so arranged that each faces its opposite on every column, and by looking at four capitals from any position, all the designs are comprehended at a glance. Each one of these beautiful fluted shafts of pure white marble is said to have cost \$8,000. The floor is of black and white marble tiles, each one two feet square, laid in a pattern, with border of black extending from column to column. Sixteen plates of glass one inch thick, cast on a hammered surface and ground smooth to break the rays of light, are set in the floor to give light to the room below. Each plate is the center of a star, handsomely inlaid with black marble. At one end of the room is a life size basso-relievo of Bienville, the only monument of the founder the city possesses, and one of Jackson, the two separated by the coat of arms of Louisiana, the pelican feeding her young. The hall is heated by steam, the steam coils being suspended in the floor from the arches, and shielded by hexagon pedestals with marble tops.

At the white marble counters around the hall sit the officers of the customs. Here vessels from all parts of the world are entered and cleared, duties collected, and all business transacted relating to the commerce of New Orleans.

On the left of the main entrance are the U. S. Courts, the Marshal's office, and that of the Clerk; and at the end of the right-hand corridor, the Sub-Treasury office.

The other offices on the second floor are the Land Office, the Surveyor General's Office, and the Signal Service Station. General Butler, when he took possession of the city in 1862, established his headquarters in the Custom House, and occupied the suite of rooms on the Decatur side as his office. The upper portion of the building, then in an unfinished condition, was used as a military prison, and in the room beneath the Sub-Treasury office, at the foot of the dark staircase, Mumford, the man who was hung for tearing down the United States flag from the mint, was confined while awaiting his trial.

On the ground floor, the Decatur street side of the building is occupied by the postoffice. The corridor of this office is 247 feet long. On the ground floor are also the Appraiser's store, the office of the Inspector of Boilers and Steamboats, and other offices.

THE CITY HALL.

The City Hall, situated six blocks above Canal street, opposite Lafayette square, was built in 1850 by Gallier. The model selected was the celebrated Temple

of Minerva of the Athenian Acropolis. The front of the building is of white marble, and is adorned with a noble portico of Ionic columns, upon the frieze of which is a bas-relief of Justice, flanked on either hand by figures bearing emblems of the commerce of the Mississippi Valley. A flight of granite steps leads to the pavement of the portico, where a wide doorway gives access to a hall, paved with black and white marble, and extending the whole length of the edifice. On either side are the various offices of the City Government. On the left, near the entrance, is the Mayor's parlor and office, in the first of which hang portraits of Washington, Jackson, and several of the former Mayors. On the right is the library, a large apartment containing an extensive collection of books, which are free to all who desire to read. The room is ornamented by a number of busts, among them that of Samuel J. Peters, the founder of the library, and under whose administration the City Hall was planned and built. Mr. Peters was, indeed, one of the most remarkable men who has at any time taken part in the public and commercial affairs of the city. Coming as a young man from Canada, his birthplace, he began his career as clerk in a store, but his ability rapidly advanced him to the position of head of the largest wholesale grocery in the South. Mercantile affairs, however, did not afford sufficient scope for his intellectual activity, and he soon began to interest himself in municipal matters. As member of the Council of the Second Municipality he took the lead in every measure of importance, becoming in time the autocrat of its destinies, which he controlled with admirable vigor and ability. He organized the police on a new plan, created a fire department, introduced a system of public schools modeled upon the best New England system, besides establishing the library already alluded to, building the City Hall, raising the credit of the Municipality, and accomplishing a number of other improvements. In addition to all these public services which were rendered without remuneration, Mr. Peters was president of a large and flourishing bank, director in many other corporations, and for a short time Collector of Customs for the Federal Government. Yet at his death, he left barely enough property to afford his children a good education, while his partner, who was unknown beyond the commercial circle in which he moved, who never performed any public service, or promoted any public enterprise, left a princely estate.

Some historic interest attaches to the City Hall in connection with events of the war. Several regiments received their colors from its granite steps in the exciting days of 1861, and it was here that Admiral Bailey came on that eventful April day in 1862 to demand the surrender of the city. When 'Rex makes 'his

annual entrance on the day preceding Mardi Gras, it is his custom to pay a visit to the Mayor in his parlor, where he is presented with the keys of the city.

TULANE HALL.

This building, formerly the Mechanic's Institute, was erected to serve as an institute and library. The original building was destroyed by fire shortly before the war, but was replaced within a year or so. The present edifice has an historic interest from the use to which it was put after the war and during the reconstruction period. Upon the formation of a State Government under the protection of the Union forces, it was made the State Capitol, and continued to serve in this capacity until 1866, when the famous "July Riots" occurred. It was in its assembly hall that the members of the old convention of 1864, who had met without the authority of either the former president or the Governor of the State, for the purpose of capturing the control of the State, then, with the exception of the Governorship, in the possession of the Democrats, entrenched themselves against the Sheriff of the parish and his posse of policemen, who had been ordered to disperse them. It was this hall, too, which, in 1872, the U. S. Marshal and his company of Federal soldiers, acting under the "midnight order" of Judge Durell, of the U. S. Circuit Court, seized and held against the members of the Democratic Legislature, in order to prevent the counting of the election returns; an action which, with its resulting complications, had the effect of fastening upon the State a Governor not of the people's choice, who was maintained in his seat by United States bayonets.

This building is now the property of the Tulane University, and the home of the State Library. Its "hall" is used as a lecture-room, and as an assembly room for the dances and entertainments given by the students of the University during the winter.

WASHINGTON ARTILLERY HALL.

The Washington Artillery Armory stands on St. Charles street, near the corner of Girod. The second floor is divided into two immense rooms, each 81x170 feet, and was formerly known as "Exposition Hall." The hall proper, fronting on St. Charles street, is handsomely frescoed, and embellished with a stately colonnade of fluted columns in white and gold on either side. On the night of Mardi Gras the ball of his Majesty Rex is held in this hall, the rear room being transformed into a throne room. The double apartment thrown into one gives commodious accommodation to fairs, bazaars, and exhibitions requiring space. The front hall is also used as a concert room, and for the annual balls of various societies.

THE COTTON EXCHANGE.

In 1871 the cotton merchants of New Orleans formed among themselves an association for the purpose of regulating the cotton trade of the city by means of systematic rules for sampling, purchasing and delivering, as well as for the adjustment of disputes by arbitration. The original membership of one hundred rapidly swelled to three times that number, and the usefulness of the organization was so clearly demonstrated, that it was determined to erect a more commodious building for its accommodation than the one first selected. A site was chosen at the corner of Carondelet and Gravier streets, and under the superintendence of Mr. Thomas D. Miller the present elegant structure was put up. The material used is a cream-colored stone, and the style is that of the Italian Renaissance with elaborate ornamentation of bas-relief and carving. Wolters, of Louisville, furnished the plan, and the building was delivered to the association, complete in every detail, at a cost of \$380,000 including the ground.

The Exchange room proper is situated on the ground floor, and extends from Carondelet street back to Varieties alley, a distance of 100 feet, with a width of fifty feet. The Renaissance style prevails throughout the interior, which affords a fine illustration of the school of Lienard. The ceiling and walls are lavishly embellished with frescos in gold, crimson, violet and other rare shades. Above the Carondelet street entrance are three medallions in gold, and back of these, surrounding an ornate centerpiece, are four paintings, representing De Soto's first view of the Mississippi; South Pass and the jetties, with steamers passing; La Salle taking possession of Louisiana, and a cotton-field, with cotton ready for picking, all of which are bordered with medallions of exquisite tracery. On the walls are panels of griffins' heads with borders of intricate design, and a profusion of fruit and flowers, wreaths and festoons, rich friezes, in which gold predominates. The ceiling is supported by four double columns of perfect proportion, resting on pedestals, and adorned with rosettes of a rich pattern. Near the Varieties alley entrance is an ornamental fountain, from the basin of which rises a bronze Triton, holding a conch shell to his lips.

Around the walls are set slabs of slate of extraordinary size, quarried expressly for the purpose, upon which are noted the market quotations and the movements of cotton. A recess separated from the main room by an ornamental screen, is fitted up in handsome style as a counting room for the officers of the institution.

The building is four stories high, and an elevator near the rear transports

visitors to the upper story, where a stairway of easy ascent leads to the roof. This is enclosed by a handsome iron railing, so that parties can walk about without fear of falling, and from it can be obtained such a view of the city and its environs as can hardly be had from any other accessible building. In clear weather Lake Ponchartrain can be distinctly seen, and the windings of the Mississippi traced for miles above and below the city. On this roof are hung the bells which strike the hours, half hours and quarters.

THE SUGAR EXCHANGE.

The Sugar Exchange Hall proper is of magnificent proportions, being 110x60 feet, with a height of 54 feet from floor to skylight. It is lighted on three sides by immense plate glass windows, 13 feet wide and 24 feet high, and from above by the skylight already alluded to, which is 23 feet square. The wing building is 120x33 feet, and is two stories high. On the first floor are a public vestibule, a telegraph office, offices of the Exchange, board room, lavatory and closets. On the second floor, a library 12x19, a reading room and museum 77x20, two committee rooms, lavatory, etc. The ventilation is through the cornice of the skylight, and the acoustics are perfect. The entrances to the hall are covered by porches, and a Schillinger pavement is laid on three sides and in the yard at the rear. A small triangular islet, set aside by the council as a public park, under charge of commissioners appointed from the members of the Sugar Exchange, is planted with trees and ornamental shrubs, the surface sodded, walks laid, and the whole surrounded with a high dressed curb, with a Schillinger banquette on Bienville street.

THE PRODUCE EXCHANGE.

Until the year 1883 the merchants of New Orleans were without any building specially devoted to the purposes of a Produce Exchange. In that year the dealers in Western produce came together and determined upon the purchase of the old St. James Hotel, on Magazine street, near Natchez, in the rear of which they have caused to be constructed a spacious and well-lighted hall, where, at all hours of the day the produce merchants congregate for business.

LIBRARIES.

According to tradition the first public library of New Orleans was established about 1801, but no reliable data concerning it is obtainable. The New Orleans Library Society was incorporated in 1805, with an unlimited capital, the shares being \$25. The mayor and recorder of the city, with the treasurer of the territory

and three other gentlemen, were appointed as commissioners to take subscriptions, and as soon as fifty shares should be disposed of the subscribers were to meet for the purpose of electing seven of their number as trustees, said trustees to remain in office until the third Monday of January, 1806, when their successors, who would have been elected on the previous Monday, were to assume control. In March, 1816, a supplementary act was passed providing for the sale of forfeited stock, no sale being valid unless the amount realized should suffice to pay the arrearages on the shares sold. This does not indicate a very prosperous state of affairs for the society. The same act authorized an annual lottery to be held for ten successive years for the benefit of the institution. The capital stock of the lottery was not to exceed \$2,000, and the directors were allowed to retain not more than twenty per cent of that amount. The ultimate fate of the society is involved in obscurity, but it is probable that it died of inanition.

Eight years seem to have elapsed before another attempt was made to establish a public library. Finally, April 10, 1824, upon petition of a number of prominent gentlemen, the Touro Free Library Society of New Orleans was incorporated. It was called for Judah Touro, the philanthropic merchant who gave away over \$400,000 in charity, and who is credited with the intention of erecting a building for it. There is no record of the building having been constructed, but the library is said to have existed for six years.

The State Library was established under an act of the Legislature approved March 12, 1838, beginning its existence with about 3,000 volumes, which increased within a short time to 6,000. It was designed for the use of citizens, strangers and members of the Legislature—chiefly for the latter. With the transfer of the State capital to Baton Rouge, the library was also removed to that city. In 1861 it contained 50,028 volumes, including duplicates and State publications. Many of these were of great value. During the war the State House was burned, greatly to the loss of the library, the remnant of which was removed to the City Hall of New Orleans. In 1864 the librarian, Mr. J. B. Carrigan, reported the number of volumes to be 24,120, which he recommended should be removed to the Tulane University building, corner Tulane avenue and University place, which recommendation was adopted and acted upon. In February, 1896, it was again removed to its present quarters in Tulane Hall, on University place, near Canal. The library at present contains something over 20,000 volumes, among which is a collection of works in French—about 5,000 in number—relating to the history of the State, many of them of great value.

A private library, known as the "Commercial Library," appears to have come into being about 1838, and to have endured until 1842, when B. F. French, a public-spirited citizen, bought it and threw it open as a free library. In 1846 it occupied two rooms in the Merchants' Exchange on Royal street, and numbered about 7,500 volumes. This, too, lived about six years.

The Young Men's Free Library Association, instituted about 1842, and opened at the corner of Custom House and Exchange place, contained a well-selected collection of 2,000 volumes. It seems to have vanished, leaving "not a rack behind."

The Lyceum, or Public School Library, was inaugurated in 1845, through the efforts of Mr. Shaw, superintendent of the public schools; Samuel J. Peters, and others, as an adjunct of the public schools of the second municipality. It numbered at first some 3,000 volumes, and by 1848 had increased to 7,500. A monthly subscription of 25 cents entitled the pupils of the public schools to the benefits of this library, while a fee of \$10 made the subscriber a life member, without further charge. In 1850 the library was placed in the still unfinished City Hall, and soon afterward became the property of the city.

The Fisk Library was founded in 1849 by Mr. Alvarez Fisk, who in order to carry out the wishes of his deceased brother, for the establishment of a library which should be free to all, bought the old "Commercial Library" from Mr. French, and offered the entire collection, then consisting of 6,000 volumes, to the city, with "a building on Custom House street for their reception." A singular apathy seemed to prevail in the community with regard to the handsome gift; no adequate provision was made by the city council or the public for its acceptance, although it still continued to increase under the generous zeal of its custodian, Mr. French. Finally the use of it was granted to the Mechanics' Institute, and subsequently to the Louisiana University, and to its successor, Tulane, the city continuing practically without an entirely free public library until January, 1897, when the doors of the present "Fisk Free and Public Library" were thrown open.

This library has been formed by the consolidation of the Lyceum Library—the volumes of which circulated only among life-members and teachers of the public schools—and the Fisk Library, which was almost exclusively a reference library. In February, 1895, the city council took under consideration the subject of providing a building for the reception of these two libraries. The court building on Camp street, opposite Lafayette square, having been determined upon, the two libraries were given over to the control of the city in 1896, the newly appointed library board meeting for the first time in December of that year. Mr. William

Beer, librarian of the Howard Memorial Library, who had been active in urging forward the movement of consolidation, was appointed librarian, and under his energetic and sagacious management the new institution was rapidly organized and put upon a working basis.

The fund for the organization, equipment, and support of this library for 1897 was \$17,000, including interest and unexpended balance from the Fisk endowment of \$2,000, the rental of stores on the ground floor of the library building, and an annual appropriation by the city council. For this first year this appropriation was \$1,500; for the second year \$7,000, for 1898, \$48,500. The annual appropriation will doubtless increase as the library becomes more and more appreciated.

About 28,000 volumes were received from the two libraries, each contributing an equal number. Of fiction only 250 volumes were available, and as this class of literature is always and everywhere in demand, nearly 8,000 volumes were immediately added, including a considerable number of volumes of French fiction, and about 800 books for children. From the day of opening the circulation of books has been very large, indicating the crying need for a free circulating library. The conditions governing the drawing of books bring them within the reach of all classes of people.

The number of cardholders is 10,200, which does not include children who draw on the cards of their parents. The average monthly circulation is 6,800 volumes for home use, and 500 for library use, and the number of cards issued monthly is 400. The highest circulation for one day is 504, and the lowest, 140. The staff consists of the librarian, six assistants, one boy and two porters. Nearly one-third of the issue is to children under fifteen years of age.

The library is on the second floor of the building in what was formerly known as St. Patrick's Hall, the dimensions of the floor space being 80x100 feet. Adjoining the large room on the southeast side, and opening into it by a wide double door, is a room of 1,200 square feet reserved as a reading room for ladies and children; and at the west end, is the room occupied by the board of education. The large room is well lighted by large windows on the north side, and smaller ones on the other sides. At night electricity is used for lighting at a cost of \$72 for 112 lamps.

This library has on file nearly 300 of the best current periodicals,—American, English, French, German and Italian publications being represented. Thirty daily papers from different sections of the country are also taken, as well as one from

each of the great cities of London, Paris and Berlin. It is the intention of the library to circulate most of its books and bound periodicals, and those over two months old are allowed to be taken out. Valuable works may also be drawn by making a deposit.

As soon as funds are available it is the design of the directors to convert the large gallery of the main room into a special study room for teachers and pupils, and to make generous loans of books to schools. The facilities of the library will also be rendered more accessible to the public by the establishment of three delivery stations in different portions of the city. And thus in every way possible the library will become more and more influential as an educational factor in the city's life.

The Howard Memorial Library, at the corner of Camp street and Howard avenue, was erected in 1888 at the expense of Miss Annie T. Howard, now Mrs. Walker Parrott, at a cost of \$115,000. It was presented on the day of its opening to a board of trustees consisting of the most prominent men of the city, with a sum of money which has grown to \$200,000, and which is invested for the maintenance and increase of the library. The original 8,000 volumes have also (1899) swelled to 40,000 books and pamphlets, and the library has become an exceedingly valuable institution to the citizens of New Orleans, and to all who have occasion to visit it, and avail themselves of its advantages. All departments of learning are represented, and in many languages. Encyclopedias, dictionaries, works on religion, and philosophy, sociology, political economy, law, naval and military science, education, customs and folk-lore. Works on the history and development of the Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic and Eastern languages, as well as on history of the early French, and on the sciences, including mathematics and chemistry, medicine and agriculture. Literature in all its phases is well represented, including general and local history.

In the basement are sets of New Orleans papers in occasional years to 1873, and regularly from that date to the present time, with numerous governmental publications. The library is one of the congressional depositories, and has a fine collection of publications of the Smithsonian Institute, and a large number of the publications of the different departments of the United States Government.

The building, which is unique in appearance, is of rough brown stone, and was designed by Richardson, the celebrated architect, being the last plan he ever drew. The interior is beautifully finished in polished hardwoods, and is divided into numerous alcoves for the reception of books, an alcove being devoted to every

branch of learning, and a large circular reading room abundantly lighted by broad windows. Mr. Frank T. Howard, brother of Mrs. Parrott, has devoted much time and attention to the enlargement and perfecting of the library, which reflects great credit upon its managers.

The Howard Memorial Hall is the gift to the city of Mr. Frank T. Howard. It was erected in 1889 from a design by Sully, as a depository of objects of historic interest, and relics of the Civil War. It is of red brick, and is finished on the inside in the same manner as the library, with the addition of a number of glass cases arranged about the walls, and filled with documents, swords, pistols, muskets, and other relics of the "late unpleasantness." Battle flags adorn the ceiling, and beneath their dingy folds Confederate veterans often assemble to fight their battles over, and to discuss the affairs of their various camps. The Hall is under the management of a board of governors, composed of five members from each of the four camps of veterans forming the Louisiana Historical Association, and five from the board of directors of the Howard Memorial Library.

The Memorial Hall adjoins the Library on the north side, and is entered from Camp street. It was dedicated January 8, 1891, and transferred by Mr. Howard to the Louisiana Historical Association. The original cost of the building was about \$40,000, which has recently been increased by the addition of an ornamental portico to the Camp street front.

On September 19, 1899, an interesting ceremony took place at this entrance. The occasion was the presentation of an historic gun, formerly belonging to the Fifth company of the Washington Artillery to the Louisiana Historical Association. The gun was called the "Lady Slocomb," in honor of the wife of Captain Cuthbert Slocomb, who commanded the Fifth at the time of the surrender, April 4th, 1865. It was in use at Spanish Fort at that time, and lay buried in the earth until 1890, when it was resurrected by surviving members of the company. It was presented to the Association by Colonel J. A. Chalaron, the last remaining officer of the company. Colonel Edward Palfrey, president of the Association, introduced Rev. A. Gordon Bakewell, Chaplain of the Artillery, who offered the opening prayer. The gun, an eight-inch columbiad, was unveiled by order of E. P. Cottraux, commander of Camp No. 15, U. C. V., the veterans who unveiled it being under command of Corporal Charles W. Fox, who commanded the gun in action. Colonel Chalaron delivered the presentation address, Colonel Palfrey the address of welcome and Rev. B. M. Palmer, the oration of the occasion.

HOSPITALS.

The Charity Hospital takes precedence over all the charities of New Orleans, both in point of age and in the munificence of its far-reaching benefits. Its original dates back to the very early years of the colony, and was the gift of a humble sailor, Jean Louis by name, who, having acquired by some fortunate commercial transactions what for one in his station was a competency, bequeathed his whole estate for the founding of a hospital. The precise date of this bequest cannot be fixed, but it must have been many years anterior to 1737, at which time Bienville mentions it in one of his reports to the home government as having been already applied to the designated purpose. The sum was not large,—only 12,000 livres,—about \$2,500—but it sufficed for the purchase of a house “situated upon a vast location at one of the extreme limits of the city,” and for the necessary repairs and furnishings, leaving even a small balance, which was held in reserve for future needs. This humble precursor of the splendid institution which has grown up in the course of something over a hundred and seventy years, was known as the “Hospice des Pauvres,” and stood on the west side of Rampart street, on the square bounded by St. Peter and Toulouse, as Miro says, “upon a portion of the grounds allotted to the city’s fortifications.” The situation was far from favorable, the ground being low and marshy, and therefore insalubrious, but this did not prevent it from becoming an important factor in the municipal economy of that early day, when the city’s population hardly numbered 5,000 souls. The fallacious inducements to immigrants held out by Law’s Mississippi or East India Company brought over scores of penniless adventurers who were infallibly destined to become a charge upon public charity, and who doubtless swelled the list of patients in the hospital to a number quite out of proportion to the legitimate population. The hospital withstood the hurricane of 1778, which brought such desolation to the colonists, but a similar visitation in 1779 converted it into a heap of ruins, leaving only the kitchen and storehouse standing. In the universal distress nobody was able to offer any assistance to the unfortunate patients so summarily discharged from the shelter of their wards, and Governor Miro describes them as “wandering through the city in quest of succor and shelter,” and “hourly exposed to perish upon the very streets, or in some obscure by-corner.”

The frequent and lengthy conferences between the Governor and the Cabildo resulted in nothing, and matters were at a desperate pass when Don Almonaster y Roxas, the good genius of the city at this period, stepped forward with offers of relief. His proposition was to rebuild the hospital at his own expense, and to

appropriate a yearly revenue for its support. Strange to say, this generous proposal, instead of being gratefully accepted, was met with much carping and criticism on the part of certain members of the Cabildo who had never been able to reconcile themselves to the Spanish domination. Don Almonaster was not in the least deterred, however, by the adverse comments of his opponents. Having secured the king's approval of his enterprise, he set about the work in 1782, and in 1784 the new institution, called in honor of the King of Spain, the "New Charity Hospital of St. Charles," was completed. It stood upon the site of its predecessor, "a commodious, substantial edifice, built of brick and mortar, surrounded by suitable dependencies, and provided with a chapel." At the time of Charles' death, in 1785, this chapel was the only house of worship standing in the city, and it was here that the Requiem Mass, and other religious ceremonies in his honor, were performed.

So far Almonaster had carried out his purposes and faithfully fulfilled his promises, and his hospital was doing good work. But a change of administration now occurred. Miro, who had stood his advocate and friend through all the opposition raised against his project, was succeeded by Baron de Carondelet, a stranger to the colony, who knew not its "Joseph." Quick to take advantage of the new state of affairs, his opponents now set on foot a struggle for supremacy in the management of the hospital which resulted in the total dispossession of the founder of the controlling power he had heretofore exercised. Almonaster, however, who had by this time entered the Cabildo as Regidor Perpetuo (Life Councilman), wasted no time in seeking redress at the hands of the provincial government. He wrote to his King, making a full statement of all his grievances, and when, on a certain day in October, 1793, the members of the Cabildo assembled in their "Salas Capitulares," he had a nice little surprise for them in the shape of an address from "their Lordships, the Governor and Intendant of the Province," enclosing a *Real Cedula*, making known the fact that the Royal Supreme Council of the Indies approved of the founding in the city by the Regidor Perpetuo, of the "New Charity Hospital of St. Charles," and declaring Don Almonaster to be the "founder, patron, and endower" of that institution. The Council, having heard these documents read, kissed them and placed them upon their heads, "as is done with a letter from the King, our lord and natural master," and pledged themselves henceforth to recognize Don Almonaster as directed. This submissive attitude, however, was not altogether sincere, and many ways were found to hamper and annoy the generous Don in the prosecution of his charitable work. Not only was his demand to be

installed as Patron of the Hospital complied with tardily and with an ill grace, and his appointment of a physician rejected, but he was subjected to pecuniary loss from unjust lawsuits brought against him in the course of his purchase of grounds facing the Place d'Armes for the parochial church, now the Cathedral, and the Government house he was about to build, and no redress was granted him, when in open audience he had applied to the Governor. He went again to the King, who again interposed in behalf of his faithful servant, and Almonaster, no doubt, felt himself fully recompensed for all the indignities he had suffered when he was able, in November, 1796, to present to the Cabildo two royal "Cedulas," or letters patent, the first of which ordered that the physician appointed by him be put in possession of his office with a monthly salary of \$30, and that henceforth no confirmation of appointments made by him should be required, it being only necessary that notification be sent to the Governor with a statement of the circumstances prompting the action; and furthermore, that the said Don Almonaster should be relieved from the obligation of accounting for his administrative acts in said hospital. The second conferred personal prerogatives which were no doubt dearer to the recipient than even this autocratic power. He was authorized to occupy the most prominent seat in his church, second only to that of the royal vice-patron of the province, and to receive the peace embrace (*la paz*) during the celebration of mass. It was also ordered that whatever he might undertake, or whatever might occur, he should be treated with distinction, greeted with solicitous regard, and given aid and support, and the Governor of the Province of Louisiana, the Intendant of the Royal Exchequer, the judges and justices of the above mentioned province, were strictly commanded to comply with the royal decree, without contravening it.

Don Almonaster did not long enjoy the honors accorded by the "Royal Decree," On the 26th of April, 1798, he was transferred to another sphere to which the authority of the King of Spain did not extend, but he still continued to be "treated with distinction" in the city for which he had done so much. He was interred in a vault beneath the floor of his own church, where a large marble slab in front of the altar of the Sacred Heart, and of Saint Francis of Assisi still preserves the memory of his honors and of the deeds of which they were the reward. For many years, as the sun went down on Saturday evening, the bells were tolled, and before the altar prayers were offered for the repose of the soul of Don Almonaster-y-Roxas. This custom is, for some reason, no longer observed.

In 1803 occurred the transfer of Louisiana to the United States and with this event the hospital passed from the jurisdiction of contending Cabildos and Gov-

errors into that of practical, matter-of-fact mayors and councilmen, who seem to have been able to "get on" more harmoniously. Nothing worthy of note appears to have taken place during the first two years of the new régime, but in 1805 the struggle for control again broke out in a new form. The widow of Almonaster, who had become Mrs. Castillon by a second marriage, assumed as tutrix of her minor daughter, Micaela, the title of Patroness of the hospital, with all the privileges and authority which had belonged to her former husband. Intrenching herself behind the alleged immunity conferred by the title, she resisted any interference in her management,—or rather, mismanagement,—and all attempts to reform the abuses of authority on the part of the director and subordinates of the institution. Through her attorney she threatened to foreclose and sell at auction the property of the hospital, if the least infringement were attempted upon her exclusive right and privileges, by any one, no matter how high his position, or what his authority in the community. In justification of her attitude she cited the article in the constitution of the hospital, as originally submitted to the King, and approved by him. The men with whom she had to deal, however, stood in no awe of the King of Spain, and were perhaps rather glad to have the opportunity of demonstrating the fact by ordering an inquiry into the provisions of that Royal Charter upon which all these extravagant pretensions were based. The investigation, which was conducted by Mr. Peter Pedesclaux, notary public, and former clerk of the Cabildo, developed some surprising facts. It appeared that the lady, so far from having formerly exercised sole control in the affairs of the hospital, had always been obliged to allow the Governor of the province a share in its management; and furthermore that Don Almonaster had left no instructions which could in any manner justify her actual pretensions to the direct possession of the patronage. Her name was not mentioned among those recommended by him for this office in the event of his dying without issue, these rights being conferred upon his sister's children, and preference being given to those of the male sex. Failing these, they devolved upon the colonel commanding the militia forces of the city, who was also made the patron's representative in case of his illness or absence from the city. It was also alleged that during her widowhood Madame de Almonaster had made no pretense of controlling the affairs of the hospital in any other capacity than that of tutrix to her minor daughter, an office which, it was claimed, she had forfeited by her second marriage. The Governor was therefore requested to assume the authority over the hospital formerly exercised by the Spanish rulers, and to have the title of patron conferred upon the colonel

of militia. "But who in the name of Mars was this colonel of militia?" demands Dr. Castellanos, from whose interesting address before the Alumni Association of the Charity Hospital, April, 1897, this account is condensed; "or with what propriety could a military personage be made to assume charge of a civil hospital in time of peace, and under a form of government so totally different from the preceding?" Four years of contention and indecision passed and found the vexed question no nearer to a solution than at the beginning of the controversy, when suddenly Fate intervened. On the night of September 23rd, 1809, the Charity Hospital of St. Charles went up in the flames of a great conflagration. Rescued from the burning building by the strenuous efforts of Mayor Mather, the unfortunate patients were temporarily quartered on the upper gallery of the City Hall, whence they were, within twenty-four hours, transferred to the plantation of Mr. Jourdan, below the city, one-half the residence being surrendered to them in consideration of a monthly rental of \$125. Here they fared but badly, being without bedsteads and blankets, and at times lacking the barest necessities of life. Nor was their condition improved when, after six months, Mrs. Jourdan wishing to resume possession of her entire house, they were again removed to the La Vergne residence. But still the contest went on, Mrs. Castillon relinquishing none of her claims to the patronage of the hospital, pitiable wreck though it was, and while clinging to them with one hand, holding out the other for the "subsidies" which she alleged the city had formerly allotted to the institution. The matter was carried before the Legislature, but before a decision could be reached the researches, which were still being pursued among the original documents relating to the hospital, brought to light a circumstance of a startling, and almost scandalous character. A comparison of the original inventory of property belonging to the hospital with a second one drawn at a later date showed that the first list had been tampered with, that there were no longer any slaves attached to its service, that its property was rented at exceedingly low prices, and was for the most part in a decaying condition, although the Almonaster estate was actually indebted to it to the amount of \$6,344, a sum more than sufficient to cover the cost of repairs and renovation. This revelation created much excitement. It was proposed by the city authorities to sell the rentals and other possessions of the hospital at public auction, and altogether such a pother was kept up about the matter, that the lady patroness, seeing little hope of ever again enjoying peaceable possession of her assumed prerogatives and the honor and distinction flowing from them, finally offered to relinquish to "a public corporate body" all rights in the hospital, in

consideration of being put in possession of the property situated in the basement of her actual residence, which she proposed to redeem for the sum of \$18,000. This was subsequently increased to \$20,000, and on the 9th of March, 1811, Mrs. Castillon and her curatrix formally relinquished "all the rights and privileges previously conferred by his Catholic Majesty upon Don Andres Almonaster y Roxas, with reversion to his heirs, direct or collateral."

On the 23d of April of the same year the Legislature passed a special act providing for a thorough organization and administration of the Charity Hospital, making the Governor of the State ex-officio president with power to appoint six administrators, the city council appointing three of its own members for the same purpose. The act was not welcomed by the council, which for reasons of its own, connected apparently with the maladministration of the sum of \$20,000 received from the former patroness, passed a resolution opposing the measure, and it was only in November upon an order from the superior court directing the president and members to appear and show cause why a writ of mandamus should not be issued against them to enforce compliance with the act, that they appointed the three members as required. No agreement between the administrators and council could be arrived at, however, with regard to the settlement of accounts, or even as to the site upon which the hospital should be rebuilt, and after more than a year of inharmonious jangling, the board resolved to petition the Legislature for an authorization to abandon all their control over the institution in favor of the City Council of New Orleans. This abandonment was finally effected in 1814, and the council at once entered upon negotiations for the purchase from the city of the square bounded by Canal, Common, Dryades and Baronne streets, and in 1815 the "Hospice des Pauvres" of Jean Louis, the sailor, entered upon the third stage of its evolution as the New Orleans Charity Hospital.

In 1830 the square and building were purchased by the State for the University, and the hospital was removed to its present location on the square bounded by Common, Gravier, Freret and Howard streets, one of the largest squares in the city, measuring 450 feet on Common and Gravier streets, and 420 on the side streets, and containing about four and a half acres. The central building alone was erected at that time, but from this the hospital has branched out in every direction until it not only covers the entire square, but has outgrown its limits. A wing was added on the left, then another on the right; then came rooms on the Howard street side for the employees, kitchen, laundry, etc., the engineer's department on Gravier street, the lying-in hospital at the corner of Gravier and Freret. In 1881

outdoor clinics were established, in 1884 a separate building was opened for women and children, and one for the pathological department. The ambulance service was added in 1885, a new building being erected for it opposite the hospital, on Tulane avenue. In 1890 two new operating rooms were added to the old amphitheatre, and in 1891 a new building for clinics for women and children was erected on Tulane and Locust, and another for men on Tulane and Howard. The most recent addition is the Milliken Memorial Hospital for Children, built by Mrs. Deborah Milliken, as a monument to her deceased husband. This building, which is separated from the hospital by Locust street, cost about \$100,000, and ranks among the most complete hospitals for children in the United States.

The following table shows the number of admissions, discharges and deaths from 1832 to 1893:

YEAR.	Remaining.	Admitted.	Discharged.	Died.	YEAR.	Remaining.	Admitted.	Discharged.	Died.
1832.....	309	2,170	1,703	568	1866.....	640	9,329	8,108	1122
1833.....	169	3,851	2,617	1114	1867.....	738	8,612	7,260	1438
1834.....	262	5,841	4,745	1052	1868.....	637	4,981	4,365	490
1835.....	265	6,205	4,999	1226	1869.....	660	6,177	5,327	783
1836.....	222	4,754	4,163	585	1870.....	717	7,837	6,764	1118
1837.....	228	6,103	4,640	1420	1871.....	672	6,671	5,730	891
1838.....	271	4,687	3,890	683	1872.....	700	5,541	4,846	825
1839.....	239	4,833	3,611	955	1873.....	570	5,090	4,124	993
1840.....	267	5,041	4,370	619	1874.....	543	5,231	4,360	860
1841.....	314	4,380	3,093	1156	1875.....	554	4,945	4,121	753
1842.....	...	4,404	3,516	761	1876.....	525	5,690	4,780	742
1843.....	...	5,013	3,672	1041	1877.....	693	6,002	5,290	805
1844.....	...	5,846	5,059	713	1878.....	600	5,878	4,615	1120
1845.....	383	6,136	5,446	563	1879.....	604	5,248	4,390	693
1846.....	401	8,044	7,074	855	1880.....	643	5,527	4,140	658
1847.....	427	11,890	9,369	2037	1881.....	534	5,843	4,351	825
1848.....	829	11,945	10,010	1897	1882.....	559	6,980	5,375	805
1849.....	609	15,558	12,133	2745	1883.....	668	8,152	7,134	1013
1850.....	719	18,476	15,989	1884	1884.....	620	7,280	6,245	985
1851.....	...	18,420	16,777	1871	1885.....	647	6,143	5,212	1005
1852.....	...	18,035	15,057	2098	1886.....	550	5,807	4,764	960
1853.....	...	13,759	10,733	3164	1887.....	639	5,360	4,336	941
1854.....	...	13,192	9,976	2702	1888.....	722	5,389	4,590	870
1855.....	...	2,192	9,701	2391	1889.....	651	5,794	4,928	920
1856.....	...	9,432	8,601	974	1890.....	642	6,083	5,015	1022
1857.....	...	8,897	7,914	1017	1891.....	686	6,706	5,634	1028
1858.....	572	11,137	8,993	2290	1892.....	713	7,735	6,573	1135
1859.....	644	12,775	11,257	1321	1893.....	786	8,330	7,073	1184
1860.....	730	14,000	12,257	1390	1894.....	780	9,064	7,927	1143
1861.....	891	8,665	7,918	798	1895.....	712	9,812	8,485	1423
1862.....	...	6,016	5,532	719	1896.....	868	8,816	7,518	1142
1863.....	418	5,043	4,202	688	1897.....	651	7,281	6,447	1051
1864.....	373	4,861	3,999	812	1898.....	669	7,734	6,599	1117
1865.....	423	6,466	5,580	669					
Grand total of Admissions.....						514,931			
Grand total of Discharges.....						431,120			
Grand total of Deaths.....						75,357			
Mortality.....						14 per cent			

Since 1834, the hospital has been under the charge of the Sisters of Charity.

The United States Marine Hospital was established in 1802, but no building was then erected. The President was authorized by Congress to appoint a "director," and Dr. William Barnwell was appointed under the title of "physician and surgeon," with instructions to purchase in Philadelphia the necessary medical supplies for the equipment of a hospital. In the absence of a suitable building the sick were cared for in the Charity Hospital, an arrangement which continued until 1837, when the sum of \$70,000 was appropriated by Congress for the construction of a hospital. The site chosen was near the river, just above the line dividing Orleans and Jefferson Parishes, and consisted of a square of ground 350x350 feet. The building was of brick, 150x78 feet, and three stories in height. When completed by the additions ordered in 1844 and 1847 it had cost \$130,000. In 1855 it was determined to build a new hospital, and a plot of ground containing about five acres and located about a mile from the river in the rear of the city was purchased at a cost of \$12,000. A fire-proof, iron structure was begun, consisting of a main building three stories in height, and two wings of two stories. After an expenditure of over half a million dollars, the authorities discovered what the townspeople had known from the beginning,—to-wit, that the distance from the river and the swampy nature of the ground made the location entirely unsuitable as a location for a hospital of any kind, and particularly for sick sailors. Work was therefore discontinued, and the unfinished building and grounds were finally sold for \$25,000, after having served for some years as a colored orphan asylum under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau.

In 1882 Congress authorized the construction of a new hospital, for which was purchased, at a cost of \$35,000, a plot of twenty-two acres of batture land on Tchoupitoulas street, between Henry Clay avenue and State street, which had formerly been cultivated as an orange plantation. The buildings consist of three wooden one-story pavilion wards, with a capacity for 100 patients, an executive building, a house for the surgeon, the old plantation house and cabins, a lodge house, and a stable. In 1896 an electric plant was constructed for the lighting of the premises, and also a steam laundry. Congress has recently appropriated \$5,000 for the erection of a new amphitheatre.

The Howard Association of New Orleans deserves commemoration, and though they had no permanent hospital, their work among the indigent sick in times of epidemic connects them naturally with the subject of hospitals. This association dates its actual existence from the epidemic of 1837, though it was not legally incorporated as a chartered institution until 1843. Among the most

active promoters of the organization were Farquhar Matthews, its first president; Virgil Boulmont, its secretary; Thomas W. Morgan, J. W. Andrews, G. Henscheidt, J. P. Breedlove and F. W. Leslie. The charter was to extend over twenty-five years, at the end of which period, unless renewed, the funds and property in possession of the association were to revert to the Charity Hospital. As an illustration of the good work accomplished by the organization it may be stated that during the epidemic of 1853 over \$150,000 were disbursed, and 11,000 sick and destitute persons relieved. In 1865 the charter was renewed, and during the epidemic of that year 5,000 persons were cared for at an expenditure of \$78,000.

The Touro Infirmary owes its origin to the generosity of Judah Touro, who left a bequest of \$40,000 for the endowment of an almshouse in New Orleans. The Touro Infirmary Society was incorporated in 1854, and a hospital was established in a small building at the corner of Levee and Gaiennie streets, which formed a part of the property bequeathed. The institution was found too small for the growing demands made upon it, and in 1881, a consolidation having been effected between the Infirmary Society and the Hebrew Benevolent Association, a lot of ground was purchased on Prytania street above Louisiana avenue, and the three large buildings were ready for occupation by January, 1882. In 1899 Julius Weis donated to the Infirmary the generous sum of \$25,000 for the purpose of erecting a new building on the grounds designed for the aged and infirm. A Ladies' Sewing Society greatly aids the institution, which is now one of the finest and best equipped in the city.

The Southern Hospital Association was established in 1866, for the purpose of providing artificial limbs for Southerh soldiers maimed during the war, and otherwise caring for them until they were able to maintain themselves. Up to 1868, 800 soldiers had been relieved by this institution, and others had been assisted in obtaining situations as teachers, or as managers of farms. The resources consisted entirely of individual contributions, and of the proceeds of fairs held by the women of New Orleans and Mobile for its benefit. In 1868 the sum had reached the figure of \$80,000, of which \$25,000 remained in hand. The hospital was situated at No. 319 Carondelet Walk, and contained at the time mentioned, forty-seven inmates. As the war receded the necessity for such an institution gradually diminished, and at length it ceased to exist.

The New Orleans Sanitarium and Training School for Nurses was established about fourteen years ago, principally through the efforts of women of the city. The original purpose of the organization was to afford a school in which women

could receive the training necessary to enable them to adopt the calling of nurse as a profession. In order to afford the proper facilities for instruction, a Women's and Children's hospital was founded in connection with the school, both institutions being located on St. Joseph street, near Carondelet. In 1893 the women who had hitherto conducted them surrendered the twin institutions to a corporation composed of about thirty of the prominent physicians of the city, and with the change of management the name was changed to the one it now bears. It is, in fact, a private hospital for both sexes, and a model school for a limited number of nurses, the management being thus able to select only the best of the applicants. In 1894 the institution was removed to its present quarters, No. 731 Carondelet street, to a building provided with modern improvements and furnishings. It is now one of the best training schools in the United States, possessing the prime quality of selectness, together with the age and experience attaching to it as a pioneer institution.

The New Orleans Polyclinic owes its existence to a small number of earnest men, who, realizing the need for an institution of the kind, formed a corporation in 1887, with Dr. J. H. Bemiss as president. The organization provided itself with a home at the corner of Canal and Liberty streets, which it occupied until 1895, when the present modern building at the corner of Tulane avenue and South Liberty was erected by the members without external aid. In every way adapted for the purposes to which it was destined, this building is at once an ornament to the city, and an example of the enterprise of medical men.

The session of the Polyclinic lasts more than half the year, and is attended by medical students from all parts of the country. It enjoys all the advantages afforded by the Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital, and has, by act of Legislature, full use of the wards and outdoor clinics of the Charity Hospital, besides which free consultations are given every afternoon at the Polyclinic itself for the benefit of the poor. The faculty numbers eleven professors and about twenty assistants, all representatives of the profession in New Orleans and the South.

The Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital is one of the noblest charities in New Orleans. It was instituted in 1889 for the benefit of patients too poor to pay for the services of a physician. It is under the management of a board of trustees, consisting of thirty-three members, three of whom are ex-officio, as belonging to the city government. The doors of this hospital were first thrown open on Dec. 5, 1889, at South Rampart street. In 1892 the building and ground at No. 203 North Rampart street were purchased, and the hospital removed to that

place. During the first year of its existence 4,816 persons were treated; there were 627 operations, and 38,016 consultations.

In 1894, when the discovery of Dr. Koch's serum for the treatment of diphtheria was announced, a committee was appointed consisting of Dr. De Roaldes, surgeon-in-chief, James T. Hayden, and Julius Weis, with power to deal with the question of securing serum for the purpose of experiment. A sufficient sum of money was obtained, and on January 15, 1895, it was reported that every claim made for the anti-toxine had been sustained.

From the date of its establishment up to November 30, 1899, there have been treated, in the eye department, 23,062; ear, nose and throat department, 26,896; dermatological department, 365; dental department, 724; total, 51,047, an average of 4,641 per year. The white persons treated numbered 35,882; colored, 15,165. The entire number of consultations to the same date was 345,304.

The Hotel Dieu, originally called *Maison de Santé*, was opened in the year 1852, by four Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul from St. Joseph's, Emmetsburg, Maryland, Sister Teresa Sherridan being Superioress. The *Maison de Santé*, the nucleus of the present well known Hotel Dieu, occupied the premises of Dr. Warren Stone, whose friendship for the Sisters, and support of their establishment, ceased only with his noble life. For some years the institution was carried on in its original location. Slowly but surely the humane work gained prominence, until it became evident that in justice to its many patrons, a more commodious building must be provided. Then was the project for the erection of the present Hotel Dieu formed and carried into effect.

In 1858 the Sisters transferred their patients from the old *Maison de Santé* to the present Hotel Dieu, as it was determined that the institution should henceforth be styled. Since that date, the good work has steadily continued to enlarge its opportunities of service to suffering humanity. From time to time needful additions have been made, until to-day it holds an honorable place among institutions of like character, not only of the South but of the United States.

Among the late movements of special interest made by the Sisters in charge are the surgical operating rooms, in which are afforded facilities for realizing the crowning success of this grand era of surgery—asepsis.

The institution is happy and proud to have connected with its noble work men whose names are foremost among the medical and surgical lights of the South. Prominently interwoven with its progressive development are the names of Dr. P. C. Boyer, Dr. A. B. Miles, Dr. F. Parham, Dr. D. Jamison, Dr. D. Reynaud, Drs. E. and H. S. Lewis.

The training school for nurses is connected with the Hotel Dieu, which, in its lecture course, class-work, and practical advantages, ranks favorably with the prominent training schools of the country. The course covers three years, and the staff of instructors includes sixteen of the most eminent and scientific members of the New Orleans medical faculty. Dr. H. S. Lewis is at present (1900) house surgeon.

ASYLUMS, CONVENTS, HOMES FOR THE INDIGENT.

The first orphan asylum of New Orleans, and indeed of the State, owed its existence to Julian Poydras, already alluded to as author of the first epic poem of Louisiana. In 1816 this charitable man gave a large lot and a house on Poydras street for the purpose of establishing an asylum for orphan girls, with the proviso that by the consent of the board, "any female child may be admitted" though not an orphan. The Legislature appropriated \$4,000 for its benefit, and it was opened the same year with 14 orphans. By 1821 the number had increased to 41, and a new house had been built at 153 Poydras street, which is described as a neat "frame building with a large garden." By a clause of the constitution the society is to "provide a house for the reception of indigent female orphans and widows, which shall be enlarged according to the income of the society."

The asylum has since been removed to Upper Magazine street, corner of Peters avenue, where it is installed in a large, four-story building surrounded by ample grounds. It is managed by a board of directresses, and is supported by the income from the property devised for that purpose by the founder.

The Poydras Male Orphan Asylum, at the corner of St. Charles avenue and Dufossat street, was also endowed and founded by Mr. Poydras.

The Protestant Society for the Relief of Destitute Orphan Boys was organized at a meeting held in the Presbyterian Church March 28, 1824. At this meeting a committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions for the establishment of a home for destitute boys, one of their number being charged with the task of requesting aid from the city council. Up to 1841 the institution was sustained by contributions from the community, but was without a permanent endowment. About this time the dormitory, library and fine schoolhouse were destroyed by fire, and an appeal was made to the public for aid. John McDonogh donated \$100,000 to the society, which was thus enabled to build the present large, substantial house on St. Charles avenue, between Dufossat and Bellecastle streets. The asylum is now sustained by the income derived from the rentals of its property.

St. Mary's Orphan Asylum (Catholic), at the corner of Chartres and Mazant streets, was established in 1835. It is governed by a board of gentlemen, but the internal management is in the hands of the Sisters of Charity. The only condition of admission is that of orphanage. It is supported in part by private contributions, and in part by the income derived from property acquired either by donation or purchase.

St. Vincent's Home for Boys, established by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, 1836, is for the maintenance of half orphan boys. Its resources are derived from the State, from donations, from work, and from contributions from the society. There is also a St. Vincent Asylum for half-orphan girls on Cambronne street, corner of Third.

The New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum (Catholic) dates from 1843. It was incorporated under the management of a band of Sisters of Charity, for the purpose of "receiving, harboring, nursing, raising, maintaining and educating destitute female orphans under the age of fifteen," who were to be entirely under the control of the Sisters until they had attained their majority, or were married. Since the establishment of the St. Elizabeth House of Industry, in 1855, it has become the rule to transfer the inmates of this asylum at the age of twelve to the latter institution, where they are taught needle-work, housewifery, and given a good education. The asylum owns property to the amount of about \$40,000, but is assisted by appropriations from the State and from the city.

The Protestant Orphans' Home, corner of Constance and Seventh streets, was called into existence by the necessity of supplying a home for the children orphaned by the epidemic of 1853. It received its first aid from the Howard Association, which sent fifty-six orphans left to its care, each with a dower of \$100, and gave an additional \$2,000, making \$7,600 in all. Orphans of both sexes are admitted, as well as half-orphans whose surviving parent is incapable of caring for them. Its support comes from the State, the city, private subscriptions, and membership dues.

St. Joseph's German Boys' and Girls' Orphan Asylum (Catholic), also established in 1853, is supported by the State and city, and receipts from St. Joseph's Cemetery. It is situated at No. 2044 Laurel street.

The St. Elizabeth House of Industry, already mentioned as having been founded in 1855, admits girls between twelve and thirteen, who are permitted to remain until they are eighteen. This institution is self-supporting, deriving a good income from the needle-work, fine washing and other industries practiced by the

inmates, which is supplemented by that arising from property valued at many thousands of dollars.

St. Vincent's Infant Asylum, established in 1862, serves as the foundling asylum of the city. It is strictly for infants, who, at the age of seven, are transferred, the girls to the Camp Street Orphan Asylum, the boys, to some other institution. This asylum, which is one of the most interesting, as well as deserving, in the city, is located on Magazine street, at the corner of Race. The building is a commodious brick edifice, and its nurseries, halls, and dormitories are models of neatness. It is supported by the State and city, and by private donations.

The Episcopal Home, situated at the corner of Jackson avenue and St. Thomas street, is an asylum for girls under the care of the Sisterhood of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and a well managed institution.

Other asylums for children in the city are:

Saint Alphonsus' Orphan Asylum (Catholic), Fourth, corner St. Patrick.

Orphan Girls' Asylum, Immaculate Conception (Catholic), 871 North Rampart street.

Asylum of the Societé Française de Bienfaisance, Saint Ann, near Roman.

Mount Carmel Female Orphan Asylum (Catholic), 53 Piety street.

Saint Isidore's Institute (Farm School), North Peters, corner Reynes.

Asile de la Ste. Famille (for colored children).

Providence Asylum for Female Colored Children, Hospital, corner North Tonti.

There are also a House of Refuge for boys, established by the city authorities in 1848, and one for girls, established in 1853, as reformatories for boys and girls not over fifteen years of age.

As early as 1839 an institution for the reclamation of fallen women was established by the Sisters of Charity under the management of a Lady Superior and a corps of twenty assistants. In 1868, at which time its inmates numbered 130, the Sisters of Charity retired, and the house was taken in charge by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. The buildings, at the corner of Bienville and Broad streets, are of brick, and very extensive, comprising dormitories, working-rooms, chapel, etc. It is divided into two departments, one for girls who are placed there by their parents, and the other for those committed by the city magistrates. In addition to the household duties performed by the inmates they are employed in various kinds of needle-work, and in laundry work for private families, hotels and steamboats.

CONVENTS.

The French Ursulines, established at Paris in 1611 by Marie Lhuillier, was the first religious community to find a footing in New Orleans. This order originated in Brescia, Italy, in 1537, having been founded by Angela de' Merici, chiefly with the view of devoting itself to the education of young girls. As early as 1724 Bienville realized the necessity of providing some sort of educational advantages for the girls of the colony. He consulted Father Beaubois, the superior of the Jesuit missionaries, who had recently arrived from France, and who suggested the Ursulines of Rouen as likely to be able to supply religious teachers. Application was immediately made, and in September, 1726, an arrangement was concluded with Marie Françoise Tranchepain, known as Sister Augustine, and Marie Anne le Boulanger, known as Sister Angelique, by which they agreed, with the assistance of Mother Catherine Bruscoli, of St. Amand, and four other nuns of their order, to take charge of the education of the young girls of the colony, and to nurse the sick in the military hospital. According to the contract they were to reside permanently in the colony, whither they were to be transported with four servants at the cost of the company, a gratuity of 500 livres being paid to them before departure. They sailed from Port l'Orient in the ship *Gironde*, February, 22, 1727, and according to tradition had a most adventurous voyage. Not only were they beset by terrific storms, but they were chased by corsairs, and at one time, says the legend, all the ladies were driven "to assume male attire and man the ship to save her from pirates." In the Caribbean Sea they again encountered fearful winds; they were stranded on Dauphin Island, losing nearly all the ship's cargo, and only reached the shores of Louisiana in July. At the Balize they were transferred to pirogues for the journey up the river, which consumed fifteen days, the voyagers going ashore at night for such rest as the mosquitoes would permit.

At last, when their friends had given them up for lost they gained the scene of their future labors, the little village of New Orleans, which at this time presented "no better aspect than that of a vast sink or sewer," fenced in by sharp stakes and surrounded by a broad ditch.

According to some accounts, Bienville gave up his own residence, a flat-roofed, two-story building, with many windows, covered with linen instead of glass, which stood in the midst of a "deep forest," on the square now bounded by Customhouse, Bienville, Decatur and Chartres streets,—to the use of the nuns, but others, with more probability, say that the military hospital, which was then situated at the corner of Chartres and Bienville, was placed at their disposal, and that they resided there

until their own dwelling was made ready for them. A tract of land with a frontage of eight acres on the Mississippi, and a depth of forty acres, was conceded to the hospital as a plantation to supply the wants of the nuns, and to afford them a sufficient remuneration for their services to the sick, and soon after their arrival the foundations of a nunnery were laid on the lowest square of the city, on Condé (now Chartres) street, between Barracks and Hospital, and a military hospital was built near it. The edifice was completed by the latter part of 1730, and was immediately taken possession of by the nuns, who continued to reside there until 1824, when they removed to their present more spacious and delightful retreat on the banks of the river below the city. Up to the time of the construction of the new convent the old one was the largest house in Louisiana. In 1831, the State House having been destroyed, the old convent was taken possession of by the Legislature as an assembly room, continuing to serve in that capacity until 1834, when the legislative body removed to the building formerly occupied by the Charity Hospital. The convent, which is the oldest building in the city, is now used as the residence of the Archbishop.

The new Convent of the Ursulines, on North Peters street, near Poland, consists of a number of buildings connected with each other, with a chapel at the lower end. The main building, a long, white structure facing the river, is a conspicuous landmark to persons approaching the city by steamboat. It is surrounded by a grove of magnificent oaks and pecan trees, and large gardens, and continues to enjoy the patronage of the Creoles, for whose benefit it was established, as a school for their daughters. The order is a cloistered one, and some of the nuns who reside there have never been outside the convent walls since their entrance upon the religious life.

The Discalced Carmelites (Descalzos, or barefoots) have but four convents in the United States, and one of these is located in New Orleans, on Barracks street, between Burgundy and Rampart. This, it will be remembered, is the Reformed Order of the Carmelites, established by Saint Teresa, at Avila, Spain, for the purpose of reviving the austere rules prescribed by its founder, Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1209). These rules, which had been relaxed by Pope Eugenius IV., in 1431, enjoined "strict seclusion, solitude, the plainest dress, the most ascetic diet." Teresa did not wish that the sisters should be entirely "shoeless" "A barefoot," she said, "makes a poor beast of burden." They were allowed to wear sandals made of rope, but were "to be confined to the cloister strictly, to eat no meat, to sleep on straw, to fast on reduced allowance from September to Easter: they

were to do needle-work for the benefit of the poor, and they were to live on alms, without regular endowment." "With all this," says Froude, "she had been careful of their health, imposing no greater hardships than those borne without complaint by the ordinary Spanish peasants. The dress was to be of thick undyed woolen cloth, with no ornament but cleanliness. Dirt, which most saints regarded as a sign of holiness, Teresa always detested. The number of sisters was to be thirteen; more, she thought, could not live together consistently with discipline." When Teresa, with the consent of the Provincial of Avila, removed from the Carmelite Convent of the Incarnation to the little Convent of San Josef, which she had secretly founded, the only luggage she took with her was "a straw mattress, a patched woolen gown, a whip and a hair-cloth shirt," and this slender outfit sums up the personal belongings of those who to-day observe her rule. "Their dress," says a writer, speaking of the convent in New Orleans, "is of the coarsest brown serge; they wear no linen, and their undergarments are also of serge, even their pocket handkerchiefs being of brown cloth. Square pieces of hempen cloth are tied with bits of rope upon the feet and ankles, and sandals of knotted cord are worn upon the feet. * * * The Carmelite fasts from the 14th of September (the Exaltation of the Holy Cross) until Easter of each year. * * * She sleeps in a bare little cell containing a table, a chair, and two low benches, upon which are laid two planks. These planks, covered with straw, form her resting place, and her only covering is a sheet of serge. In the early dawn she rises from this poor bed, and in the still chapel begins her prayers. The morning until 11 o'clock is spent in meditation, prayer and work. * * * Not by so much as a sup of water does she break her fast until 11 o'clock, and then the little band of brown-robed women meet for the midday meal. They never eat meat; the order forbids it, and they sit at a low, narrow table, eating from the coarsest yellow plates, and with an iron spoon and fork. The food is generally rice, beans, other vegetables, and soup made without meat. Everything is cooked in the plainest way, and lard is not used except when they are too poor to buy oil. This meal is plentiful, and each person eats what is put upon her plate, particularly of those things she does not like. * * * During this long season of fast, eight hours a day are spent in repeating the services of the church—the Carmelite nuns repeating the same service daily that the priests do, and, like the priests, receiving communion every Sunday morning." Self-flagellation is also practiced, as by the founder, Saint Teresa.

The Carmelites have been established in New Orleans only about twenty years.

The sisters all bear such names as Mary, Dolorosa, etc., which are given them when they take the final vows. Many of them were young and gifted, with beautiful faces and many accomplishments, and all were women of wealth when they gave up the world to find happiness and the peace that passeth understanding in the religious life.

The Convent of Perpetual Adoration, Marais, between Mandeville and Spain, shelters another order which has but recently appeared in this country. Readers of Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "*Les Misérables*," will recall the description of the convent at No. 62 Petite Rue Picpus, in which was performed what they call "the reparation." "The Reparation," says Hugo, "is prayer for all sins, for all faults, for all disorders, for all violations, for all iniquities, for all the crimes which are committed upon the earth. During twelve consecutive hours, from four o'clock in the afternoon till four o'clock in the morning, or from four o'clock in the morning till four o'clock in the afternoon, the sister who performs the reparation remains on her knees upon the stone before the Holy Sacrament, her hands clasped, and a rope around her neck. When fatigue becomes insupportable, she prostrates herself, her face against the marble and her arms crossed; this is all her relief. In this attitude, she prays for all the guilty in the universe. * * * As this act is performed before a post on the top of which a taper is burning, they say indiscriminately, to perform the reparation or to be at the post. The nuns even prefer, from humility, this latter expression, which involves an idea of punishment and abasement. The performance of the reparation is a process in which the whole soul is absorbed. The sister at the post would not turn were a thunderbolt to fall behind her. Moreover, there is always a nun on her knees before the Holy Sacrament. They remain for an hour. They are relieved like soldiers standing sentry. That is the Perpetual Adoration."

This order was originally cloistered, but the adverse legislation in France, where it has been domiciled since 1653, by which it has been stripped of all means of maintenance, has compelled the sisters to engage in some vocation that will yield a revenue. They have accordingly added the vow of St. Joseph to their other vows, and have become a teaching order, with the privilege of leaving the convent, and of traveling from place to place, as do the sisters of St. Joseph.

The Convent of Sisters of the Holy Family has quite an interesting history. It dates back to the early forties, to 1842, to be exact—at which time three young colored women of means and education, agreed among themselves to embrace the religious life, and to devote themselves to charitable works among their own people, to help the helpless, to care for the old and infirm, to counsel and befriend the young,

and especially the young and unprotected girls of their own race, to teach the catechism, and to prepare young and old for the sacrament of the communion. Their number was recruited by a fourth young woman of good family and education, and Juliette, the eldest of the four was selected for Mother Superior. Their first establishment was a humble little house in an obscure neighborhood near Bayou St. John. During the war they suffered many hardships and discouragements, and its close threw upon their care a large number of the poor and sick, but they struggled through, and even found means to establish a school, to open two branch houses in the country, and to assume charge of an orphan asylum.

In 1881 prosperity began to smile upon them, and they were able to purchase the site of the old Orleans street ball-room, and to build thereon a neat and substantial house of brick. At that time the adjoining ground, where formerly stood the old Orleans theater, was occupied by a circus, whose music and uproar broke in upon their prayers and vigils with peculiarly discordant effect, and the flames which at last rid them of the nuisance no doubt seemed to them Heaven-sent. Immediately Mother Juliette conceived the idea of purchasing the ground, and so securing future indemnity from obnoxious neighbors. She had no money, but she had faith to believe that it would be provided, and so it was. The ground was bought, and a timely bequest from a benevolent man of her own race, who, in dying, divided his wealth impartially among white and black, Protestant and Catholic, objects of charity, enabled the sisters to build a chapel where the annoying circus had stood. The benevolent colored man was Thomy Lafon, and in proper recognition of his philanthropy the Legislature of the State ordered that his bust be carved and erected in some public place, the only man of African race who has been so honored in Louisiana.

Many relics of the old ball-room are preserved within the convent walls. The dancing floor may still be seen, made of three thicknesses of cypress boards, and reputed to be the best dancing floor in the world. There is also the balcony where, in the intervals of the dance, the gentlemen led their fair partners for a promenade, and beneath it a section of the banquette where belligerent beaux awaited the appearance of the successful rivals who had alienated from them the favor of the ladies of their choice.

The community consists of forty-nine sisters who follow the rule of St. Augustine. They serve a novitiate of two years and six months, and during ten years their vows are renewed annually. After that time they are considered as perpetual. Orphans are received from every State in the Union, as well as from South America, Central America and Mexico. Their pay pupils also come from all quarters.



Yours truly
A. R. Blakely

St. Henry's Convent, on Constance street, between Milan and Berlin, is the home of the Sisters of Christian Charity. This order was founded in 1849, by Pauline Mallinckredt, in Paderborn, Westphalia. The special work of the sisterhood was the Christian education of youth and the care of the blind. Many branches of the order were founded in Germany, Denmark, Austria, and other countries of Europe between 1849 and 1873. In this last named year the decree of Prince Bismarck was issued expelling certain religious orders from Germany, and among them the Sisters of Christian Charity. By invitation of the Archbishop of the diocese, the foundress, with forty or fifty of her nuns came to New Orleans, where they were warmly welcomed and placed in charge of the parochial school of St. Henry's Church on Berlin street. The humble house which first sheltered them has given place to a handsome convent, and another has been founded within the twenty-six years that have elapsed since their landing. On the 21st of August, 1899, the sisters celebrated in a quiet manner the golden jubilee of the founding of their order.

The other convents of New Orleans are :

Convent de Ste. Famille—172 Hospital street.

Convent of Mt. Carmel—Olivier, corner of Eliza (Algiers).

Convent of the Benedictine Nuns—630 Dauphin street, between St. Ferdinand and Press.

Convent of the Good Shepherd—Bienville, between North Dolhonde and Broad.

Convent of the Redemptorists—Constance, between St. Andrew and Josephine.

Convent of the Sacred Heart—96 Dumaine.

Convent of the Sisters of Notre Dame—Laurel, between St. Andrew and Josephine.

Mt. Carmel Convent—200 Hospital street.

St. Alphonsus Convent of Mercy— St. Andrew, between Constance and Magazine.

St. Joseph's Convent—St. Philip, corner North Galves.

HOMES FOR THE INDIGENT.

Conspicuous among the charities of New Orleans is the handsome three-story brick building at the corner of Prytania street and St. Mary, familiar to all as St. Anna's Asylum. This institution, designed as a retreat for poor gentlewomen, was projected by Dr. W. N. Mercer, who offered to give \$30,000 toward its establishment and maintenance upon condition that an equal amount be raised from other

sources, and that it be called by the name of his only daughter. These conditions being complied with, the house was built, and in 1850, the Widows' Home, as it is most frequently called, stood ready for its destined inmates. The home is managed by a board of twenty directresses,* including its officers, there being also a real estate committee of seven men. Its resources are derived from dues, subscriptions, donations, and the proceeds of the industry of the inmates. In 1867 the State donated to its fund the sum of \$3,500, and its total receipts for the year were \$4,800. It can accommodate 100 persons.

The Widows' Home, on Laharpe street, between Johnson and Prieur, is a Catholic institution established in 1851. Although called a "Widows' Home," both children and old men are admitted, and at one time, some thirty years since, there were in the house forty-seven women, twenty-five aged and infirm men, and twenty-four children. It is managed by a committee of women who style themselves "Ladies of Providence." Being without endowment, its support comes from the city and State, supplemented by work done by the inmates, and by private charity. It is nevertheless constantly in debt, it being impossible to accommodate the expenditures to a budget of such uncertain proportions.

The Home for Jewish Widows and Orphans was founded by the association for the Relief of Jewish Widows and Orphans, a society incorporated March 14, 1855. The corner stone of the first building erected by the society was laid August 7 of the same year, and the edifice, which stood at the corner of Jackson avenue and Chippewa street, was dedicated January 8th, 1856. This building, a three-story structure, 86x41 feet, served until 1887, when, more room being required, a location was selected at the corner of St. Charles and Peters avenues, and a new home was built, three stories high in front, and two stories and a basement in the rear. The cost of ground, building and furniture was \$100,000.

Since 1885 the home has been devoted exclusively to children, the widows being accommodated at the Touro Infirmary, though still supported by the association. Manual training for both boys and girls has been recently introduced, the girls being taught all varieties of needlework and housekeeping, the boys carpentry and other trades. The institution is supported by membership fees from 787 members, and the interest on a permanent fund; the trust fund and the reserve fund together amounting to \$65,569.35, and the total net assets of the association amounting to \$180,339.35, besides a small farm of 40 acres in Rapides Parish, the gift of Mrs. F. Sohmalinsky, of Alexandria, La.

The total expense of conducting the institution for the year ending March 4,

1899, was \$36,934.19. Applicants are admitted from the day of birth, if necessary, up to any age, according to conditions and circumstances, and remain as long as is required in each case. They come from all the Gulf States, and from Tennessee and Arkansas.

The Fink Asylum is the beneficent gift of Mr. John David Fink, a native of the little town of Winnenden, Kingdom of Wurtemberg. Mr. Fink was born in 1785, and came to this country in childhood. New Orleans became his home, and here he spent his long life, dying in 1855, nearly seventy years old. He had never married, and in his will, after setting aside a fair proportion of his estate to a sister and other relatives and friends, and making provision for his slaves, whom he also liberated, he willed as follows:

"It is my wish and desire, and I do hereby declare the same to be my will, that after the payment of my just debts and the several legacies herein above mentioned, that the proceeds of the whole of my estate, property, rights and credits, be applied to the erection, maintenance and support of a suitable asylum in this city to be used solely as an asylum for Protestant widows and orphans, to be called the Fink Asylum."

The heirs at law made an attempt the following year to have this clause of the will declared null and void, but the Supreme Court of the State decreed that the charity created was to be legally administered by the city corporation of New Orleans. Acting under this decree, the Common Council in 1860 appointed the first Board of Commissioners, and ordained "that when the capital from all sources shall amount to the sum of \$200,000, then the Board of Commissioners, under the direction of the Common Council, shall purchase a site, and erect upon it the buildings and establish, furnish and organize the Fink Asylum." In 1874, after disposing of all the real estate, etc., willed by the donor, the commissioners found themselves in possession of \$215,349, and there was appointed a Board of Commissioners or Directors, to supervise the erection of the asylum and to attend to all affairs pertaining to it. These commissioners were representative men from all the leading Protestant churches of the city. In 1875 a square of ground bounded by Camp, Amelia, Chestnut and Antonine streets, was purchased, with the buildings thereon, at a cost of \$10,000. At present this property, with the improvements, is worth \$50,000, and the funds hold premium bonds the market value of which is \$272,767, while the magnificent sum of \$135,600 has been expended for the maintenance of the institution with its more than seventy regular inmates.

The Little Sisters of the Poor, an order founded by Abbé le Pailleur, at St.

Malo, in 1840, have an asylum for the aged and infirm at the corner of Johnson and Laharpe streets. The asylum has no revenue save from charity and bequests, yet with these uncertain means the sisters have been able to erect extensive buildings occupying nearly a square of ground. The rules of the order forbid all luxury, and the plain little chapel which forms the center of the group of buildings, boasts no organ, or decorations of either painting or sculpture. The asylum is divided into two departments, male and female, and the only condition of admittance is that one is poor, old and helpless. The Little Sisters gather up daily, from the markets and restaurants, the surplus of the well-to-do, which would otherwise be thrown away, and thus manage to feed their houseful of helpless dependents.

The Home for Homeless Women was established in 1888, since which time it has given shelter to many hundreds of needy and friendless women. For the year ending 1898 there were admitted 122 adults and 34 children. The Home is located on Polymnia street, between St. Charles avenue and Carondelet street.

The Home for Homeless Men was instituted about 1896 for the purpose of giving men out of employment, but willing to work, an opportunity to earn food and shelter until steady work can be procured. The principal industry is the sale of wood and coal, the wood being sawed and split by the inmates, some of whom canvass for orders and collect outstanding accounts. There is also a printing establishment on the premises conducted by practical printers, where various styles of cards, circulars, etc., are made to order. The institution is now self-supporting, and is doing much good.

It is situated at the corner of Chippewa and Toledano streets

Other homes for the indigent are:

Home for Aged and Destitute Women, Magnolia, corner Lafayette.

Home for the Aged and Infirm (city charity), Annunciation and Calliope.

Hospital de la Ste. Famille (for old colored people), 49 Saint Bernard avenue.

House of Refuge (destitute colored girls), Annunciation.

Widows' Home, 352 Esplanade avenue.

Shakespeare Alms House, North Rampart and Arabella.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE AMUSEMENTS OF NEW ORLEANS.

BY B. R. FORMAN, JR.

THE principal and most characteristic amusement in New Orleans is the Carnival, which will be treated under another head. The next most important and unique amusement is the French Opera. Then there are the theaters and racing and other sports. There is very little driving in New Orleans, although there is more than there used to be. Hunting and fishing has always been extensive.

The pleasure-loving character of the people, which takes its origin partly from their inherited tendencies from the French, which has leavened even that part of the population which is of English descent, and partly from the location of the city in the South, finds its vent principally in the Carnival, which is the most extensive and magnificent in all the world and in all history, and in the Creole cooking, which, both in private families and in the public restaurants, is absolutely unsurpassed.

SIGHT-SEEING.

One of the amusements which strangers always indulge in when they come to New Orleans, and in which residents of the city could follow them in as to many things, with no small degree of pleasure, on account of the number of curious things to be seen, is the amusement of sight-seeing. Most people are eager to see the sights of the old Creole quarter as the oldest and most historical part of the city; but the American quarter also is well worth seeing, and can bear comparison with any of the other cities of the country. In attempting to see the sights of New Orleans one usually starts from Canal street and goes down Royal or Chartres towards Jackson square. Along Royal street may be noticed in the first block at old No. 18, what used to be the famous gambling saloon, now Miller's Billiard Saloon. On Customhouse street, the first street from Canal, a few doors from Royal street, is the house where the celebrated Lopez, in 1851, organized his filibustering expedition against Cuba. A little further down, near St. Louis street, old No. 110, imbedded in the banquette on either side of a huge stone gateway, are two cannon

buried so deep in the earth as scarcely to be noticed by the ordinary passer-by on the street. Here were, in the old days, the Spanish barracks, and here were also quartered the soldiers of his most Catholic Majesty during the Spanish Colonial days. Opposite the old *commanderia* is the Hotel Royal, now the St. Louis Hotel, at one time the State House, one of the places of the most historical interest in New Orleans. Here the negroes were sold at auction, in slave days, at an exchange which was located in the building. Here was where the Radical authorities were besieged at the termination of the reconstruction days by the citizens, who formed themselves into an army of revolutionists to oppose them and had trained artillery upon the building. On Royal street are several second-hand stores which sell antiques, many of them very valuable and genuine, although some of them spurious—notably the beds in which Lafayette slept when he came to New Orleans, where he once passed a night, of which four are exhibited—beautifully carved four posters, with prices ranging from two to three hundred dollars on account of the historical interest.

On Royal, at the corner of Hospital, is the famous "Haunted House," the decorations of which are remarkable; carved doors, carvings on the inside, bronzed imitation of an elaborate sort of the *ancien regime*. This is a house that is described by Mr. Cable in his *Strange True Stories of Louisiana*, as belonging to a lady who so maltreated her slaves that she was mobbed by the citizens whose moral sense was outraged by her wicked behavior. Turning into Chartres and coming down again towards Canal, at the corner of Ursulines, stands the old Ursulines Convent. It is now the Archbishop's palace. Still coming down Chartres, at the corner of St. Ann is the Jackson Square, the Plaza des Armas, under the Spanish, Place d'Armes under the French, where the Louisiana patriots were executed by Don O'Reilly when he took possession in the name of the Spanish Government, and where General Jackson triumphed after the Battle of New Orleans. Jackson Statue is in the centre, by Clark Mills, a duplicate of the statue in Washington. On either side of the square are the Pontalba buildings, named for Madame Pontalba, a daughter of Don Almonaster y Roxas, one of the early celebrities of New Orleans, who founded the Cathedral and the Charity Hospital, and who lies buried in the Cathedral at the right of the altar, with the inscription over his grave of his name and titles, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, etc. In the railings of the galleries of the Pontalba buildings, are to be noticed the monogram, "A. P.," Almonaster-Pontalba. Facing the square stands the Cathedral St. Louis, the oldest church in New

Orleans, and one of the buildings of the most historical interest in the city. On either side, stand what are now the Court House buildings—the building now occupied by the Civil District Court on the north side, originally the presbytery building for the occupation of the priests, and on the south side, the building now occupied by the Supreme Court, which in ancient days was the Cabildo or City Hall. On the gallery of this building the officials stood when the territory was transferred from Spain to France and from France to the United States. Upon the entablature near the roof, are cannon and cannon balls of ancient design with the American Eagle inserted after the cession to the United States, where in turn were the emblems successively of his most Christian majesty and his most Catholic majesty the Kings of Spain and France. Coming down Chartres street, opposite the Supreme Court building, at the corner of St. Peter, is what is now a barroom, which is one of the most ancient buildings in the city, originally the oldest hotel west of the Alleghany Mountains. On Chartres, at the corner of St. Louis, is an old building with a cupola, which was built for the occupation of Napoleon, by an enthusiastic admirer of his in New Orleans, who had planned an expedition to rescue the Emperor from St. Helena, and built the house for his occupation, upon his anticipated arrival in New Orleans. But the Emperor died before the expedition set out. Between St. Louis and Canal streets, on Chartres, are the New Orleans bird stores, which are very curious, filled with all sorts of birds and alligators and snakes, tropical birds from Central and South America, and curious animals, such as fanciers collect.

There have been outlined above a very small number of the things that are to be seen in the exploration of New Orleans. In the ancient city the sights are inexhaustible. There are fan light transoms of the old regime and ancient architecture—Spanish and French—with the dormer windows, batten shutters, and court yards and Spanish water jars of the most romantic description.

A stranger should not omit a visit to the chapel of St. Roch, which is an absolutely mediaeval institution, and to the Lugger Landing at the Piçayune Tier at the head of Hospital street, with the Luggers with their red lateen sails, rocking at the moorings, and the lugger men squatting on the decks, a scene that the artists love to paint. The luggers come from the oyster beds of the South, and are laden with oysters. They have all sorts of queer names, too—San Remo, Three Brothers, The Admiral Techetof, The Josephine. It is one of the most picturesque sights in the city.

OPERA AND THEATERS.

The beginning of the theatrical business in New Orleans dates back to 1791, when a company of French comedians was brought over and played in the city. According to the chronicles, this is the first theatrical engagement of any company in New Orleans.

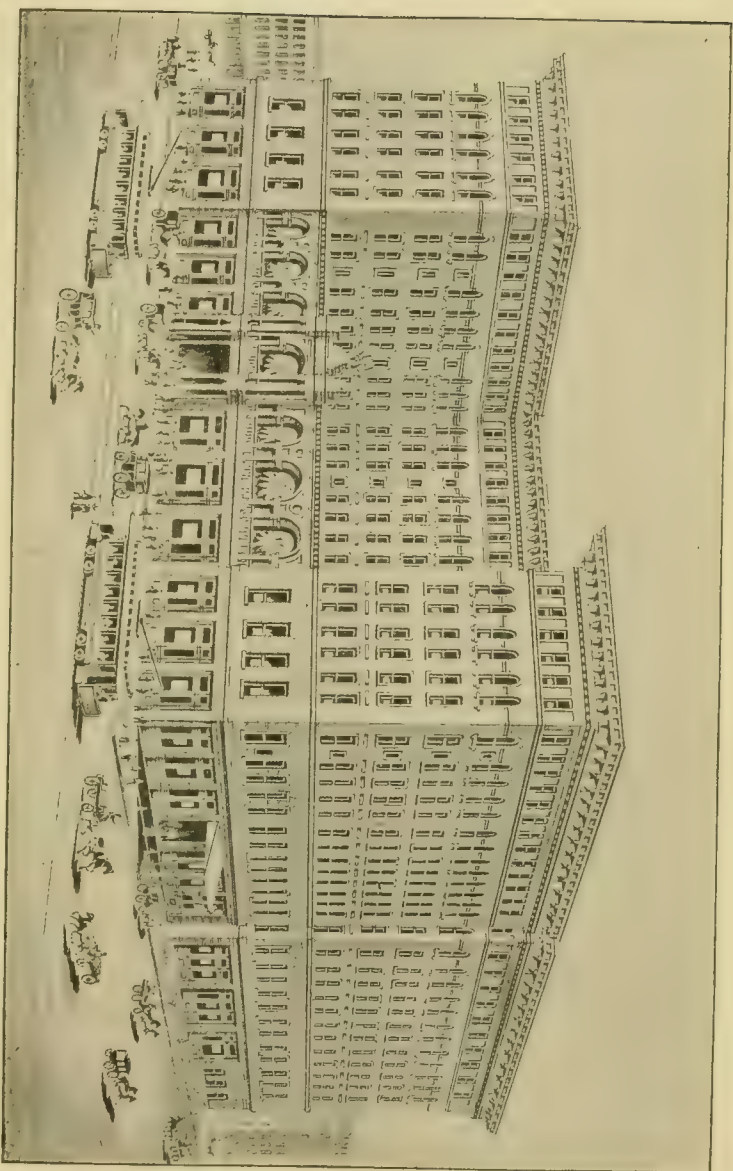
The first theater in New Orleans was erected in 1808, the Théâtre St. Philippe on St. Phillippe street. The building was afterwards turned into the Washington Ball Room. The St. Phillippe street school-house is now upon the same location. It was at this theater that Noah M. Ludlow, one of the celebrated of the early managers, first produced an English play, opening his season in 1807 with Tobin's comedy, "The Honeymoon."

The newspapers of 1810 make mention of a theater on St. Peter street, but very little is known of it, and the writers of the history of New Orleans upon that period make no mention of it.

The famous theater of the old days was the "Orleans Theater," at the corner of Royal and Orleans streets. In 1868 it was burnt and there is now only left a wing of it, which shows some of the ancient architecture. This wing is now the colored convent.

In the early days, it was in this theater that the opera was introduced in New Orleans, which was the first opera in America. The citizens at that time were, as now, enthusiastic with regard to music, and the operatic performances were elaborate and from a large repertoire: Rosini, Meyerbeer, Auber, Mozart and other great composers were held in New Orleans long before the other cities of the country had obtained that degree of civilization. The audiences were fashionable, and so great was the love of the public for operas that the performances extended to a length which now seems extraordinary, the operas beginning at half past 6 and continuing some times until 12 o'clock.

The first building upon the site of this theater was erected in 1813 by a joint stock company. This was burnt in 1816 and the Orleans Theater, bearing that name, was built in 1818 by John Davis, who had become the sole proprietor of the first theater. The cost was one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. The architecture of the lower story is described as Roman Doric, although not pure, and the upper story is Corinthian composite. The finish inside was elaborate. There was a large pit or parquette and loges grillés, and all the accessories of a complete opera house. In 1819 the Orleans Theater was opened by the second dramatic company that was ever imported to America from France. The first has already been mentioned as having played in New Orleans in 1791.



THE NEW ST. CHARLES HOTEL.

The New St. Charles Hotel was builded on the site of the historic edifice of the same name in 1894. In 1890, A. R. Blakely, who had been successively in charge of the St. James Hotel, New York City; the West End Hotel, Long Branch; and the Windsor Hotel, New York City, left the latter hostelry to assume control of the New St. Charles, New Orleans. Under his able management the traditional excellence of the hotel has been maintained and its reputation extended abroad as an important factor in attracting tourists and others to New Orleans. The hotel has 450 rooms and is equipped throughout in the most sumptuous manner. Mr. Blakely has identified himself intimately with the business interests of New Orleans and as President of the Progressive Union, an organization which reflects his strong and vigorous personality. He has been, perhaps, the most prominent figure of latter days in all movements looking towards the improvement of the city.

Connected with the Orleans Theater and forming part of it, was the Orleans Ball Room. Sometimes they boarded over the floor of the parquette and threw the whole into one dancing floor. The ball-rooms were built in 1817. It was here that the famous Quadroon Balls were given that figure so largely in the Romances of New Orleans and in the tales of the travelers who visited the city in the early days.

It seems strange that the theater and ball-room, in the changes of time, should have been transformed into a convent. No one now looking at its wide old façade of rusty brown, without adornment, and seeing the colored *religieuses* passing in and out the heavy door, would suppose that here used to be the most famous theater of ante-bellum days, and the ball-room where quadroon balls were given that are to be read of in the guide-books and the romances of Mr. Cable.

On Camp, near Poydras, where the Moresque building used to be, was the American Theater. It was burnt on the 20th of July, 1842, and then rebuilt and reopened on the 5th of December, 1842. There was another American Theater on Camp street—the “Old Camp,” as it was affectionately called by the public and by the actors who played in it. It was erected in 1823-1824 by James A. Caldwell, Esq., who is famous as one of the most prominent of the New Orleans managers of the day.

The Gaiety Theater, which was, at one time, named the Varieties, was on Gravier street, behind the Cotton Exchange. Varieties Alley takes its name from the old theater.

The Bijou Theater, which was afterwards Werlein Hall, stood at the corner of Baronne and Perdido streets.

The old St. Charles Theater—“Old Drury”—was perhaps the most famous of all of the New Orleans theaters. It was erected by Noah M. Ludlow and Sol Smith. They built it in sixty days as a *tour de force*, in their rivalry with James M. Caldwell, who was the successful theatrical manager of the day and against whom they had entered into competition. The old St. Charles has been recently burnt and has not been rebuilt. For many years it was as famous as the St. Charles Hotel. It was the largest theater in town, one of the oldest, and the theater where the most famous actors and companies played. Here all the actors of celebrity in America played as long as the old house stood—Keene, Macready, Ellen Tree, Charlotte Cushman, Joseph Jefferson, Junius Brutus Booth, John Wilkes Booth, Edwin Booth, Buckstone, Fanny Ellsler, etc.

In the annals of the St. Charles are many anecdotes of the famous players who played there; the story of Joe Jefferson's being fined when he was a young man for

disorderly conduct in his dressing room, and Mr. George Vanderhoff, who used to be very famous in the old days of Hamlet and as Claude Lorraine in the Lady of Lyons. When Mr. Vanderhoff was performing the latter part he was interrupted, as he was carrying Pauline up stage when the lady had fainted in the play, by an unmannerly man in the audience who shouted out to him, "Kiss her!" So great was the chivalry of the audience in those days that the offender was bodily taken up by the audience and passed from hand to hand and incontinently ejected from the house. In his "Leaves From the Actor's Notebook," where he records the anecdote, Mr. Vanderhoff remarks that the next lines of the play were, "There! We are strangers now." They were received by the audience with cheers and laughter.

Then there are stories of the daring of John Wilkes Booth, who, when the city was occupied by General Butler, during the war, would cross from the St. Charles Theater to the bar across the way, yelling out cheers for the Confederacy and halloaing for the Bonny Blue Flag, a proceeding which was, in those days, considered a feat as much as a man's life was worth.

The Academy of Music, close adjoining the St. Charles Theater, was for many years a favorite play-house in New Orleans. While a small theater, the companies that played there were good, and until in its later days, when music hall attractions were brought there, the audiences were refined. It was at the Academy of Music that the farewell production of Bidwell's Stock Company was given. They played Victor Durand and the house was packed from pit to gallery, and the company, which was one of the best stock companies that ever played in New Orleans, or any other city, was given an enthusiastic farewell. It must be remembered that all of the notable actors played in that splendid company. It was from the stage of the Academy of Music, during the civil war, the actor Harry McCarthy first sang "The Bonny Blue Flag," which became one of the national songs of the Confederacy.

The Grand Opera House, which was at first the Varieties Theater, is still owned by the Varieties Association. It is celebrated for one of the most magnificent entrances in America. With Messrs. Klaw & Erlanger's new Tulane and Crescent Theaters, it is one of the three theaters in New Orleans.

The French Opera House was erected in 1860 and designed by Gallier, one of the celebrated architects of the time. It is situated on Bourbon street, at the corner of Toulouse, and while the exterior is not particularly prepossessing, except with regard to its size, it is equipped in every respect as an opera house should be, with

a parquette, loges, secondes, troisièmes, quatrièmes, loges grillés, baignoires grillés, dress circle and boxes and foyer, all decorated to a high degree and of the most magnificent kind. Here the fashionable gather on opera nights and grand opera is given as elaborately as in Paris. The artists are singers of high price and great merit, and there are trained choruses and ballets. The companies are capable of performing opera bouffe, as well as grand opera. The choruses are carefully trained, consisting of a number of people who make a livelihood by singing in the choruses, and who are singers of a marked degree of ability. In the audiences, besides the fashionable, there are some who are genuinely musical. Among the population of New Orleans are many people who are musical by habit and by inheritance. For many years the opera has been established in New Orleans, and before that it existed in France, whence the ancestors of many of the opera choruses come. Both grand opera and opera bouffe existed in New Orleans long before it was established in any other city of America. The opera is one of the features which distinguishes the city and of which it is proud. It would render it remarkable among American cities even if it had no other unique feature.

LOTTERY.

During the reconstruction days, Mr. Charles Howard and Mr. John A. Morris, the latter of whom came to New Orleans from the North, established the Louisiana State Lottery, which for many years had a renown throughout the country. It was, perhaps, the largest lottery that ever existed in the United States. The profits were enormous and the proprietors amassed immense wealth, becoming multi-millionaires and being known as lottery kings.

Through its wealth and through the corruption which existed in Louisiana politics during the early reconstruction days, the lottery company secured from the Legislature a charter which gave it a monopoly and the prestige of being the State Lottery, and rendered its position, for a time, impregnable. The prizes were large, tickets were sold throughout the country and throughout the world. Besides the grand drawings, for the poor people who could not afford the price of the tickets to the grand drawings, the company established daily drawings, at which tickets were sold for small sums, thus adding to their clientele the poorest classes of people, as well as those who were better to do, who could better afford the indulgence. The political influence of the lottery was great, and necessarily so, inasmuch as to secure its monopoly it was necessary for it to control every Legislature. It was this, together with the reassertion of the moral sense of the people, which was shocked by

the bad repute to which Louisiana was brought in other parts of the country where lotteries had been abolished and were prohibited, that finally brought the lottery to an end. A vigorous campaign was started against the renewal of its charter, and in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of the lottery people in the campaign in which Governor Foster was first elected, the lottery was destroyed and no longer has an existence in Louisiana. It is said that at the last Legislature at which the charter of the company was considered, as much as one hundred thousand dollars was offered and paid for the votes of the members of the Legislature in favor of the company. It is to the credit of the people of Louisiana that, in spite of its immense wealth and its unscrupulous use of it, and its entrenched political position, the lottery was finally destroyed. While the Honduras lottery, which has succeeded the Louisiana lottery, still exists, and its tickets as well as the tickets of other petty foreign lottery companies, in violation of the law, are still sold in New Orleans, compared to what the business once was, the lottery business in New Orleans is now a mere bagatelle.

When the history of New Orleans, during the existence of the lottery, comes to be written, the extent to which the evil spread will be found to have been enormous. Immense numbers of people patronized it in all positions and in all walks of life. It spread even to the domestic servants, whom, it was said, filched the market money from their employers to invest in the daily drawings. Business men regularly every month set apart a portion of their profits to invest in lottery tickets. Clerks on small salaries took one or more tickets as regularly as pay-day came around. The anxiety of the lottery ticket holder at the time of the drawings, the scenes at the policy shops, where the tickets were sold, the stories of the fortunes that were drawn in prizes and the fortunes that were expected during weary years and never drawn, would form a fit theme for the writer of fiction.

GAMBLING.

In the early days New Orleans was regarded as an *El Dorado* by the gamblers, who flocked to the city from all parts of the country and of the world. It was partly on account of the cosmopolitan character of the people, who were French and Spanish, with an admixture of foreigners from other parts of the country, and partly because gambling was more universal in the early days all over the world than it is now. The moral sense of civilized countries has been developed to an extent that has diminished the practice to a considerable extent, although it is not entirely suppressed. The early Creoles were very fond of gambling, and the Americans who

came to this city were not far behind. It is related of an old Creole planter that he named two streets that were laid out in his plantation, which became part of the city, "Craps" and "Bagatelle," on account of the two fortunes which he had lost at those games. Faro, roulette and vingt-et-un were played at the gambling house at the corner of Orleans and Bourbon streets. Another famous ranch was on Bayou St. John.

Very large sums were said to have been lost in these early days, and the most distinguished people played. Colonel Grymes and Edward Livingston, who were leaders of the bar, were said to have been very heavy plungers. John Davis, the theatrical manager, is said to have made a considerable fortune in various sorts of gambling games, and besides his theatrical ventures, opened gambling rooms, which were the sources of the capital he used in his theatrical business. In 1832 there were not less than fourteen large gambling establishments; and the evil grew to such an extent with the public games and the encouragement of private games, brag and ecarté, which followed upon the great indulgence in public gambling, that the Legislature in 1832 passed a law to suppress gambling. At the time of the Mexican war it broke out again, and rondeau and loto were added to the old games which had made New Orleans the famous center for gentlemen of the green cloth. At old No. 4 Carondelet street there was a famous establishment, where now the Louisiana Club is located, for many years the domicile of the Boston Club. This was run by McGrath & Company, and was visited by prominent gamblers from all over the country, where the pools on the Metarie races were sold. It was elegantly fitted up and the business done was positively enormous. It afterwards became Sherwood & McGrath's. It is said that the losses in one night's play at McGrath's amounted to as much as eighty thousand dollars.

Until it was closed by the law, old No. 18 Royal street was one of the most famous establishments of the city. Roulette and loto, faro and other games were played. It was frequented by large crowds of all classes and nationalities. It was brilliantly illuminated and ran day and night. More than most American gambling houses it resembled the gambling resorts of Europe, on account of the cosmopolitan character of the crowds and the popularity of roulette and the foreign looking croupiers, with their blue-black, close shaven faces. There were always Chinamen in this establishment playing loto. The Americans played roulette and faro and other games, only occasionally taking any hand at loto to try their luck against the Chinamen. With celestial patience and perseverance the Chinamen used to stick to their game for hour after hour, with absolute immobility whether they won or lost.

Although there are laws against gambling in Louisiana—the Constitution declares gambling to be a vice, and the lottery has been stopped and the large gambling houses closed—there is still a considerable amount of it in the city. Boys who play craps in the street are arrested, but private gambling houses that are out of sight flourish unmolested, although it is charged that the police must needs know of their existence. The man who comes to New Orleans who wishes to gamble will find no difficulty in running against a sport who will steer him to a place where he may be fleeced with a thoroughness as absolute as it was done in the old days. Poolrooms are open and are thronged by men of all classes and ages. At the private clubs there are still played games of poker, and it is said the gains and losses sometimes amount up to a considerable figure. Of course, at the races, there is a regular betting ring, and on every race a considerable amount of money changes hands.

RACING.

While it is true that neither in New Orleans nor in Louisiana has there been any breeding of blooded horses, nevertheless, on account of the sporting and pleasure-loving character of the people, horse-racing, from the earliest days, has been a prominent feature of the city. The old Metairie racecourse, where now the Metairie Cemetery is located, fifty years ago was the most famous racecourse in the United States. Between 1840 and 1860, in proportion to the population, New Orleans could bear comparison with any city in the world as to the number of its racecourses and the quality of the races. Even at the present time, New Orleans is one of the racing centers of the country.

There was the Eclipse course at Carrollton, the Metairie course, that has just been referred to, the Bingaman course in Algiers, La., a course on the Hopkins plantation, about twelve miles below the city, and the Union course, now the Louisiana Jockey Club course, which is the only one that is now used.

It was on the Metairie course that Lexington defeated Lecompte, April 1, 1854. Duncan F. Kenner, Richard Ten Broeck, Colonel Jefferson Wells, Colonel Bingaman, Colonel William Johnson and all the magnates of the day were present. Among the spectators was ex-President Fillmore. Perhaps this was the most famous race that was run in New Orleans in the old days, although the racing was frequent, the horses were of first quality and the purses high.

The races in our day take place in the spring and autumn at the Fair Grounds and are conducted by the Louisiana Jockey Club.

The New Louisiana Jockey Club was incorporated on the 24th of March, 1880,

with a capital stock of seventy-five thousand dollars. The charter members and the first board of directors were: R. W. Simmons, John A. Morris, Walter J. Hall and George W. Nott.

The New Orleans races are one of the features of New Orleans and of the South. The best horses of the country are brought down, and great pains are taken by the club members, who are gentlemen of high character, to have the races absolutely fair. The crowds that gather there are great and the grand stand frequently contains a large assemblage of ladies.

Adjoining the racecourse is the Jockey Club House, on the Metairie road, with an entrance drive from the racecourse. The Jockey Club House was once the residence of Mr. Luling. The club purchased it for sixty thousand dollars. It has a front of five hundred feet on Esplanade street by twenty-five hundred feet deep, with an area of nearly thirty acres. It is high ground and is exempt from overflow. The gardens are beautifully set out and are kept in perfect order, with Southern trees and plants and flowers and shrubbery. In the center of the park there is a lake, with a small island. There are orchards of fruit trees surrounding the park, and flowers and shrubbery. It is one of the most beautiful places in the country. The club building is a large old-fashioned brick building, three stories high, with magnificent reception and dining rooms, library, reading rooms, etc., beautifully furnished with carved furniture. Large galleries surround the building and the terrace is one of the most beautiful in the country. It is surmounted by a cupola, from which a magnificent view of the city and the surrounding country can be had.

Here, during the summer, the club gives its famous promenade concerts, which are attended by the fashionable people of the city and are among the features of social life in New Orleans. Bands of musicians are stationed about the gardens, in the shrubbery, and the grounds are lighted up by numbers of Chinese lanterns and electric lights, the effect of which is very beautiful.

HUNTING AND FISHING.

On account of its situation, surrounded as it is by water and with bayous and lakes all over the country, and its neighborhood, no city in the country is more favorably situated than New Orleans for all sorts of sport. The hunting is principally of ducks and snipe, but all kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, are caught in the immediate vicinity. There are many hunting and fishing clubs near the city of New Orleans, many of them within the city limits, though not within the built-up por-

tion, as the city limits of New Orleans stretch to the Rigolets, from the Jefferson line, a distance of forty odd miles. Every sportsman has his particular hunting and fishing grounds, but the whole country is good. There are hunting clubs at English Look-out, at the Rigolets, Chef Menteur, at Miller's Bayou, Lake Catherine, and at Chandeleur Islands. All of these places are good for fishing also. Many of the sportsmen have elaborate outfits of canoes, pirogues and hunting suits—which must be yellow, the color of the marsh grass—and decoys, and innumerable paraphernalia for the amateur sportsman. The snipe shooting is good, but hunting duck is considered the nobler sport. The variety of ducks that may be shot in Louisiana is innumerable. The experts will name many more kinds than are found in the treatises of the ornithologists. The French duck is generally conceded to be the finest duck with regard to appearance and for the table. The Louisiana ducks, it is claimed, fly faster than the ducks in any other part of the world, but nevertheless very many are killed, both by the regular pot hunters and by amateur hunters. Many of the hunters are expert shots, and will calculate to a nicety the exact angle at which the gun is to be held and the exact distance ahead of the duck that it must be pointed. The hunting trains during the hunting season over the Louisville & Nashville Road, are always crowded with the regular hunters and their friends, whom they are taking over, and when they return Sunday night the amount of game that is brought in is something extraordinary. Over every seat is hung a bunch of ducks, and the baggage car, besides, is loaded full. To hunt ducks in Louisiana is not like hunting game in any other part of the country, where an afternoon can be devoted to the sport. It is a regular expedition. It is necessary to go to the hunting grounds so as to remain over night and get up an hour before daybreak and row or paddle in a small canoe or pirogue (riding in a Louisiana pirogue has been described by a visiting Englishman as floating in the water on a match) to the hunting grounds, where the blind is made and the hunters lay concealed until daybreak, when the ducks are expected to come. The coldest weather is considered the best for the sport, which, with a long pull before daybreak, makes the amount of hardship that is endured necessarily considerable. The marshes are damp, and when the ducks do come, you have to be very quick in handling the gun, as single ducks or whole flocks will fly by with the rapidity of a rifle bullet. Nevertheless, the game seems to be worth the candle, as when the ducks are flying the bags that are secured are considerable, and the Louisiana ducks are the finest in the world.

All sorts of fish are caught in the waters of South Louisiana. Trout, black

fish, perch, bass, croker, sheep-head, Spanish mackerel, pompano, mullet, plaice, red-fish and cat-fish. The cat-fish usually trouble the amateur fisherman, as they abound everywhere in great quantities. To catch small shark at Grand Isle with a rope for line and immense hooks is considered a very enjoyable sport on account of the dangers from the bite of the fish. The sport is not finished when the fish is caught, as, with the shark, it is necessary to kill it. The favorite way is to chop off its tail with a hatchet. While the fisherman is chasing the shark to "decapitate" its tail, if an Irish bull may be used, the shark is very often chasing the fisherman. Sharks are caught at the end of the Island and they are usually small shark, three to three and one-half feet long. Green trout is considered one of the finest fish that can be caught, and in all the bayous and lagoons during the summer they abound.

The sportsmen's stores in New Orleans keep in stock all sorts of rods and tackle and flies, where fishermen's outfits and paraphernalia can be had, and the trade is very considerable, as many men in New Orleans are enthusiastic fishermen, and some of them very expert. Green trout are usually caught with live bait, shrimp being used, though some believe in a bit of red flannel to attract the trout. There is always doubt about the red flannel, but it is supposed to appeal to the picturesque taste of the fish. There is no doubt about the shrimp. They will bite at shrimp, and the 'Cadian fishermen, who are always experts in all sorts of fishing, always employ shrimp.

COCK-FIGHTING.

In the old days, cock-fighting was one of the sports *par excellence* in New Orleans. While the practice never grew to the extreme that it has in Mexico and in the Central American countries, where the *Reñidero de Gallos* is as invariably a feature of the city as the Plaza, with its bands of musicians; nevertheless there were cock-pits in many parts of the city, and then there was quite a trade in the breeding and training of game cocks, and considerable money was wagered upon the success of likely birds.

The old Spanish cock-pit is at the corner of Dumaine and Prieur streets, where occasionally a cock-fight is held, and where, a few years ago, there were mains regularly every Sunday from 9 a. m. till 3 p. m. Although it was originally a favorite sport with the Creoles, and although most of the fighting was in the Creole quarter of the city, nevertheless, it spread to the Americans, and the up-town residents became as fond of the sport as their down-town neighbors. There is a cock-pit in

Jefferson Parish, just across the dividing line of the Parish of Orleans and the Parish of Jefferson, where many celebrated mains have been held, and where the *jeunesse dore* and the boys from "the front" frequently gathered to see the sport.

PRIZE-FIGHTING.

At one time prize-fighting was one of the regular sports in New Orleans. In no city of the world, not even in London, has the manly art flourished as it did in New Orleans in its heyday. New Orleans was the headquarters of the Sullivan-Ryan fight which took place in Mississippi, and of the Sullivan-Kilrain fight, which also took place in Mississippi; and in the city itself many famous fights were held, principally at the Olympic Club, at which Sullivan, Corbett, Hall, Fitzsimmons and all the great stars of the prize ring appeared and won fame and large purses. No club in the United States ever offered as large purses as the Olympic Club. There were several of the fights where purses of twenty thousand dollars were offered.

Prize-fighting in New Orleans was finally stopped by a decision of the Supreme Court in a suit to forfeit the charter of the Olympic Club, and now only glove contests are held, which are infrequent and do not elicit great interest.

BASE-BALL.

Base-ball, since it has become a national game, has been played in New Orleans, and there have been in the city many fine games, the base-ball season extending for quite a while, and clubs from different leagues playing in the city, principally at Sportsman's Park, the grand stand of which is very large and the accommodations being sufficient, with the bleachers, to hold many thousands of people, who frequently congregate to see the games.

RACQUETTE.

Racquette is still played in New Orleans at the old City Park on the Metairie road, near Canal street, by the Creoles, who have always been very fond of the game. There are several clubs in the city in the down-town quarter, and on Sundays very good games may be witnessed.

TENNIS.

While it was fashionable, tennis was played throughout the city, though of late it has been supplanted by golf. There are still many clubs in existence, notably one that plays in Audubon Park, and many people have tennis courts in their private yards.

GOLF.

The game of golf is recent in New Orleans, but is firmly established here, as in all large American cities who have followed the fashion of England and of New York in reviving the ancient game of Scotland. In Audubon Park there are several golf links, and the players operate upon them very frequently. There is a Golf Club and a Golf Club house in the park, at which, on ladies' day, teas are given which are considered quite minor society events.

A peculiar feature of the sport in New Orleans is the picaninny caddy, who is very different in appearance from his Northern and European compeer, and by no manner of dressing up in the golfing rig can be made to look "English, you know." The appearance of a little negro boy in golf costume is one of the most comical sights that can be seen anywhere in the world, the resemblance being to that of the monkeys in fancy dress that accompany hand-organs. Nearly all of them pout while they are addressed as caddy, as if they did not understand the meaning of the word and take it to be a term of opprobrium, and, as during a game it is frequently necessary to call "caddy," the faces of the little negroes grow blacker and blacker.

SUMMER PLEASURE RESORTS.

In summer the population of New Orleans goes to the West End, which is reached by electric cars that start on Canal and Bourbon streets. In some respects it is like Coney Island in New York. There is music there during the summer, and some of the bands are of a very high quality. Vaudeville, restaurants, a scenic railway and sideshows and special attractions on special days draw the crowd. The restaurants have been already referred to under that particular head. The Southern Yacht Club is located at West End, and the West End and the St. John Rowing Clubs.

The Spanish Fort, where the old Spanish Fort is still standing, was at one time a popular resort, and it is claimed by many to-day to be a much prettier place on account of the gardens than West End, but very little used, partly on account of the defective train service and partly on account of the growing supremacy of West End, due to its nearness to the city. The Spanish Fort has been given over to the negroes, and is a favorite place for negro picnics.

The oldest of the summer pleasure resorts in New Orleans is Milneburg, whence the boats leave for Mandeville and Covington and places across Lake Pontchartrain. There are many private clubhouses here, and restaurants, also skiffs and

sail-boats to hire. The finest of the restaurants is Moreau's, which will be treated of under the head of restaurants.

RESTAURANTS.

One of the most celebrated cafes of the old days was John Davis's, on Orleans street, between Royal and Bourbon, next to the Orleans Theater and the famous Orleans ballroom. Here the wild young fellows and the roués of the early part of the century used to meet to drink. Here they would quarrel over their drink or over some rival at one of the quadrone balls in the ballroom next door, and when the details were arranged, to report under the Trois Socurs at the City Park, or, as tradition has it, if it were late at night, upon the plat of ground in the rear of the Cathedral, now fenced in, which was an admirable and convenient place for a duel with colichemardes. Then there was the La Bourse de Maspero or Maspero's Exchange, celebrated in the third decade of the present century. This was located on the corner of St. Louis and Chartres streets. The building has been changed some in the progress of time, but the ancient architecture is still recognizable. The Southern Exchange barroom is now where the old Bourse used to be. This was the literary restaurant in ancient times, and the editors of the papers, professional men and the merchants, used to meet and drink, quarrel and play dominoes, which was a great game in the old days. In ancient New Orleans there were quarrels and also duels, not so many as at John Davis', which was the fighting place par excellence.

The restaurants to-day are Lamothe's, on St. Charles, near Common, Moreau's, on Canal, between Carondelet and St. Charles, which has just been closed, and Fabacher's and The Gem, on Royal, near Canal, and the Restaurant de Paris, on Bourbon street, just opposite the French Opera House, where there is an admirable table d'hôte, and Antoine's, on St. Louis street, between Royal and Bourbon, celebrated for its Creole cooking, as also Bezaudun's Restaurant de la Louissane, on Customhouse, between Royal and Bourbon; at West End, Tranchina's and Astredo's and others. At Milneburg there is Moreau's, where they still serve the Bouillabaisse. Here it was that Thackeray ate it when he came to New Orleans in the '50's, when Miguel cooked it, and the famous novelist acknowledged that it was as good as that of Monsieur Terre, at Paris, famous in the New Street of the Little Fields that he immortalized in the Ballad of the Bouillabaisse.

Opposite the City Park is the Renaissance des Chenes Verts, which Mr. Alciatore keeps. It is one of the best restaurants in the country. There is Begue's, the fa-

mous breakfast place, on Decatur, at the corner of Madison, and countless small restaurants in Little Italy, where the Bohemians foregather; Pegot's, Buffa's, etc.

The cooking in New Orleans is celebrated, gourmands claiming that the Creole cooking is the best in the world. Francatelli and Urbain Dubois cannot equal the dishes prepared by a genuine Creole cook. The game, papabottes, grassets, ducks and snipe are served fessandé. There is bisque and courtbouillon and salmi and Spanish omelettes of all sorts, and gombo, gombo aux herbes, gombo filé, gombo aux ecrevisses.

Two drinks that are peculiar to New Orleans are the "roffignac," said to have been invented by the Marquis de Roffignac, one of the celebrities of the early days; and absinthe, which is also drunk in Paris. It is found at the old Absinthe House at the corner of Bourbon and Bienville streets, which was built in the year 1752, and which has been an absinthe house since 1826.

CHAPTER XX.

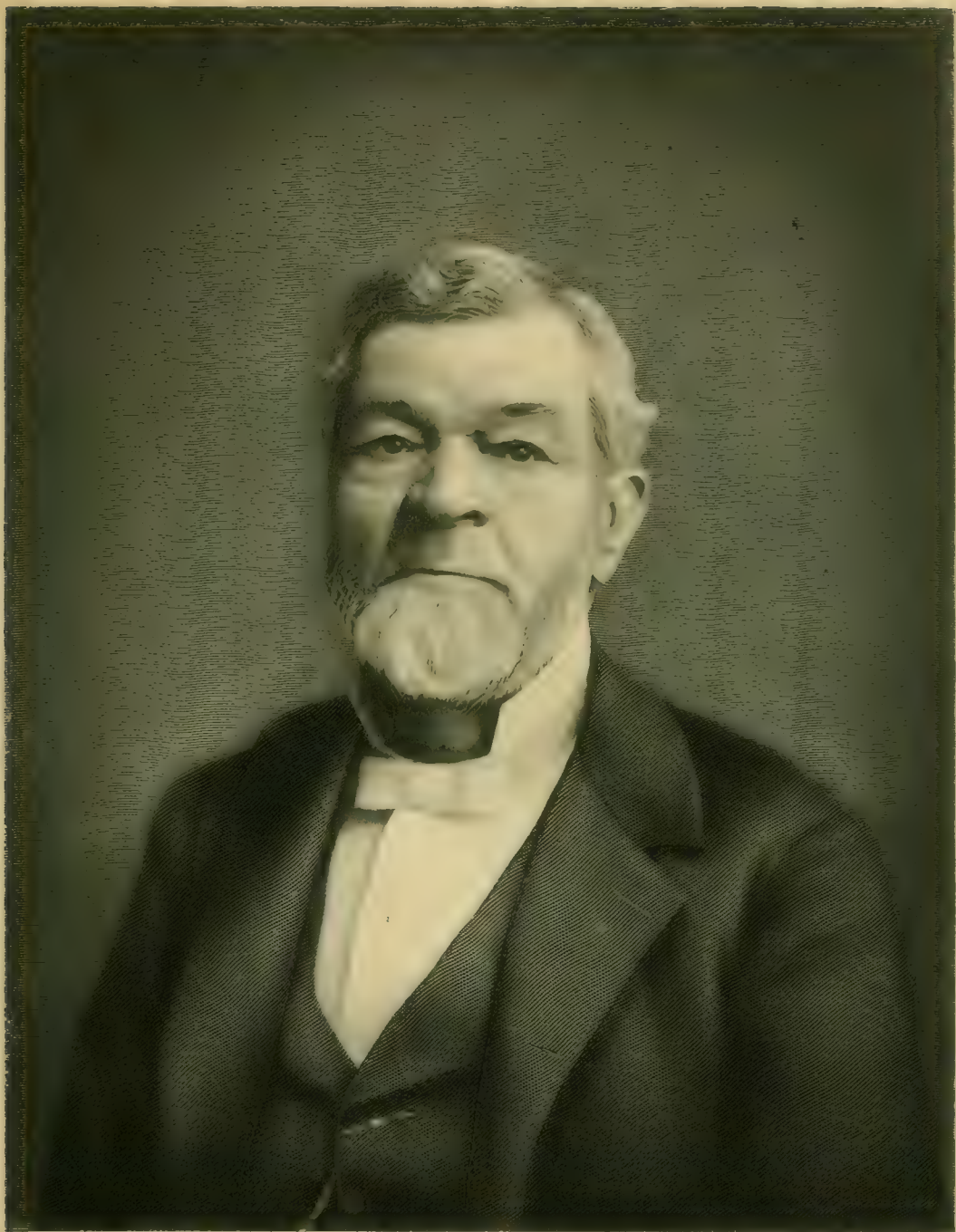
THE CHURCHES.

BY J. M. LEVEQUE.

THE church which first sent the disciples of the gospel into Louisiana was the Roman Catholic. De Soto is recorded as having had a number of missionaries with him. In the early days of the settlement of New Orleans, that religion, as to-day, had the majority of followers here. That was inherent in the nature of things. The two nations, Spain and France, under whose dominion Louisiana was, and to whom the early settlement and progress of Louisiana were due, were Roman Catholic, and, although many of the early settlers were Huguenots, the strife of religious belief seems to have been much softened by the exigencies of the new life and the necessity to be brotherly and to live after the teachings of Christ. Twenty-two ecclesiastics are recorded to have accompanied the adventurous band of De Soto. The influence of the church is legibly traced in numerous names of parishes in the lower section of the State and in even more numerous names of streets of the city.

When Robert Cavalier de la Salle gave the name "Louisiana" to all that territory which for years was of very indefinite boundary, one Father Athanase accompanied him. This is the same priest who later was the companion of Bienville and Iberville when they entered the river from the sea in 1699. The Roman Catholic Church was very active in its missionary work among the Indians in those early days, and many of the clergy were martyrs to their zeal at the hands of the red man.

When Decoudray came to Mobile in command of a fifty-gun ship in 1705, the Bishop of Quebec sent five priests with the party. The bishop also sent two nuns to Louisiana. They were of the order of Grey nuns and were the first to come to Louisiana. As early as this date, or very little later, there must have been a chapel erected in this city by the Catholics, for we find mention of it in the chronicles of Father Charlevoix, who visited the city in 1722. New Orleans was then an infant city, and it is evident that the founding of the city and of the place of worship in



B. M. Palmer

it, must have been contemporaneous. It is recorded that in the year following, 1723, a severe storm passed over the city, demolishing the little chapel in which the first inhabitants of New Orleans used to worship. It is, therefore, not to be supposed that the first edifice of worship was a very sturdy structure.

In the time of Bienville, three of the great orders of the Catholic Church were assigned each a division of ecclesiastical territory—the Jesuits, the Discalced (bare-footed) Carmelites and the Capuchins. The territory thus divided was very vast, extending to the Illinois River. The division excluded from New Orleans the order of Jesuits, and so Bienville provided that the Mississippi Company should furnish a house and lot for the representative of the Jesuits, and a chapel and vestry. Father Petit, a Jesuit superior, was stationed here, and thus the order of Jesuits, which has subsequently become so powerful and taken such a leading part in educational and other work, had its humble origin in this part of the world. Although excluded from New Orleans in the assignment of territory, the necessity of having representation and a home in the entrepot of the southern valley brought the order here.

The Discalced Carmelites, failing to take charge of the territory assigned them in the ecclesiastical assignment, their province was turned over to the Capuchins.

The Bishop of Quebec at this time was the Vicar-General of Louisiana. He appointed Father Bruno, of the Capuchins, the first superior in Louisiana. The superior and his two monks ministered to the people of New Orleans in the early days. One of the monks was assigned to the troops, stationed here for the defense of the infant civilization, and the other ministered to the laity.

It was by the industry of the Jesuit fathers of the early days of New Orleans that a large and valuable tract of the territory now occupied by the city of New Orleans, in the heart of the business section, was cleared of forest trees and put into use by civilized man. The tract extended from what is now Common street to Delord. Facing on the river, it extended back to the lake. On this tract the Mississippi Company erected for the order a house and chapel. The grant of this property was made as a result of the Jesuit convention of 1726. The Jesuits, having themselves cleared their property of the trees, installed a wax-shrub grove, from which a merchantable article was extracted. Their active industry converted this tract into one of the very first and finest estates of the primitive days. During the reign of Louis XV, of France, the estate was confiscated and sold for \$180,000. The confiscation took place in 1763. It was at the time that the greatest unfriendliness was being shown the order by the home government. It was alleged as an excuse for

the confiscation that the order here took no care of their missions; that they concerned themselves alone with improving their plantation, and that they had usurped the office of the Vicar General. At home the order was accused of attacking the royal authority, of encroaching on the prerogatives of the bishops, and, in fine, of endangering the public safety.

The superior council of Louisiana, on June 9, 1763, condemned the order of Jesuits without a hearing. This was prior, by some ten years, to the sweeping condemnation of the order by Clement XIV. By the sentence of the council, the goods and chattels of the Jesuits were sold at auction, with the exception of some books and clothes, which they were allowed to keep. The money realized on the sale of their goods in the city was to go to the missions, and that coming from property confiscated and sold in other parts of the State should go to the King. Even their church ornaments and sacred vessels were turned over to the Capuchins by this uncompromising decree, which further ordered the chapel of the Jesuits razed and the fathers sent back to France, forbidding them in the time before their departure to live as formerly in community. So vindictive was the execution of the decree that when the chapel was razed, not even the graveyard near by escaped desecration. The only Jesuit who was allowed to remain in New Orleans at the time of this expulsion was Father Baudoin, seventy-two years old, broken and feeble. He had resided for thirty years in the colony, and having no relatives or friends in France, he was allowed to remain in New Orleans for the rest of his days. It is thus seen that New Orleans enjoys the distinction of being one city on the new continent sufficiently old to have witnessed the days when men were "banished the city," and when religious persecution ran riot. Part of the Jesuits, not alone from New Orleans, but through the province, departed in January, 1764, and part the next month. But three of all the number remained—Father de la Meurinie, who was too ill to undertake the voyage to the old country; and the other, Father Meurin, who in some manner obtained consent to return to his mission work among the Indians. Father Baudoin was taken under the care and protection of Etienne de Boré, who in those days owned a home where Horticultural Hall in Audubon Park now stands, overlooking the river. The venerable Jesuit died in 1766.

The Jesuits, being expelled from New Orleans, the Capuchins were then in ecclesiastical charge of the city. Father Dagobert, of whom many a vagrant verse, still preserved, sings, was the superior of the order. It was about this time that Louisiana became a part of the bishopric of Santiago de Cuba, being detached from that of Quebec, to which it had previously belonged. Right Rev. James Joseph de

Echevaria was at the time the head of this bishopric, being stationed in the Antilles. The Spanish government, desirous to spread the use of the Spanish tongue in Louisiana, sent four young ladies here, who took the veil as Ursuline nuns, with the duty before them of teaching the tongue to the youth of New Orleans. It also sent one Spanish priest at the same time. This was in 1772. In the same year the ecclesiastical affairs of New Orleans were taken in charge by Father Cirilio, a Spanish Capuchin, who was sent to the city by the Bishop of Cuba. He arrived here July 19. There was some friction engendered between the priests of the same order, but of different nationalities. The Spanish Capuchin in charge sent reports to his bishop relative to the French Capuchins not at all to the credit of the latter. The Spanish governor, Unzaga, however, disapproved these reports and succeeded in establishing harmony between the priests of the different nationalities. In 1781 Father Cirilio was made a bishop and auxiliary to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba. He was thus the first bishop of Louisiana, which, however, still remained a part of the former diocese. He appointed Father Antoine de Sedella rector of St. Louis Parish in New Orleans, and, after twenty years of service, was retired in 1793. Father Sedella had been one of six priests sent here by the Spanish government in 1779, all of the Capuchin order.

At the time of the retirement of Bishop Cirilio there had come to New Orleans a number of Protestants. Four Irish priests had also come to the mission of Louisiana from the seminary of Salamanca. They arrived in 1787. The bishopric of Havana was formed in 1790. The bishopric of Santiago de Cuba and the southern part of the island of Cuba became the bishopric of Santiago de Cuba. The northern portion of the island and the Floridas were merged, with Louisiana, into the bishopric of Havana. Three years later, on April 25, 1793, Louisiana and the Floridas were formed into a new bishopric. Its ordinary was Don Louis de Penalver y Cardenas, formerly a Jesuit pupil. St. Louis church was made his cathedral and New Orleans his see. The new bishop arrived July 17, 1795.

At the opening of 1800 the Catholic religion was still the only one holding public religious services in New Orleans. There were two chapels and the church. The church was in charge of a priest and three assistants. It owned one square of ground. The pew rent and \$100 per annum paid by the King was the entire revenue of the church. The chapels were attached, one to the hospital, the other to the convent. To the latter institution, what was looked upon as a great misfortune happened on May 29, 1803, when sixteen of the Ursuline nuns, dissatisfied with French rule, left the convent and went to Havana, only eleven nuns remaining.

Bishop Penalver was made Archbishop of Guatemala on July 20, 1801, and the management of the religious affairs devolved upon Very Rev. Thomas Hasset and Very Rev. Patrick Walsh, his two canons. They continued to administer the charge until the appointment of Bishop Penalver's successor, Right Rev. Francis Porro. Bishop Penalver never took charge of his appointment, nor did he come to New Orleans, being transferred to the diocese of Tarrazona because of the negotiations then pending for the transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States. Very Rev. Thomas Hasset dying in April, 1804, Very Rev. Patrick Walsh remained in sole charge of the Catholic Church here until August 22, 1806. At this time the Very Rev. Jean Oliver was officiating at the Ursuline convent. The Bishop of Baltimore, Rev. Carroll, appointed him as Vicar General.

It was about this time that one of the most notable contentions in the history of the church in this section of the world occurred relative to the Cathedral. The chapel of the Ursuline convent had been made the parish church by Father Walsh on March 27, 1805. He had done this because of a difficulty he had had with Father de Sedella, who was in possession of the Cathedral. In 1813 Very Rev. William Dubourg, apostolic administrator of the diocese, came to New Orleans with the one duty before him, to settle the contention between the prelates. The apostolic administrator became involved in the controversy he had come to solve. Both Vicar Generals engaged in the attempt to get the Cathedral from Father Antoine de Sedella. Father Sedella would not be ousted, however. He and his adherents forced Very Rev. Dubourg to take refuge in Acadia. The Cathedral remained in possession of Father Sedella in spite of all attempts by the Vicar General. His parishioners took the matter in hand, placed themselves in charge of the Cathedral, and appointed a board of wardens, composed of Thomas Poree, Paul Lanusse, Jean Baptiste Labatut, Jean Castanedo and Jean Baptiste Durrel. Subsequently Father Sedella was sustained by a decision of the Superior Court of the Territory of Orleans.

Right Rev. William Dubourg was appointed regular bishop by the Pope later. Right Rev. Guiseppe Rosati, of the order of Lazarists, Bishop of Tenagre, was transferred to the diocese of St. Louis March 20, 1827, and made the coadjutor to Bishop Dubourg. Right Rev. Raymond de Nekre, also a Lazarist, succeeded as the next Bishop of Louisiana, dying in 1833. For two years, until 1835, the Roman Church of New Orleans was administered by Very Rev. Fathers Blanc and Ladvieire. In that year the former was consecrated bishop in the Cathedral. The see of New Orleans was made an archdiocese in 1852, Bishop Blanc becoming the first archbishop. He died June 22, 1860, and a tablet to his memory is in the Cathedral to-day.

Long ere this the zealous and obstinate Father Antonio de Sedella had departed for Cadiz, under circumstances peculiarly distressing, not however, before he had earned the distinction of being responsible for an attempt to introduce on the new continent the hideous inquisition. In spite of all opposition he had succeeded in making himself a force in New Orleans. He had successfully resisted the officers of his church and remained in possession of the Cathedral. He set his plans for the introduction of the institution, which is one of the foulest blots on the pages of history, with all the care and pains of a zealot convinced that he is doing a great thing for the good of his fellow mortals. Thinking that he had even Governor Miro on his side in his purposes, he notified the governor one day that he might soon find it necessary to require guards at a late hour of the night to assist him. On the night following this notification, the guards responded and the priest was awakened by a thundering at his door, and opening it, confronted the guards and an officer. He thanked them in a little speech, and through them the governor for the prompt response to his call, but added that the time was not ripe for their service, and he dismissed them with the blessing of God. To his amazement, however, the officer refused to be dismissed and informed him that he was under arrest by the order of Governor Miro himself. The priest demanded if they dared place hands on an officer of the inquisition, to which the officer bluntly replied he dared obey orders, and arrested him, and next day he was placed on a vessel and deported to Cadiz. That was in 1827, and it marks an important epoch in the struggle of civil rights against possible religious persecution of the most infamous and extraordinary character. If, with the same zeal and success with which this reverend zealot had previously held to the Cathedral despite the protest of authority, he had succeeded in introducing the germ of the inquisition here, there might be another chapter in the history of New Orleans to write—one which, to the credit of Governor Miro, has never demanded a chronicler. The deportation of Sedella took place soon after the arrival of Bishop Rosali. Sedella returned later, and, according to the chronicles, succeeded in giving the Catholic brethren no end of trouble. There was too much freedom in the air of the new country, however, too much of the virility of life, the lesson of God was too indelible in nature all around, for even the most devout followers of the prelate to tolerate the idea of the European iniquity.

Father Sedella was succeeded by Father Jean Aloysius Leopold Moni. On Father Moni's death, the bishop appointed Abbe Rousillion, and with this appointment arose a contention between the trustees and the bishop which was only finally settled in the courts. The question was, virtually, had the bishop any appointive

power in the premises not subject to review and approval by the trustees? The trustees rejected Abbe Rousillion. The bishop yielded and appointed Father Constantius Maenhant. The trustees accepted the appointment for awhile, but the peace was of short duration, there being a lack of harmony between the trustees and the abbe. As a result, on November 2, 1842, the bishop withdrew all his priests from the cathedral and the church was without any religious ceremonies whatever. In January the following year (1843) Bishop Blanc tried again to please the trustees by appointing Father Bach to the pastorate. Although he had been accepted as satisfactory by the trustees, harmony was not long-lived, and there arose another disagreement between trustees and church authority, the trustees claiming to have the right of naming the prelate or priest of the Cathedral. In spite of the friction, Father Bach continued to exercise the offices of priest in the Cathedral until September of the following year. The following month the bishop announced a new plan. He would fill the vacancy from among the priests, but would not make known the name of the appointee until he became satisfied that his selection would meet with favor. Even this plan failed to receive the acceptance of the trustees, until finally the bishop announced that he would make no appointment to the vacancy unless they agreed to accept his authority. He accordingly withdrew all the priests, with the solitary exception of Father Ascensio, who performed only the absolutely necessary calls of the office. At this juncture the trustees took a short route to a final settlement of the hard problem, appealing to the courts. Pierre Soulé, Christian Roselius, Mazareau and Canon represented the petitioners, who asked for damages in the sum of \$20,000. The church was represented by St. Paul and Seghers. Judge Maurin, who presided, dismissed the petition and his decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court. This result brought about peace at last.

Bishop Blanc was succeeded in 1861 by Right Rev. Jean Marie Odin, who was followed by Bishop Napoleon Joseph Perche, who was bishop of the diocese from 1870 to 1883, and who was in turn succeeded by Most Rev. Francis Xavier Leray, who died in France, September 23, 1889. There was a vacancy of some months after his death, during which the parish was in charge of Very Rev. Father G. A. Rouxel. On August 7, 1888, Most Rev. Francis Janssens was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of New Orleans from the see of Natchez. On September 16, 1888, he took charge of his new duties. He was a broad and splendid man, full of earnestness and purpose and deeply beloved by a vast circle, irrespective of religious faith. He died of heart disease at sea on his way to New York, his ill health being aggravated by overwork. He was succeeded on June 10, 1897, by Archbishop Chapelle.

The most ancient and interesting house of worship in the city of New Orleans, or in the State, for the matter of that, is the venerable St. Louis Cathedral. The history of its chief men has been reviewed. It has been associated with the history of the oldest denomination of the State since the beginning. It stands, indeed, as it were, the central figure in church history of the State, furnishing the very starting point of church history. It would therefore be of interest to tell something of the material structure which has silently witnessed so many changes, church and lay, in the life of the venerable city. The first and original St. Louis Cathedral, at the time it was a mere place of worship for the early settlers, was a storehouse, located, as far as can be ascertained, right where the present imposing edifice now stands, that is, just back of the Place d'Arms (Jackson Square) overlooking the river. This was in 1718. A brick and adobe structure was erected on the same site in 1720, and named the Church of St. Louis, after the King of France. In 1725, five years after, a brick building took the place of this older building, and more than half a century afterward, in 1793, the Cathedral, which still remains at the present day, was built. It was the gift of Don Andres Almonester y Roxas, one of the wealthiest men of the times in America. It required two years for the completion of the edifice, which was begun in 1792, and though used the next year, was not completed until 1794. Don Almonester was buried in the Cathedral. Francis Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville, Antoine Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville and Pierre Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville were also buried in the Cathedral in these early days.

In 1850 the principal tower of the Cathedral fell in, and when this was repaired the building was enlarged to its present proportions. In 1892 the building was seriously damaged by a thunderbolt. Rev. Father Mignot, in charge of the Cathedral, inaugurated a movement for the repair of the damages and enough money was realized to have additionally done some of the interior mural decorations which excite considerable interest to-day. Erasme Humbrecht was the author of the work, and among the paintings are "St. Louis Announcing the Crusade," and "St. Louis Receiving the Shepherd's Staff From Our Lord," while other paintings are wrought upon the vault.

Although the seventeen hundreds saw Catholicism in this section of the new world clustered about the Cathedral as a center, and the Cathedral and the chapels mentioned were the only places of worship of the young colony, the next century witnessed pronounced activity among the Catholics in church building. Among the more important churches which demand consideration in a review of the local

history of the church are St. Alphonisus of the Redemptorist congregation, St. Mary's Assumption church, St. Patrick's, St. Joseph's, Notre Dame de Bon Secours, Annunciation Catholic Church, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Theresa, Church of the Holy Name of Jesus, Church of the Holy Name of Mary, Holy Trinity, Mater Dolorosa, St. Stephens, Ursuline Chapel, St. Cecelia's, St. Augustin's, Sacred Heart of Jesus, St. Anthony, Our Lady of Good Council, Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, St. Ann's, St. Boniface, St. Francis de Sale's, St. Henry's, St. John the Baptist, St. Joseph's Chapel, St. Joseph (Gretna), St. Mary's Church, St. Maurice, St. Michael, St. Peter and St. Paul's, St. Rose de Lima, Church of the Immaculate Conception, St. Roche's Chapel, St. Francis of Assissi, Greek Church of the Holy Trinity.

The Church of the Immaculate Conception, or the Jesuits, is one of the most famous of the Catholic churches of to-day in the city. It adjoins the Jesuit College on Baronne, corner of Common streets. It was established in 1848. It was not until 1847 that the Jesuits were invited to return to New Orleans. The money with which the real estate was bought was borrowed from Father Maisonabe, S. J., who loaned it without interest. Rev. Father John Cambaiso, whose parents were Genoese, built the church, which was erected in 1853. The architecture is Mo-resque. It was completed in 1859. One of the most notable features of this church is the stained glass windows. Its statuary is also rich, a notable bit of it being a marble figure of the Virgin standing in a niche over the high altar. This was made for Marie Amelie, Queen of Louis Philippe, by Foystier, for her private chapel. When the King was dethroned in the revolution of 1848, the sculptor sold the statue for \$6,000. The statue was sent to New York and there purchased by the Jesuits who raised a subscription for that purpose. Father Hubert, S. J., was responsible for the enterprise. There is a gilt bronze altar in the chapel which cost \$15,000, purchased in 1870.

In 1732 the Redemptorist congregation was founded by St. Alphonsius Li-guori, and over a century later the order was represented in New Orleans. On October 24, 1847, Rev. Peter Czackert arrived in New Orleans with a band of priests of the order. A mission was established by them on Constance street, between Josephine and St. Andrew. The following year Father Czackert died and his work was prosecuted by Father Petesch. He organized St. Theresa's Society October 15, 1849. The convent of Notre Dame was erected in 1854 on Laurel and Jackson streets, devoted to the care of orphans, and in 1858 St. Alphonsus Church was erected on Constance street, between Jackson and St. Andrew, at a cost of \$100,-

000. Subsequent improvement and additions to this has raised the amount many thousands of dollars. The mission house of the Redemptorist fathers, a three-story brick building, was erected opposite this church in 1882. The same order erected the St. Alphonsius Hall and boys' school in 1869, St. Alphonsius girl school, the Convent of Mercy and St. Catherine's College, which are under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy. The same order erected St. Mary's Assumption Church and school for the Germans, the Church of Notre Dame being erected for the benefit of the French by them. St. Mary's school was erected as far back as 1868.

In 1833 St. Patrick's church was built. The first church edifice was erected on April 23, 1833, Rev. Father Adam Kindelon being the first pastor. But the present imposing brick structure on Camp, near Girod, completed in 1837, was begun in 1835 by Rev. Father James Ignacius Mullen. Father Mullen, who died in 1866 at the age of seventy-four, was buried beneath the floor of the church.

St. Mary's Assumption Church was founded in 1845 and is on Josephine street, Laurel and Constance. The architecture is of the Renaissance style and it is said to have one of the finest altars in the country, which cost \$10,000.

St. Joseph's Church, on Tulane, between St. Adeline and Derbigny, was erected in 1841. The first building was a frame structure, standing where the present colored school is. On December 8, 1871, Archbishop N. J. Perche laid the corner stone of the present structure. It was consecrated by Archbishop Janssens, December 18, 1892. It has a seating capacity of 1,600 people.

Notre Dame de Bon Secours, on Jackson, between Laurel and Constance, was founded in 1858. Annunciation Church was established in 1846, and is at the corner of Mandeville and Marais. St. Vincent de Paul, on Dauphine, between Montegut and Clouet, was founded as far back as March 20, 1839. The Sisters of Charity built St. Theresa's Catholic Church at the corner of Camp and Erato in 1850. The Church of the Holy Name of Jesus was established in 1892 on St. Charles avenue, between Calhoun and Exposition boulevard. The Church of the Holy Name of Mary was erected in 1859 at the corner of Alix and Verret. The Holy Trinity Church, which is German, is situated on St. Ferdinand street, between Royal and Dauphine streets, and was established in 1870. Mater Dolorosa was built in 1874. It stands at the corner of Cambronne and Seventh streets. It was consolidated with the Church of the Nativity in 1899. The Church of the Nativity is situated on the opposite side of the street, and was erected in 1874, being known as St. Mary's Church until 1894. The Vincentian Fathers, under Rev. Angelo Hippolyte Gandolfo, S. M., organized St. Stephen's Parish in 1849. The

church of the parish is at the corner of Berlin and Chestnut streets. The first church of the parish, which served also as the parochial residence, was located on Camp street, near Napoleon avenue. On June 8, 1851, a larger church was erected at the corner of Camp and Napoleon avenue. Subsequently the house of worship was removed to the corner of Camp and Berlin streets. The property of the parish is to-day said to be worth about \$30,000.

The first chapel of the Ursuline Sisters was erected away back in 1734 on Ursulines street, between Chartres and Decatur. The present chapel was erected in 1829. It has no congregation, but is a place of public worship. Its antiquity and historical associations make it a point of great interest to the visitor. St. Cecelia is at the corner of Lesseps and Rampart. It was formerly at the corner of St. Claude and Poland. It was established in 1896. St. Augustine's Church, at the corner of St. Claude and Hospital, was established in 1841. The Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was erected June 14, 1874. It is situated on Canal, between South Lopez and South Rendon. The Church of St. Anthony is Italian. It is at the corner of North Rampart and Conti. This is a very old church, being founded in 1822. It was erected as a mortuary chapel on objection raised to holding burial services at the Cathedral. It is dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua. Our Lady of Good Council Church is situated at the corner of Louisiana avenue and Chestnut streets. It was established July 3, 1887. Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Church is situated at the corner of North Claiborne and Annette streets, having been erected in 1871. St. Ann's was built in 1852, and is at the corner of North Roman and North Prieur. St. Boniface, corner of North Galvez and La Harpe, was built in 1869; St. Francis de Sale, corner of Second and South Franklin, in 1873; St. Henry's, which is German, on Berlin, between Constance and Magazine streets, in 1856; St. John the Baptist, on Dryades, between Calliope and Clio, in 1851, the present edifice being erected in 1869; St. Joseph Chapel, corner Ursuline and North Johnson, in 1888; St. Joseph's (Gretna) in 1870. St. Mary's Church was the archbishop's residence until 1899. It was erected in 1835. St. Maurice's, corner of Hancock and Royal, was erected in 1844; St. Michael's, on Chippewa, between Race and Orange, in 1872; St. Peter and St. Paul's, on Burgundy, between Marigny and Mandeville, in 1849, the present church having been erected in 1861; St. Rose de Lima, on Bayou road, between North Dorgenois and North Broad, in 1859. St. Roch's chapel is one of quaint interest. It is situated in St. Roch's Cemetery, on the avenue of that name, corner of North Roman. The side walls of the chapel are the vaults of the dead of the societies of St. Ann and St. Joseph. Above the altar

is the shrine of St. Roch. Innumerable votive offerings are to be seen at the foot of the statue of St. Roch and elsewhere, laid there by those who believe in the efficacy of prayers to the saint. St. Roch is believed by the lassies to send husbands among other gifts. The Church of St. Francis of Assissi, only recently erected, is in State street, between Patton and Constance, and has a school attached. Its rector is Rev. Father Brockmeier. The Greek Church of the Holy Trinity, on North Dergenois, between Hospital and Barracks, is a small brick structure.

It would be a point of interest in the history of these various churches of the Catholic faith to give a list of the men who have been factors, obviously, of the most important character, in the making of the history.

The rectors of the Jesuit Church, contemporaneously presidents of the Jesuit college, have been: Very Rev. John Baptist Maisounabe, 1847-1848; Very Rev. John Cambizo, 1848-1852; Very Rev. Anthony Jourdan, 1852-1854; Very Rev. Aloysius Curioz, 1854-1862; Very Rev. Anthony Jourdan, 1862-1869; Very Rev. Francis Gautrelet, 1869-1880; Very Rev. Theobald Butler, 1880-1887; Very Rev. John F. X. O'Connor, 1887-1890; Very Rev. David McKiniry, 1890-1895; Very Rev. Henry Clay Semple, 1895-1899; Very Rev. John Brisland, 1899.

St. Mary's Assumption Church—Fathers Thadeus Anawander, 1855-1861; F. Jacons, 1867-1870; H. Giessen, 1871-1872; N. Jaeckel, 1873-1874; Max Leimgruber, 1874-1877; James Karicher, 1877-1879; Joseph Colonel, 1879-1881; Max Leimgruber, 1881-1883; Henry Giessen, 1884-1886; Bernard Klaphake, 1886-1887; Frederick Faivre, 1887-1891; George A. Grimm, 1891-1893; Joseph A. Firle, 1893-1898; Henry Weber, 1898.

St. Patrick's Church—Revs. Fathers Adam Kindelon, 1833; James Ignatius Mullen, 1833-1837; John Flanagan, 1869-1872; P. F. Allen, 1872-1887; John Dumas, 1887-1892; E. J. Fallon, 1892-1900.

St. Joseph's Church—Rev. E. D'Hamo, 1844; P. M. Paget, 1844-1858; John Hayden, 1858-1870; T. J. Smith, 1870-1880; M. P. O'Regan, 1880-1881; R. J. Fitzgerald, 1881-1891; F. Guidry, 1891-1893; John Hickey, 1893-1894; F. N. Nugent, 1894-1897; P. V. Byrne, 1897-1898; T. J. Weldon, 1898-1900.

St. Alphonsus Church—Fathers P. McGrabe, 1857-1861; J. A. Dyffy, 1866-1870; M. Burke, 1870-1871; J. B. Duffy, 1872-1874; F. Girardey, 1874-1883; Henry Giessen, 1883-1888; Frederick Faivre, 1888-1891; George A. Grimm, 1891-1894; Joseph A. Firle, 1894-1898; Very Rev. Henry Weber, 1898-1900.

Notre Dame de Bon Secours—Fathers G. Geissen, 1858-1869; Alfred de Ham, 1869-1872; Theodore Lamy, 1872-1873; Nicholas Berchem, 1873-1874;

Alfred de Ham, 1874-1877; H. Geissen, 1877-1883; Theodore Lamy, 1883-1885; Frederick Faivre, 1885-1887; Alfred de Ham, 1887-1888; Frederick Faivre, 1888-1891; Very Rev. George A. Grimm, 1891-1893; Joseph A. Firle, 1893-1894; Alfred de Ham, 1894-1895; Celestin Gregoire, 1895-1896; Joseph A. Firle, 1896-1898; Henry Weber, 1898-1900.

Annunciation Catholic Church—Father R. McMorris, 1846-1860; R. Durier, 1860-1885; G. A. Rouxel, 1885-1899.

St. Vincent de Paul—Rev. Father E. Foltier, 1869-1878; A. F. X. Chapuis, 1878-1892; Arthur Drossaerts, 1892-1900.

St. Theresa's—Fathers J. P. Belliar, 1856-1858; John Flanagan, 1857-1861; T. J. Kennedy, 1868-1874; P. M. L. Massadier, 1874-1890; F. X. Cuppens, 1890-1897; T. F. Delaney, 1897-1898; P. M. L. Massadier, 1898-1900.

Church of the Holy Name of Jesus—Father John A. Downey, 1882-1899; Paul Faget, 1899-1900.

Church of the Holy Name of Mary—Fathers F. Dems, 1870-1872; H. Belanger, 1872-1879; S. M. Brady, 1883-1885; A. Pompallier, 1885-1886; J. B. Chataigner, 1886-1888; James Goggan, 1888-1893; Joseph Roman, 1893-1897; J. H. Blenck, 1897-1899; Father Joyce, 1899-1900.

Mater Dolorosa—(Rev. Anthony Bichlmayer, 1874-1898; Charles Brockmeier, 1898-1899; Church of the Nativity, before its consolidation with the Church of Mater Dolorosa)—Fathers R. P. Vallee, 1874-1892; J. J. Ferguson, 1892-1893; Marius Welte, 1893-1896; John F. Prim, 1896-1900.

Church of the Holy Trinity—Father P. Leonhard Thevis, 1870-1893; J. B. Bogaerts, 1893-1898; Anthony Bicklmayer, 1898-1900.

St. Stephen's Parish Church—Rev. Angelo Hippolyte Gandolfo, 1849; John Mary Delcros, 1851-1858; Anthony Verrina, 1858-1868; Rev. A. Mandine, 1868-1878; Anthony Verrina, 1878-1900.

Ursuline Chapel—For many years, Rev. N. G. Percha, and subsequently, Rev. Charles Denoyal.

St. Cecilia's Church—Rev. J. Reiter.

St. Augustine's—Father Rousilon, 1841; next Father Jobert, till 1874; Father Joseph Subileau, 1874 to date.

Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus—A. Marine, 1880-1883; G. Demers, 1883-1886; J. Arlington, 1886-1887; J. Adelsperger, 1887-1889; J. M. Scherer, 1889-1890; A. E. Saulmier, 1890-1895; D. J. Spillard, 1895-1897; P. W. Condon, 1897-1898; Peter Lauth, 1898-1899; Rev. Father Warken, 1899-1900.

Church of St. Anthony—Father J. J. Turgis, 1867-1869; Gabriel Chalon, 1870-1871; J. A. Manoritta, 1876-1900.

Our Lady of Good Counsel—Father Joseph F. Lambert.

Our Lady of the Sacred Heart—Father Antonio Borias, 1870-1881; Celestin M. Frain, 1881-1900.

St. Ann's—Fathers J. M. LaFranc, 1852-1857; H. Tumoine, 1857-1893; Albert Bulot, 1893-1898; Joseph Thebault, 1898-1900.

St. Mary's—Father A. Blanc, 1827-1861; Gilbert Raymond, 1866-1882; H. M. LeCozic, 1882-1892; J. A. Bogaerts, 1892-1893; Louis Prim, 1893-1894; Very Rev. J. A. Thebault, 1894-1898; John B. Baronnet, 1898-1900.

St. Maurice—Rev. Father Bonnafe, 1856-1880; J. Anstett, 1880-1881; J. Dumas, 1881-1887; A. Dubourg, 1887-1890; E. Aveilhé, 1890-1900.

St. Michael's Church—P. G. Tobin, 1872-1874; Thomas Heslin, 1874-1889; Michael Coughlan, 1889-1900.

St. Peter's and St. Paul's—Rev. Fathers C. Moynihan, 1849-1879; J. Moynihan, 1879-1884; E. M. Kenney, 1884-1885; John B. Flanagan, 1885-1896; Joseph Hanrahan, 1896-1900.

St. Rose de Lima—Fathers M. Mittelbronn, 1868-1896; Alphonse Jannsens, 1896-1900.

St. Boniface—Fathers Joseph Roeger, 1874-1890; Alphonse Leute, 1890-1893; Paul Schaeuble, 1893-1900.

St. Francis de Salés—Father Nicholas Simon, 1873-1900.

St. Henry's Church—Fathers M. Radamaerger, 1870-1871; J. Bogaerts, 1871-1872; M. Radamaergerts, 1873-1874; J. Bogaerts, 1874-1891; Louis Richen, 1891-1900.

St. John the Baptist—Fathers Jeremiah Moynihan, 1851-1875; Thomas J. Kenney, 1875-1881; James G. Foote, 1881-1889; M. J. Farrelly, 1889-1896; J. M. Laval, 1896-1900.

St. Joseph's Chapel—Rev. Fathers Peter Cooney, 1889-1893; P. Berthet, 1896-1900.

St. Joseph's Church (Gretna)—Rev. Fathers Bogaerts, 1870-1871; M. Halbedel, 1871-1878; Eugene Fraering, 1878-1891; Earnest Earhart, 1891-1894; Father Blenck, 1894-1900.

Greek Church (Church of the Holy Trinity)—Fathers Gregory Yayas, 1872-1874; K. Michel, 1881-1884; Michel Kalitski, 1884-1886; Archimandrite Misael, 1886-1900.

So for Catholicism in Louisiana. As has been stated it was the earliest religion introduced in Louisiana and New Orleans, for the reason that that vast tract of territory, known as Louisiana, belonged to Catholic countries at the outset, and was peopled and civilized by staunch Catholic nations.

If the historian of Methodism of the Mississippi valley, Rev. John C. Jones, makes no mistake, it was not until the dawn of the 1800s that we find Protestantism represented in the person of one preacher, Lorenzo Dow, who in 1803 conducted Protestant religious services in the Attakapas. In 1805 Rev. Elisha W. Bowman conducted services in Opelousas, and is said to have come to New Orleans, where he endeavored to awaken the interest of the Protestants. It is recorded that his attempt was ineffectual, for the reason, doubtless, that there were even then but few of his faith here and liberality had not progressed to the point where Roman Catholics would go to hear one of another faith, however inspiring his message. Rev. Bowman was given a large territory. It extended from Vermillion Bay to Catahoula and from the Teche to Rio Hondo.

In 1805 a Protestant printed an appeal in the *Louisiana Gazette*, calling upon the English-speaking populace to show that they were not irreligious. He pointed out that there were no churches of the English-speaking people in the city, and declared that this should be remedied. As a result of this agitation a meeting of Protestants was held in Francisque's ballroom on the evening of May 29. Resolutions were adopted to establish a Protestant church in New Orleans and to have a resident minister and the meeting adjourned to reconvene a little later in the home of Mme. Forrager, now No. 227 Bourbon, between Customhouse and Bienville. A call for subscriptions for a Protestant church was printed June 7, Hugh Pollock, Joseph M. Bell, Richard Relf and John McDonogh being named as the parties with whom money could be deposited. The individuals of these meetings, while all Protestant of course, belonged to different denominations, for on June 16, a vote was taken to determine the denomination of the minister to be invited. There were 45 Episcopalians, 7 Presbyterians and 1 Methodist.

On July 3, 1805, as a result of this movement, Gov. Claiborne approved a bill of the legislative council incorporating "The Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ's Church" in the county of Orleans. The charter members were: J. B. Prevost, Joseph McNeil, Richard Relf, Benjamin Morgan, Robert Dow, James Brown, Joseph Saul, William Kenner, William Brown, John Watkins, Evan Jones, George T. Phillips, William Harper, Richard Butler, William G. Garland, James M. Bradford, R. D. Sheppard, George T. Ross, Charles Norwood, Walter Clark

James C. Williamson, Charles Patton, Thomas McCormick, John F. Watson, Edward Livingston, William W. Smith, John Poultney, John F. Sanderson, Henry A. Heins, Samuel D. Earle, James McDonogh, John McDonogh, Andrew Burke, John Palfrey, George W. Morgan, Abraham R. Ellery, Thomas L. Harmon, James Proffit, James Martin, Thomas Callender, William Donaldson and Hugh Pollock. Other white persons, not less than twenty-one, and paying not less than \$10 per annum to the support of the church, might be added, according to the act. The income of the church from lands, rents, tenements, etc., etc., was not to exceed \$20,000 per annum and it was provided that the vestry of the church should not exceed fifteen, including always two church wardens in the total number, elected annually, the vestry to select the minister. The wardens were to be selected from their own number and by them, and the treasurer was to be one of their body.

Under this organization, Protestant services were conducted for the first time in the history of the city on Sunday, July 15, 1805, in a house on Royal street, formerly occupied by a Mr. Freeman.

The first minister selected was Rev. Philander Chase. He arrived here from New York on the brig *Thetis* October 20, 1805. He was sent by the Right Rev. Benjamin Moore, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of New York State. The bishop had been petitioned to this end by James M. Bradford, James C. Williamson and Edward Livingston. The first vestry was organized on November 16, and was composed of J. B. Provost, Dominie A. Hall, Benjamin Morgan, Joseph Saul, William Kenner, Joseph McNeil, George T. Ross, Charles Norwood, Andrew Burke, R. D. Sheppard, Richard Relf, Edward Livingston, John McDonogh, John F. Sanderson, and A. R. Ellery. Joseph Saul and Andrew Burke were chosen wardens. On November 17, 1805, Rev. Chase held his first services in the Cabildo. A permanent arrangement was effected with him and six months later he brought his family here. Rev. Chase remained rector until March, 1811, when there was an interruption in the services for a few years. The next minister employed was Rev. James F. Hull, of Belfast, Ireland. He remained rector for nineteen years. Services had been held in the court room on Royal street, but a church edifice was erected at the corner of Bourbon and Canal, some months after the death of Rev. Hull. In 1847 another church was erected a block away, at the corner of Dauphine and Canal, at a cost of \$50,000. Later the congregation erected the edifice at the corner of St. Charles and Sixth streets. Rev. Hull was succeeded at his death in June, 1833, by Rev. James A. Fox, who served until 1835. Rev. J. T. Wheat, 1835-1837; Rev. N. S. Wheaton, 1837-1844; Rev. Francis L. Hawks, 1844-1849; Rev.

Edmund Neville, 1849-1851; Rev. William T. Leacock, 1851-1861. When Benjamin Butler occupied New Orleans, 1862, he took charge of the church, and appointed Rev. F. E. Chubbuck to conduct the services, the wardens having been compelled to surrender the keys of the church. The resident preacher was transported across the line by order of Butler on charge of disloyalty. The church remained in the charge of the Federal authorities until December, 1864, when it was restored to the wardens on condition that they would select a loyal minister. Rev. Dr. Leacock was tendered the pulpit and retained charge until 1882. In that year, upon the resignation of Rev. Leacock, Dr. Alexander I. Drysdale accepted the rectorship, and retained it until his death, August 30, 1886. On March 6, the following year, Rev. Davis Sessums became the rector, and continued to fill that post until he was consecrated bishop of Louisiana, December 7, 1891. The rectors since then have been in turn, Rev. Quincy Ewing, Rev. Frank I. Paradise, Rev. F. H. Coyle, Rev. W. W. Howe and Rev. Charles D. Wells.

A church which has disappeared from the city since many years, but which forms a part of the history of the Episcopal Church of New Orleans, was situated at the corner of Rampart and Bienville from 1830, when it was built, to 1874, when it went out of existence.

It was the French Evangelical Church. Among its first ministers were Rev. DuFornex and Rev. C. Leiris. The latter conducted a parochial school. Rev. Raymond A. Henderson became minister in 1834. Its services were conducted in both French and English. Its Sunday school instructions were carried on in French, English and Spanish. Five years after its founding, this church was admitted into the union by the Diocesan Convention. Later the church went out of use and services were only resumed there in 1848, the Rev. Thomas D. Ozanne being rector. He served until 1849 and was succeeded by Rev. C. H. Williamson. The church was sold and the parish dropped from the register in 1874.

The Annunciation Episcopal Church was chartered March 25th, 1844. Among its charter members were Thomas Sloo, Jr., Ben. Lownges, Wm. S. Brown, Joseph Callender, E. W. Briggs, Chauncey B. Black, John P. McMillan and John Carrigan. These gentlemen were elected vestrymen. The first services were held in 1844 by Nathaniel Ogden Preston, in a building at the corner of Race and Chippewa. The church building was consecrated March, 1846. It was destroyed by fire April 15th, 1858. With the proceeds of the insurance a new site was purchased for the church at the corner of Race and Camp streets. It was not until 1873 that a new church was built, although the reorganization of the church was inaugurated at

the close of the war. In the interim, the services were held in the Methodist Church. Rev. John Percival has been the rector of this church since its reorganization.

Trinity Church, of which the eloquent and popular Dr. Beverly Warner is to-day the rector, stands at the corner of Jackson and Coliseum streets. This church had its inception in 1847 when six communicants held service at the corner of Washington and Laurel streets, under Reverend Ranney. The parish was incorporated the same year. Mr. Charles P. Clarke, who was licensed as a lay reader, and took charge of the work upon the resignation of Mr. Ranney, raised sufficient money to purchase three lots at the corner of Second and Live Oak streets. The first vestrymen were Wm. M. Goodrich, Ferdinand Rodewald, Charles P. Clarke, Augustus P. Phelps, Washington W. Vaught, John F. Thorpe and Daniel Dewees. The parish was admitted into the union May 3rd, 1848. The first rector was Rev. Alexander Dobb. In 1851, the site of the present church was purchased. The first services in the new building were held April 3rd, 1853. The old chapel on Second street was sold. The rectors of this church were as follows: Rev. O. Flagg, 1853-54; Rev. Henry M. Pierce, 1854 (June to December); Right Rev. Leonidas Polk, 1855-60; Rev. Fletcher J. Hawley, 1860-62; Rev. L. Y. Jessup, 1862-64; Rev. Anthony Vallas, 1864 (April to September); Rev. John Percival, 1864-65; Rev. John W. Beckwith, 1865-68; Rev. John M. Galleher, 1868-71; Rev. S. S. Harris, 1871-75; Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, 1876-83; Rev. R. A. Holland, 1883-86; Rev. Randolph H. McKin, 1886-88; Rev. W. A. Snively, 1889-92; Rev. C. C. Kramer, 1892 (during the summer); Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, 1893 (first half of year); Rev. C. Hains, and Rev. Wm. Cross, 1893 (to October 1st); Rev. Beverley E. Warner, 1893-1900.

Mount Olivet Church was organized in 1852. Rev. C. H. Williamson was its first pastor. In that year, money was raised and a site for a church purchased at the corner of Peter and Olivier streets. The church was burned December 9th, 1866. A new building was immediately erected and completed for its first services April 21st, 1867. The ministers who have held the rectorship in this church since the time of Rev. Williamson are: Rev. C. F. Rottenstein, N. C. Preidham, Ballad S. Dunn, C. W. Hilton, H. E. Bakewell, Wm. Leacock, Rev. Wm. C. McCracken, Rev. F. Fontaine, Rev. C. S. Heggess, and Rev. Jesse S. Moore.

Rev. J. T. Wheat was responsible for the organization of St. Paul's Church. This divine was appointed a missionary for the upper portion of the city. The church was organized in 1836. The first services were held in the school room,

what was then Tivoli Circle (Lee Place). Later a warehouse on Julia street served the purpose of a house of worship and later still the congregation met on Camp street. The first vestrymen were John Messenger, Augustin Slaughter, John H. B. Morton, Thomas N. Morgan and John G. Grayson. A subscription of \$40,000 had been tendered when the great financial panic of 1837 occurred, and the heaviest subscribers to the church fund were of course the heaviest sufferers from the panic. The next year, however, Rev. Charles Goodrich revived the church building project, and in the summer of 1839 the church building was completed at the corner of Camp and Bartholomew streets. In 1853 a contract was entered into for the erection of a church to cost \$45,000 and the first services in the new church were held December 24, 1854. During the war Rev. Elijah Guion was in charge of the parish. He resigned in 1868, Rev. William F. Adams, subsequently consecrated missionary bishop of New Mexico and Arizona, succeeding him. Rev. H. H. Waters succeeded him and has been rector of this church ever since. A rectory was purchased in 1883 at No. 1420 Polymnia. The church was burned in 1891 and a new building erected.

St. Paul's parish set about to erect a new church building in 1853. They utilized much of the material of their old church and rebuilt at the corner of Rampart (South) and Euterpe. Rev. John Woert was the rector. This building was destroyed by fire about the time of the Civil War. In June, 1865, the services of the parish were resumed in a rented room. A new building was begun later, but the congregation would not complete it. Trinity Church offered to complete the building if it were given to it. The new chapel was consecrated April 17, 1870. Rev. Alexander Marks was the first rector. The following year Grace parish was formed, the chapel retaining the name of Trinity Chapel. Rev. George R. Upton succeeded Rev. Marks in 1873. Grace parish was again merged into Trinity that year, Rev. James H. Stringfellow taking charge until August of 1874. Rev. S. H. Granbury, Dr. Thompson, of Trinity; Rev. Charles Stewart, Rev. M. M. Moore and Rev. I. N. Marks were successively rectors until 1883. In 1884 the property was made over to the bishop of the diocese. Rev. A. Bakewell was placed in charge. Trinity Chapel has been independent of Trinity Church since 1884.

St. Anna's Church was built at a cost of \$10,000 by Dr. William N. Mercer. It was completed December 1, 1869, and is located on Esplade avenue, between Marais and Villere. The site was bought on the proceeds of the sale of St. Peter's Church property, which church had been incorporated in 1847, and dissolved in 1869. The church was burned in 1876 and a new church built the following year.

St. George Church is situated at the corner of St. Charles avenue and Cadiz street. St. George's parish was formed by the union of Emanuel and St. Mark, 1864. The first rector was Rev. H. C. Duncan. He was succeeded in 1875 by Rev. B. T. H. Maycock. Rev. George R. Upton succeeded him in 1877. The old church building stood at the corner of Pitt and Napoleon avenue, but was moved to Cadiz and St. Charles. The new church building was erected in 1899. The rectors of the church, since the time of Rev. Upton, 1882, were Revs. John Philson, S. M. Wiggins, A. Kenney Hall, A. J. Tardy, Dr. Knapp and J. W. Moore.

St. John Church was established in 1871 at the corner of Third and Annunciation. Its first rector was Rev. Dr. Harrison. The successive rectors, after Dr. Harrison, were Revs. C. B. Chamblin, A. J. Tardy, Charles Stewart, Edward Fountain, A. J. Tardy (a second time), S. M. Wiggins, Dr. Douglass, R. S. Stewart, Dr. Goodrich, Oliver Wilson, J. E. Hammond, Robert C. Celmine, A. Gordon Bakewell and A. J. Tardy.

Grace Church is to-day domiciled on South Rampart, between Canal and Tulane avenue, in a building on which the parish has a lease of twenty years, with the privilege of buying. It was domiciled in a room at No. 24 (old number) Baronne, where services were held from 1886, the year of the formation of the church, the latter part of the year when the services were held in Werlein's theater, which was tendered free of rent. Before the close of the year, the arrangements for the place on Rampart was effected. Rev. Matthew A. D. Brewster has been rector since 1892, W. C. McCracken having preceded him.

There is one colored church of the Episcopal denomination, established by Bishop Leonidas Polk, in 1885. It was first known as St. Thomas, but now as St. Luke, on Fourth street, between St. Charles and Carondelet.

From what has been said it will be seen that the Catholic Church being the first to gain a foothold in this city, the Episcopalians by vote showed the biggest numerical strength of all the Protestant denominations, and was the first of the Protestant denominations to be established. Having reviewed at some length the career of these two sects from their inception here to the present, we may now with propriety turn our attention to the other Protestant denominations which to-day are well organized and recognized moral and spiritual forces in New Orleans, having fine churches, eloquent and forceful preachers and large followings; the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Methodists, etc.

A central figure in the church life of New Orleans, indeed it might be said of the country to-day, is the Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, a man of magnificent intellect,

of superb forcefulness of logic, of golden rhetoric, into which a rich and cultured imagination infuses a charm which is at once an inspiration and a delight to his hearer—a man withal of comprehensive, massive sympathies and a broad view of life, and one to whom as the Nestor of ecclesiasts in these parts more than passing mention is due. No man has so idealized and magnetized the potency and beauty of the church to the vast audience outside of church circles in every great city as has this splendid man, so long a worker in this city, so famous among the great divines of the age. His fame is in a manner identified with the First Presbyterian Church of the city. According to the chronicles, Presbyterianism was first implanted here by members of the denomination in New England. The Connecticut missionary society sent Rev. Elias Cornelius on a missionary tour to New Orleans. He arrived here December 30, 1817. That is said to have been the first effort by this denomination to establish itself in New Orleans. As a result of his efforts the Legislature soon afterwards passed an act of incorporation of a Presbyterian church. There was a meeting at the home of a Mr. Paulding on February 9, 1818. There Rev. Cornelius preached the first sermon and the church enterprise thus set on foot was the second of the Protestant denominations begun in New Orleans church history. The first Presbyterian church was built on St. Charles street, between Gravier and Union, and dedicated July 4th, 1820. The first rector was Rev. Sylvester Larned, a graduate of Princeton, who had come to New Orleans through the agency of Rev. Cornelius. He died in August following, and was succeeded by Rev. Theodore Clapp, of Massachusetts. He was elected to fill the vacancy, but a question arose as to his orthodoxy and a division arose in consequence in the church membership. January 13, 1832, fifteen of the members withdrew. They worshipped in a warehouse standing on the site where to-day is the imposing structure of the First Presbyterian Church. Rev. Mr. Harris was their first minister. A church building was erected by the dissenting members, but it was burned in 1854. In 1857 it was rebuilt as it stands to-day. Rev. B. M. Palmer took charge in March, 1856, and had served forty-three years in March, 1899, one of the most universally loved and admired and potential men in the city, irrespective of religious faiths.

In July, 1855, the Carrollton Presbyterian Church was established by the Louisiana presbytery. Rev. D. S. Baker served this congregation until February, 1856. Rev. N. P. Chamberlin was elected and installed the following June. In 1860, Rev. I. R. Hutchinson officiated and later Dr. James Purviance. During the war the Federal troops gave it to the negroes for a school. The church was re-

stored to its congregation in 1867. It had no regular minister until 1883. Rev. James Beattie, Rev. H. W. Flinn, and Rev. John N. Lyle each preached and conducted services in the church. During 1894 to 1895, Rev. R. E. Steele served the church, and then Rev. Dr. R. H. Nall. Rev. J. W. Caldwell then took charge, preaching his first sermon on March 17, 1896. Its first pastor and Rev. Caldwell are the only two regular pastors the church has enjoyed. The present church, at the corner of Hamson and Burdette streets, was erected in the winter of 1897-1898.

The Second Presbyterian Church was incorporated in 1845, but disbanded at the close of the war. It stood at the corner of Prytania and Calliope. Most of its members united with the Thalia street church.

The Third Presbyterian Church was organized in 1847, Rev. James Beattie being its first pastor. The first frame building was erected on Casicalvo street, in 1848, and in 1860 the present church was erected on Washington square. Rev. D. S. Baker became its pastor in 1850, and there served it in turn, Rev. James Richards, Rev. N. G. North and Rev. H. M. Smith.

The Fourth Presbyterian Church was organized in 1847. Rev. N. F. Packard was its first pastor. It incurred an original debt of \$40,000, too heavy for the congregation to bear, and in 1872 the church building was sold to the Central Congregational Church (colored) for half the amount. It stands at the corner of Liberty and Gasquet.

The Canal Street Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Canal and North Derbigny, was erected in 1875. Rev. M. W. Travick was its first pastor. Rev. A. N. Wyckoff succeeded him. In 1893, Rev. J. H. Nall became the pastor.

Rev. Jerome Twichell organized the Lafayette Presbyterian Church in 1843. The original church building stood on Fulton, between St. Andrew and Josephine. In 1853, Rev. Twichell was succeeded by Rev. J. Sidney Hays. Rev. T. R. Markham was the next minister in 1857. In 1860 the church was burned. Union Hall, on Jackson street, was used temporarily during the war, and then for a time after the war as the First German Church. In 1867 the congregation took charge of its present church on Magazine street, above Jackson avenue. Rev. Markham continued pastor until 1894, and upon his death in that year Rev. S. C. Byrd took charge. He was succeeded by Rev. J. C. Barr, who is pastor to-day. Rev. Markham was one of the notable divines of the city and the church erected a monument to his memory in Metarie cemetery.

The Prytania Street Presbyterian Church was established in 1846, three lots at the corner of Prytania and Josephine being purchased for the church building.

Rev. E. R. Beadle was its first pastor, succeeded by Rev. Isaac Henderson until 1865, when Revs. Benjamin Wayne and W. F. V. Bartlett each served for a short while, being succeeded by Rev. R. Q. Mallard, who was pastor until 1877. Rev. H. M. Houston served then for a few months and then Rev. J. H. Nall became the regular pastor from 1879 to 1894, when Rev. Francis L. Ferguson took charge until 1890. For two years thereafter various pastors officiated until October of 1892, when Rev. Dr. J. W. Walden, of Ohio, became pastor, remaining until 1896. Rev. Dr. D. O. Davies was then placed in charge, and upon his death, in 1898, Rev. B. H. Dupuy ministered to the congregation, until 1899, Rev. W. McF. Alexander becoming the pastor to date.

Franklin Street Memorial Church was organized in 1860 at the corner of Thalia and Franklin. Later the church was domiciled at the corner of Franklin and Euterpe. Rev. Dr. Fisher was pastor from 1860 to 1861. Rev. W. A. Hall succeeded him to 1866; Rev. W. C. Dunlap to 1868; Rev. William Flinn to 1889; Rev. Ezekiel Forman to 1898; Rev. W. E. B. Harris to date. Mrs. Mary W. Bartlett erected this church in memory of her husband.

Napoleon Avenue Presbyterian Church was organized in 1869, and the church building was erected in 1872 on Napoleon avenue, between Chestnut and Coliseum, out of the proceeds of a festival given for the purpose in Union hall. Rev. Benjamin Wayne was the first pastor.

The First Italian Presbyterian Church was erected in 1897, on Howard, near Clio. The missionary work, culminating in it, was begun in 1886. Its pastor is Rev. C. Russo.

Seamen's Bethel is under the direction of the Presbyterian Church, and is located at 2218 St. Thomas street, convenient to the seafaring men, to whose benefit it is dedicated. Rev. A. J. Witherspoon, D. D., the organizer, was pastor for eighteen years, and Rev. R. E. Steele succeeded him, officiating until the war with Spain broke out, when he became chaplain in the United States navy. James Sharrard was elected to fill the vacancy. The officers of the Seamen's Friend Society, responsible for this institution, are Andrew Stewart, president; Henry Ginder, secretary; and Gilbert Green, treasurer.

The First German Presbyterian Church was erected in 1856 on First street, near Laurel. It became known in 1882 as the First Street German Church. From 1865 to 1878 this church was connected with the Northern General Assembly. Its pastors have been Revs. Munzen Maier (1853-1857), Christian Mayer (1857-1858), J. C. Seybold (1859-1860), J. H. Hollander (1861-1876), Lesko Triest to 1878; William Graf to 1880, and Louis Voss to date.

The Second Presbyterian Church, on Poet, between St. Claude and North Rampart streets, was dedicated in 1864. In 1867 it was sold to a colored congregation. In 1867 the place of worship on Allen, between Claiborne and Derbigny streets, was dedicated. In 1871 the corner-stone of a new church was laid and a year later it was dedicated. Rev. F. O. Koelle has been the pastor of this church since 1873.

The German Protestant Evangelical Church was located at first at the corner of Philip and Chippewa in 1845. The present structure at the corner of Chippewa and Jackson was built in 1876. Its pastors have been Revs. C. A. Schramm to 1849; Dr. Lippert, 1850; P. Rohl, 1851; Harry Hiestant, 1852; Ludwig Kehrwald, 1854; Ernst Borger, 1855; Hermann Pressles, 1858; Carl Adams, 1864; Ludwig P. Heintz to the present.

St. Matthew's German Evangelical Protestant Church was first located on Madison street, near Third in 1849. There was a separation in the congregation in 1854, the other portion of the congregation locating on Zimpel, near Monroe street. They were reunited in 1884, and became known as the German Evangelical Church of the Seventh District. In that year the church on Dante, near Elm, was built and named St. Matthew Church. Its pastors have been Revs. L. P. Heintz, J. M. Hoffer, Mischi, Perpeet, Wallraff, Polster, Ueber, Schaffraneck, Hoppe E. de Geller, L. Von Rague, Martin Otto, Philip Ziemer (of the reunited churches); Revs. Victor Broesel, Frank Holke, William Karbach, J. C. Rieger, who has served from 1893 to the present time.

The First German Evangelical Protestant Church, organized in 1863, was for a time located at the corner of Camp and Jena streets, but later removed to Camp and Milan. The church at that place was erected in 1865. The pastors serving this church have been Revs. William Judt, Frederick Judt, Owen Riedy, Julius C. Kraemer, Julius Quinius, who is the pastor now.

The Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church, organized in 1881, as the English Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church, was first located at the corner of Canal and Derbigny. In 1882 the present church on St. Louis, near Johnson, was built. Its pastors have been Revs. J. F. Doescher, J. Werner. C. B. Gohdes and A. O. Swinehart. Two colored missions of this denomination are the Evangelical Lutheran Mount Zion Church, corner South Franklin and Thalia and St. Paul's Lutheran on Annette, near Claiborne.

The First Baptist Church was organized in 1843. As early as 1826 an effort had been made to establish a Baptist Church in this city. In 1812, Cornelius Pauld-

ing came from Savannah, Ga., a member of that denomination, and the house he owned on Canal street was repeatedly given to holding services by that denomination. Rev. James S. Raynoldson preached in Paulding's house in 1817. Rev. Mr. Davis baptized the first candidate of the denomination in the Mississippi River, in front of the custom house in 1820. Rev. William Rondeau came from England in 1826 and baptized two candidates the next year. Mr. Paulding, in 1833, erected a building on St. Charles street, where Soule's Commercial College stands to-day, dedicating the second story to church purposes. Here Rev. Pharellus Church, who came from New York, preached during 1834-1835. Rev. Russell Holman came as a missionary in 1842, and for three years he preached in the upper story of No. 66 Julia street. December 28, 1843, the first formal organization of that order was effected. The names of the incorporators of the first church appearing in the legislative act are W. H. Rondeau, Nathaniel J. Pegram, J. P. Todd, J. S. Davis, E. Everett, R. Holman, J. Judsu, W. M. Perkins, W. Page, C. Fuselie, J. S. Marlton and W. M. Hinton. The first church was built on St. Charles street and this was sold by the sheriff in 1851. Rev. I. T. Hinton was the first pastor of this church, and dying in 1847 was succeeded by Rev. Thomas G. Freeman, and in turn Rev. Charles H. Raymond and Rev. Sereno Taylor and Leonard Fletcher. His pastorate closed in April of that year, and in June the sheriff's sale was made. Property was secured later at the corner of Camp and Terpsichore and a building was begun here in 1854.

The First Baptist Church in 1861 purchased lots on Magazine and Second streets. The church met with reverses during the Civil War, but early in 1863 Rev. John C. Carpenter took charge and the church grew rapidly until 1870. The building was much improved in 1868. The pastors of the church after Rev. Carpenter were Revs. J. M. Lewis, E. A. Hayeden, M. C. Cole, John F. Purser, Dr. A. B. Miller and Rev. Charles V. Edwards, who is pastor to-day. In 1892 the church was burned and the Garden District Theater, on Magazine street, was purchased. It serves for a church to-day.

The Coliseum Place Baptist Church, corner of Camp and Terpsichore, was built in 1854, completed the next year, and opened for services with Rev. William C. Duncan as pastor. A new building was erected in 1873. The pastors, after Rev. Duncan, were Revs. E. G. Taylor, N. W. Wilson, J. B. Lowry, S. Landrum, B. W. Bussey, D. G. Whittingill, who to-day holds this pulpit.

The First Emanuel Baptist Church, on Erato, between South Peters and Tchoupitoulas, was established in 1887. Rev. John M. Richards has been pastor since 1892.

Plymouth Rock Baptist Church, corner of Hillary and Mississippi streets, was established in 1892, Rev. David Young being the pastor to date.

Valence Street Baptist Church, corner of Valence and Magazine, was established in 1885, Rev. C. F. Gregory being the inspiring spirit and resigning upon the completion of the edifice. Its pastors have been Revs. E. Z. F. Golden, Robert W. Merrill, David Ingram Burser, William D. Gay and C. W. Tompkins at present pastor.

This denomination has been largely affected by the colored population, the vast majority of whom appear to be of that persuasion. There are a large number of colored Baptist churches in the city, of which the following is the list:

Amazon Baptist Church, corner of Delord and Burgundy, established 1882.

Beautiful Zion Baptist Church, Pelican avenue, between Elmira and Bienville streets, established in 1884.

Austerlitz Baptist Church, situated on Austerlitz street, between Constance and Magazine streets, founded in 1877.

Beulah Baptist Church, situated at 5242 Laurel street, established in 1893.

Broadway Missionary Baptist Church, situated on Broadway, between Magazine and Meadow, established in 1872.

Christ Baptist Church, situated 410 Bringier street, established in 1893.

Evangelist Baptist Church, corner St. Andrew and Felicity street, established in 1897.

The Fifth African Baptist Church, Howard street between Jackson avenue and Philip street, established 1863.

The First African Baptist Church, corner Howard and Cypress streets, organized in 1866.

The First Free Mission Baptist Church, Common street, between Claiborne and Derbigny streets, established in 1870.

The First Free Baptist Mission, South Rochblave and Perdide streets, established in 1877.

The First Zion Baptist Church, 626 S. Franklin street, established in 1890.

Good Hope Second Baptist Church, 735 Pacific avenue, established in 1867.

Israelite Baptist Church, corner of Marais and Annette streets, organized in 1880.

Mount Carmel Baptist Church, corner Perdide and Tonti streets, organized in 1896.

Mount Moriah Baptist Church, Walnut, between Wall and Esther streets, established in 1878.

Mount Olive Baptist Church, Third, between South Liberty and Howard streets, established in 1882.

Mount Olive Baptist Church, Gravier street, near S. Carrollton avenue, established in 1889.

Mount Pilgrim Baptist Church, Newton street, between Teche and Nunez streets, established in 1876.

Mount Triumph Baptist Church, 1736 Fern street, established in 1880.

Nazareth Baptist Church, 1919 N. Prieur street, established in 1877.

The New Light Baptist Church, Feliciana, between N. Voillere and N. Robertson, established in 1880.

The Samuel Israelite Baptist Church, 2019 Toure street, established in 1887.

The Second African Church, Melpomene street, between Freret and South Robertson street, established in 1887.

The Second Baptist Church, Laurel street, between Milan and Berlin streets, established in 1895.

The Second Emanuel Baptist Church, Zimfel street near Monroe, established in 1895.

The Second Free Baptist Mission, Burdette street, between Oak and Plum streets, established in 1872.

The Sixth Baptist Church, Felicity, between Laurel and Constance streets, established in 1880.

The Sixth Union Baptist Church, Orleans street, between N. Prieur and N. Johnson streets, established in 1870.

St. John's Baptist Church, First street, between Howard and Freret streets, established in 1875.

St. John's Divine Baptist Church, 1769 N. Derbigny street, established in 1873.

St. Luke's Baptist Church, Cypress, between South Prieur and South Johnson streets, established in 1874.

St. Mark's Baptist Church, corner South Rampart and Toledana streets, established in 1873.

St. Mark's Fourth African Church, Magnolia, between Common and Gravier streets, established in 1880.

St. Matthew's Baptist Church, Second street between Magnolia and Clara streets, established in 1886.

St. Peter's Baptist Church, 1731 Orleans street, established in 1880.

The Tabernacle Baptist Church, 2652 Tulane avenue, established in 1889.

The Union Baptist Church, 2416 St. Peter street, established in 1891.

Zion Baptist Church, N. Dorgenois and N. Broad streets, established in 1897.

Zion Traveler Baptist Church No. 1 Adams street, between Commercial and Pearl streets, established in 1865.

The First Congregational Church was chartered in 1833. Its incorporators were Samuel McCutchen, Jacob Baldwin, James McReynolds, Richard Davidson, Henry Babcock, Peter Laidlaw, J. D. Bein, Stephen Henderson, Charles Lee, P. S. Newton, William C. Bowers, Henry Carlton, James H. Leverich, William G. Hewes, Isaac G. Preston, Benjamin Story, Henry Lockett, J. W. Lee, Joshua Baldwin, and Abijah Fisk. This church was in a manner an offshoot of the First Presbyterian Church. When Rev. Clapp, whose connection with that church has already been narrated, divorced himself from a part of the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church by the exposition of certain views which were deemed unorthodox, the list of followers named above clung to him. The famous Judah Touro who had purchased the church at the corner of St. Charles and Gravier dedicated the building to the use of this congregation for ninety-nine years. It was actually occupied until 1851 when it was burned. Mr. Touro presented the congregation with another church on St. Charles street and Rev. Clapp occupied this pulpit for about five years. In 1855 the congregation completed a church of its own at the corner of St. Charles and Julia street. It is known as the Church of the Messiah. Rev. Dr. Clapp was succeeded by the following line of ministers in turn: Rev. E. C. Bolles, C. H. Thomas, W. G. Eliot, W. F. Stowe, W. J. Lloyd, George H. Deere, C. A. Allen and Walter C. Pierce, who is to-day the eloquent and popular minister of this church.

There are four colored churches of this persuasion, the Central Congregational Church, corner of South Liberty and Gasquet, established 1877; The Howard Congregational Church, No. 1015 Spain, established 1869; the Howard Church, Bartholomew near Dauphine; the Morris Brown Congregational, North Villere, between St. Anthony and Bourbon, established 1869; the Morris Brown Chapel, 1819 N. Villere.

The German Protestant Church was incorporated in 1826. For a few years services were conducted in private residences and in a school house on Burgundy street near Canal. In 1839 a church was erected on Rampart street. In 1840 the congregation erected a church on Clio between St. Charles and Carondelet. In 1897 a new building was constructed. The pastors have been Henry Hiestand, John William Mueller, J. E. Schneider, Christian Schreuck, E. Berger, D. Kaess-

mann, Anton Vallas, Alexander Kretchman, J. M. Hofer, J. B. Erben, Herman Pressler, H. J. Perpeet, A. H. Becker to the present time.

The First Christian Church was chartered 1845. As early as 1839, Rev. Alexander Campbell delivered a series of discourses here, and probably set on foot the movement which culminated later in church organization. The congregation first used a hall on Julia street. In 1850 a brick building was erected at the corner of Coliseum and Melpomene streets. This was sold later and in 1866 the congregation rented a small church on Sixth street, between Laurel and Annunciation streets. It was not until 1877 that the congregation purchased the property at the corner of Melpomene and Calliope streets and in 1896 the present church was completed, having been begun the year before. Since 1855 J. D. Ferguson, W. E. Hall, J. L. Parsons, W. L. Gibson, David Walk, Ernest F. Johnston, Robert E. Schwatz, James Sharp, S. Streater, J. E. Terry, S. R. Hawkins, Malcomson J. Pittman, the present pastor.

As early as 1812 the Methodist Episcopal Church had assigned to preach in New Orleans Rev. Miles Harper and before this time there had been occasional preaching by some member of this church. The Carondelet Street M. E. Church was organized in 1825. In 1836 a church was erected at the corner of Carondelet and Poydras. It was burned in 1849. Rev. J. C. Keener was then pastor. The present building was erected in 1852. The Methodist Church was divided in the sections of the country as early as 1844. This church united with the Southern branch. Its pastors have been Revs. J. C. Keener, J. B. Walker, W. V. Tudor, John Matthews, Felix R. Hill, C. W. Carter, Beverly Caradine, William R. La Prade, J. L. Pierce, E. N. Evans, Franklin N. Parker, who is pastor at the present time.

Carrollton Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, South corner of Carrollton avenue and Elm, was established in 1885. Its pastors have been Revs. F. N. Parker, J. M. Henry, L. A. Reed, P. H. Fontaine, G. D. Parker, who has been the pastor since 1898 to date.

The Burgundy Street Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on Burgundy, between St. Roch and Lafayette, was established in 1866. Its pastors have been Revs. J. A. Pauly, J. B. A. Ahrens, John G. A. Rabe, Charles A. Crote, J. G. Krauter, J. J. Blanz, William Lieser, Jacob Merkel, William Schule, James E. Denson, L. A. Reed, Thomas B. Clifford, and P. O. Lowry. In 1899 the Moreau Street Church was sold and the congregation consolidated with the Burgundy Street Church.

The Dryades Street German M. E. Church, South, on Dryades, between Euterpe and Felicity, was organized in 1854 and its pastors have been almost identical with the list of divines given in connection with the other Methodist churches.

The Felicity Street Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was established in 1850. The congregation had previously worshiped in a building corner St. Mary and Magazine. Later a building was used on Euterpe and Melpomene. Rev. H. N. McTyeire was the first pastor and its service has been conducted in large measure by the preachers given in connection with the other churches. In 1887 the church was burned. It was rebuilt the next year. This church was at one time one of the most influential in the city.

The Louisiana Avenue M. E. Church, South, corner of Louisiana avenue and Magazine street, was established in 1874, corner of Laurel and Toledano streets. It was removed to its present location in 1864. Its pastors have been C. F. Evans, J. C. Miller, James A. Ivy, J. C. White, Linus Parker, John T. Sawyer, Halsey Werlein, C. Keener, W. A. Wright, A. C. Coey, S. H. Werlein, B. F. White, S. B. Walker, W. Wimberly, James T. Sawyer, C. M. Lyons, H. W. Knickerbocker, B. D. Skipper, R. H. Wynne, who holds the pulpit at the present.

In 1892 the present church building was erected.

The Moreau Street M. E. Church, South, to which reference has been made was erected at the corner of Chartres and Lafayette, in 1840, and its consolidation with the Burgundy Street Church was effected after over half a century of existence.

The Rayne Memorial, corner of St. Charles and General Taylor, was established in 1877. Its name was the St. Charles Avenue M. E. Church and was subsequently changed. The Parker Memorial Church was organized in 1889, in which year the church was built on Magazine and St. Peter's avenue.

The Algiers Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1844. The original chapel occupied a site said to be now some three hundred feet in the river. It was originally known as Good Hope Chapel. Rev. Charles W. Whital, a retired sea captain, was the first regular pastor, leaving to establish a seamen's bethel at the foot of Esplanade street. The land on which the chapel was erected was the gift of J. B. Olivier and among the original donors to the building fund was the great philanthropist, John McDonogh, father of the public school system of this city. The church is at the corner of Lavergne and Delaronde.

In 1890 the First Italian M. E. Church was organized, the building standing on Clio, between Prytania and St. Charles. Rev. Giovanni Baptiste Giambruno was the first pastor succeeded by Rev. Joseph Vital.

St. Charles Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, corner St. Charles and Caliope, was organized in 1867. It was originally called Ames Chapel and its name was changed in 1888. Its organizer and first pastor was Rev. J. H. Newman and

subsequent to 1870 Revs. L. C. Maslock, J. C. Hartzell, James Morrow, James H. McCarty, George E. Bristor, William C. Webb, J. G. Vaughan, T. Stalker, W. P. McLaughlin, William F. Shane, R. L. Crawford, G. S. Easton, E. W. Osborn and Rev. W. R. Clease.

The colored churches of this denomination are the Wesley Chapel on South Liberty, established 1867; Mount Zion, 1872; Union Chapel, 1872; Thompson Chapel, 1872; Pleasant Plains, 1873; Kenner Mission, 1883; St. Matthew Chapel (Algiers), 1887; Mt. Calvary, 1880; Asbury and Algiers Mission, 1890; Scott Chinn Chapel, 1890; Simpson Chapel, 1872; First Street M. E. Church, 1872; Camp Parapet, M. E. Church, 1873; Haven Church, Mallalieu, Mount Zion, No. 2, St. John's African, St. James African, St. Peter's African, Union Bethel Church, Williams Chapel, La Harpe Street Church, Cushman Chapel and Nashua Chapel.

The denomination has also three churches among the Germans, known as the First, Second and Third German M. E. Churches. The first is the corner of St. Andrew and South Franklin; the second at Eighth and Laurel, and the third on North Rampart, between St. Ferdinand and Press streets. Among the German divines of the denomination are Revs. L. Allineger, J. Braun, George Doodall, D. Matthaei, John J. Rienle, B. Brezinger, John C. Groth, Henry Dietz, John Pluenneke, W. A. Moers, J. L. J. Barth, J. Kienle, William Traeger, J. A. Traeger, G. Schuler, Rudolph Brueck, H. Schmaltz, John Streit, J. Weber, Jacob Brown, Henry C. Hoffman and Jacob Ueber.

From the standpoint of chronology it would be in order here to give some account of the works of the children of Israel in the matter of religious activity, for in New Orleans as in every other city on the face of the earth the Jews had found a home and became valuable citizens early. In 1847 Touro Synagogue was erected. It was then known as the Dispersed of Judea. It is located on Carondelet, between Julia and St. Joseph. It had been formerly located at the corner of Bourbon and Canal, the Church of the Episcopalians originally. Rabbis J. K. Gutheim, R. S. Jacobs, Joseph H. M. Chumaceiro and f. H. Leucht have been successively in charge of this temple. The Chevre Mikveh Israel Synagogue at 510 Carondelet, established in 1872, has been served by Rabbis Abraham Alimo, Elisha Silverstein, Albert Silverstein, Lois Silverstein, M. Mandelstann, who is to-day rabbi. The Gates of Prayer was established in 1854. It is located on Jackson, between Chippewa and Annunciation, the present structure having been built in 1855. Rabbis Sampson Cerf, Nathan Schwersky, M. Eisenberg, D. Jacobson, Jacob Korn, and M. Sessler have been in charge of this syna-

gogue since the beginning successively. The Right Way Synagogue, Carondelet, between Poydras and Lafayette, established in 1870, has had the following rabbis: B. E. Jacobs, M. A. Seiferth, M. Shokat, Louis Silverstein, and S. Gordon. Temple Sinai was organized in 1870. The movement was inaugurated indeed in 1864. The building was erected on Carondelet, between Delord and Calliope, in 1871. Rev. J. K. Gutheim was selected rabbi in 1872. In 1888 Rabbi Gutheim was succeeded by Rev. Max Heller.

CHAPTER XXI.

MANUFACTURES.

BY NORMAN WALKER.

THE manufactories of New Orleans are nearly all of recent growth and development, a matter of twenty or thirty years at most. In one or two lines there was, from necessity, some development in earlier days, but the city was distinctly not a manufacturing one at that time, but devoted instead to commerce and finance. It did not become a manufacturing center until after the Civil War, when a shrinkage in its trade, or rather, a reduction in the profits therefrom, compelled it to find other employment for its large surplus population.

It would be absurd, therefore, to attempt any account of manufactures in the earlier French days, because there were none. The inhabitants depended on France or Spain for such manufactured goods as they needed. There were a few blacksmith and repair shops—nothing more; and New Orleans could, with difficulty, put in condition such vessels as arrived here in any way damaged by wind or weather. In one line only it did some light manufacturing, but of a very crude character. This was in supplying the lumber or boxes in which Cuban sugar was at that time shipped to market. It could scarcely be called a New Orleans industry, however, for while the lumber was shipped from that city and the boxes were sometimes made there, the bulk of the work, as in the manufacture of staves to-day, was done in the country parishes. The same was true of the small cotton industry

of Louisiana, which was confined exclusively to the rural districts—the Acadian women and daughters turning out the famous Attakapas cottonade, popular in Louisiana for nearly a century.

Nor did the American domination which brought so many improvements in other lines make any marked change in the conditions prevailing in manufactures. The destiny of the city was believed to be wholly commercial—and commerce was very profitable at that time—and manufactories were regarded with more or less contempt. The city had all the raw materials necessary for manufactories, cheap and in abundance, but it was lacking in skilled operatives; and commerce gave employment to nearly its entire population. One serious evil presented itself in this condition of affairs. The busy season of the year was naturally the winter, when the city was marketing the crops of the Southwest. This was followed by a long period of rest, when there was little doing in a commercial line. The consequence was that the laboring classes had six months of good labor and six months of very little work. They had to get very high wages for this first period in order to make up for the long time they were at rest and without anything to do; and the summer saw those who were improvident suffering because of the difficulty of getting any employment at that time. It was a case, therefore, of feast and famine, alternating. Manufactures could, of course, have averted the evil by giving employment to the operatives all the year round; but it was not until late in the forties when Pittsburg, Cincinnati and other Western cities began to enjoy prosperity as manufacturing centers, that the political economists of New Orleans realized that for sound and substantial business their city ought to have factories to supplement its active commerce. An agitation then began, which, however, was productive of few important results. The fact is, slavery was an enemy of manufactories, as some of the great political economists of the South have lately shown. It had a tendency to crowd mechanics out of New Orleans. In the records of that day a general desire is shown to have mechanical work done by negro slaves. Negroes, educated as blacksmiths and carpenters, were in great demand and brought two or three times as much as “green hands,” who could only contribute the roughest kind of labor. These skilled negro workmen were rented out, and sometimes were leased to themselves, paying their owners for the privilege of hiring their own labor and in this way accumulating enough money to purchase their freedom. So general was the belief in slavery that the Louisiana Engineering Department secured from the State of Louisiana the right to purchase such negro slaves as it might need in the work of levee building, the construction of canals and such other improvements as it had on hand, much of it requiring more or less skilled labor.

It can be readily recognized how thoroughly demoralizing slavery was under these conditions to free labor and to manufactories; and, as has been stated, New Orleans did not smile on manufacturing. When, in the thirties, it was organizing so many new banks, all of them save one devoted themselves to fostering the commercial interests of New Orleans or the agricultural interests of the State. But a single bank, the Mechanics and Traders, was expected to look after the mechanical and manufacturing arts, and it had the smallest capital of any of the new banking institutions; and it was provided that \$100,000 of its stock should be withheld to be subscribed to by mechanics exclusively; but there is no evidence that they did so.

Such manufacturing industries as sprang into existence during that time owed their origin to the absolute necessities of New Orleans, and were mainly for such repair work as could not be done elsewhere. Occasionally, the city suffered because of a lack of manufacturers. Thus, for instance, an early effort to provide it, or at least the central portion of the town, with water proved a failure, because there was no iron piping or tubing through which the water could be forced. An attempt was made to supply this deficiency with cypress logs, hollowed in the center so as to form pipes. The substitutes were not satisfactory; they were too expensive and were not as well suited to water as iron pipes are.

Later on, when the city began its drainage work, it was found impossible to obtain in New Orleans the pumps and other machinery needed, and they had to be purchased in Baltimore. The newspapers of the time complained of these purchases and declared that New Orleans could turn out the machinery needed as well and as cheaply as Baltimore; but they were probably mistaken. The company which made the purchases was composed of very patriotic and public-spirited men, who were anxious to use the home market as much as possible and to encourage home industries, and the very fact that they went to Baltimore to purchase what they needed may be regarded as proof positive that they could not get it in New Orleans.

The early factories of New Orleans, therefore, devoted themselves almost exclusively to repair work, or turned out such goods as could not be well manufactured anywhere else.

In the first category may be placed the foundries, which soon grew to be the leading industry of the city and remained so for many years. The foundries were originally designed for the repair of such machinery as became broken or could not otherwise be used, and which was too heavy to be shipped back to the place of its original manufacture. They found plenty of work when the steamboats

came in vogue, for these boats were constantly getting out of order and their boilers needing attention. From this repairing business the foundries gradually branched out and became manufactories of machinery, agricultural implements, boilers, etc. The development of the sugar industry proved a great stimulus to them. That industry called for a great deal of machinery; and while the bulk of this came at first from the manufacturing towns of the North and West, its tendency was to drift to New Orleans, as the planter could then readily order what he needed; and if he broke a roller could get one of exactly the size required close at hand. Under the stimulus of this demand, the foundries and machine shops of New Orleans attained a very high degree of prosperity in ante-bellum days and were decidedly the most prosperous of all the manufacturing industries of the city. They claimed to have been able to manufacture anything in the iron and copper line. Occasionally they ventured on big pieces of work, and New Orleans was inclined to boast in 1848, when the Leeds foundry manufactured all the machinery necessary to establish a large rope and cordage factory there. It might be stated, however, that these were exceptional ventures, and done more to show what the New Orleans foundries were capable of than with any idea of profit.

Among the ante-bellum industries which did well in New Orleans because it did not pay to carry them on elsewhere, were naturally the building trades and the manufacture of building materials—brick, tile, lumber, etc. The brick was made almost exclusively in New Orleans, or at points across the lake in St. Tammany parish. The city bricks were manufactured on the river front, mainly of river clay. They are still to be seen in many of the older buildings of New Orleans and in some of the banquettes, or sidewalks. They were a bright red, very soft, but hardened with time, and resisted fire better than many of the harder varieties, as the latter crumbled away before the flames, whereas the river bricks became harder and stronger the longer they were submitted to fire. In many of the older buildings these bricks were much larger than the standard sizes of to-day and very much like those used by the Egyptians and Assyrians. Several factories also made roof tiling of the same material, the houses in the business section being covered with these tiles instead of cypress shingles, after the big fires, which destroyed so large a portion of the city. The tiles went out of fashion long ago, on the introduction of slate for roofing purposes.

In lumber and similar lines the factories in or around New Orleans, either on the city or Algiers side of the river, did considerable business. Pirogues or skiffs from cypress logs were made in the earliest days, as were boxes for the

marketing of the Cuban sugar crop. Later on, skiffs were made, and still later the small schooners, luggers, etc., employed in the Lake Pontchartrain and lower river trade. The sawmills made such lumber as was used in buildings, except the finer class of goods—doors, sashes and blinds. Other industries in which wood enters as the principal material, were the manufacture of cisterns, hogsheads, barrels and casks for the sugar and molasses crops. It will be readily seen that the manufacture of such bulky articles elsewhere would have been unprofitable. The cooperage business for years ranked next in importance to the foundries. It also was built upon the success of the sugar industry. To supply from 400,000 to 500,000 hogsheads, and 500,000 to 600,000 barrels annually naturally gave employment to a large number of men and severely tested the output of the New Orleans cooperages. There was consequently a very considerable demand for second-hand hogsheads, and in years of a big crop barrels were brought down the river from points as far distant as Cincinnati.

Similar in its character was the manufacture of bread, which naturally had to be done in New Orleans; but the bread was of a poorer quality than that turned out by the city bakers to-day.

A large business was done in the manufacture of boots and shoes, but they were custom-made and not made in factories. The Southerners looked with some contempt on the factory-made shoes of New England, and, save the lower classes and negroes, demanded a much higher grade of goods. As a result the output of the New Orleans shops was very large. This was also true of the tailoring establishments, but such things as clothing factories, which now constitute so important an item among the industries of New Orleans, were practically unknown.

It will be seen from this brief review that manufactories had made little headway in New Orleans up to the Civil War. The city did some repairing and manufactured a few articles which could not be easily or profitably made elsewhere. The exceptions were its machine shops, cooperages and a few soap and candle factories, which utilized the refuse of the city. The latter, however, did not begin to supply the large demand and New Orleans depended on the West for most of the candles it used or supplied to the neighboring country.

In 1833 it showed commendable energy and public spirit, thanks to Mr. J. H. Caldwell, in the manufacture of gas, using that material as an illuminant in advance of most of the Western cities.

Its other ventures in manufactures were small and unimportant. Although

the center of the cotton trade, it had done practically nothing in the manufacture of cotton goods, although the South Atlantic and Gulf States from 1840 to 1860 were erecting a number of new cotton-mills. There was one venture at a mill which proved a failure, and a second venture, on a small scale, just before the Civil War broke out, which survives to-day in the Lane Mills.

While handling the tobacco crop of the country, it did nothing in the manufacture of tobacco or cigars, and postponed the utilization of its possibilities to a much later day; and it equally neglected its opportunities in the manufacture of woolen goods, although it handled a large quantity of wool.

In 1848 a rope factory was established in New Orleans for the manufacture of ropes from hemp, large quantities of which were exported through that city to Europe and the Atlantic States. The "fuss" made over this factory well illustrates the paucity of manufactories in New Orleans at the time. The papers bragged that the machinery had been made in a New Orleans foundry (Leed's) and that the output sold for more than the ropes turned out in the New England factories. The new establishment employed 150 hands and was one of the largest factories in the city.

The next twelve years tell of a few similar ventures, but of little importance. It began to be recognized that the prosperity of New Orleans would be built on much safer and better foundations if it had manufactories to supplement its commerce; and De Bow's Review was filled with strong articles, showing how much more easily and at greater profit cotton could be manufactured in New Orleans than in New England. But in spite of this lucid demonstration the cotton mills did not come to the Crescent City, but found a more profitable home in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The census of 1850 showed the weakness of New Orleans in manufactories, both in the few lines of industry that prevailed there and in the small output of products.

The industries singled out by that census as worthy special mention show the following output in New Orleans in 1850:

Agricultural implements	\$ 25,610
Iron foundries	312,500
Lumber	112,967
Leather	47,000
Boots and shoes.....	203,212
Soap and candles.....	175,000

The output, it will be seen, was in those lines of goods which were successful

in New Orleans because they had for special reasons to be located there. Few, if any, factories had selected that city as their site through preference. The manufacturers of machinery and the iron foundries were part of the same general business which owed its vitality to the steamboats and the sugar industry. There was little else of any importance. Nor did the decade show any improvements worth mentioning. Indeed, the census of 1860 showed a decline in some lines, such as the manufacture of soap and candles, which was being cheapened by the competition of the West. The principal items of manufacture in New Orleans in 1860 were as follows:

Agricultural implements	\$ 86,408
Machinery	318,400
Iron foundries	525,800
Lumber	121,855
Cotton goods	101,850
Leather	78,085
Boots and shoes.....	664,990
Soap and candles.....	156,310

Here is little to boast of. All the factories of New Orleans gave employment to scarcely 3,000 hands, and their united output was less than either the sugar refining, rice-cleaning or manufacture of clothing amounted to in 1900. In fine, when the Civil War came on, New Orleans was practically without manufactories. The war naturally did not improve conditions, and, the city being without the commerce that supported it, a large part of its population was dependent on rations furnished by the Federal government during this period of great depression.

In 1865, when peace returned and New Orleans began to rebuild, it found so much to do in other lines that manufactories could not at first receive the attention they deserved, but the popular sentiment at this point was decidedly better than it had been. The disappearance of slavery alone had a beneficial effect, as it had shown itself incompatible with factories, crowding out free labor, while the negroes were not adapted to industries which required care and skill.

Manufactories received more attention in the post-bellum period than ever before, and the city was in a more favorable condition to venture into them. They, indeed, were necessary to give employment to the large surplus population which commerce no longer required. There was a large supply of labor of excellent quality, even if somewhat unskilled. In the matter of raw materials there was all that could be asked for by any important industry; and New Orleans had a better

supply of such materials at small cost than any city in the Union. It was the principal exporting port for cotton, hides and wool, the center of a vast lumber region, near to the iron fields of Alabama, and it had all the coal required for its factories floated to their very doors, via the Mississippi. In the matter of markets it was most favorably situated, having not only the neighboring districts of the South and West, but Mexico and Central America, within its reach.

The chief difficulties and hindrances under which it labored were the lack of capital and skilled labor and the prejudice which exists in most countries against home-made goods—a prejudice which New Orleans is only just overcoming. The lack of capital was the most serious objection, and the large number of failures in the factories which occurred must be credited to it. Such skilled labor as was needed was readily imported, and, as a matter of fact, most of the new industries required only rough labor, the ventures being mainly of a simple and light character, the result of new discoveries and improvements.

Among the earliest industries to show vitality were the cleaning of rice, the manufacture of artificial ice and of cotton-seed oil. The use of machinery in rice-cleaning had been tried a couple of years before the war and it had been found that it was superior in every respect to the old farm process that had prevailed before that time, when a horse-mill had been employed in preparing the rice for market. A great development took place in the rice industry from 1865 to 1875, growing out of the fact that many of the sugar planters found it impossible, because of the bad condition of the times and the lack of the necessary capital and machinery, to continue the manufacture of sugar. Much sugar land, therefore, was planted in rice, which costs less to cultivate, and the rice crop greatly increased. The New Orleans mills added to their machinery from time to time, improving the quality and consequently the value of their product. The result was that the city mills completely monopolized the product of the State, buying all the rice in rough, cleaning and polishing it, and selling the cleaned product. The output of the rice mills varied from \$2,500,000 to \$5,000,000 a year, dependent upon the greater or less success of the crop. Of late years, since the transfer of the rice industry to Southwest Louisiana, New Orleans has not enjoyed that monopoly of the rice-cleaning business it once maintained, for there are a number of rice mills in Crowley, Rayne and other country towns. Still the bulk of the rice crop comes to the city and is cleaned and marketed here. The rice-cleaning industry of New Orleans dates back nearly forty years. Previous to the Civil War nearly all the rice raised in Louisiana was grown in Plaquemines parish. The process of cleaning it was very primitive, and was done generally by the rice-grower himself. The rice was cleaned

either by a large wooden drop pestle or by horse mills. The first steam mill in Louisiana was erected by Mr. W. N. Thompson in Plaquemines parish, in 1858. It was sold in 1875, and destroyed by fire in 1877.

In 1863 Mr. John Foerster erected the first mill in New Orleans, on Adele street. He erected a second mill on Magazine and Julia street in 1882, and soon after a third mill on the corner of Magazine and Notre Dame streets, and known as the Orleans Mill. In 1899 the style of the firm was changed to the Orleans Rice Milling Company. It has a capacity of 800 barrels of rice per day.

In the meanwhile other mills were erected by Allen and Symes in 1868, on Magazine street, near Lafayette; on Elysian Fields avenue, near the river, by Seward and Kip (the mill was recently destroyed by fire); and on Toulouse street, near the river, a mill, now known as the Crescent City Rice Mill, was erected by J. David, with a capacity of 400 barrels of rice per day.

T. J. Thompson, son of the pioneer in the milling business, erected a mill on North Peters street, which was conducted for some years under the firm name of Seward and Thompson. It was sold in 1882 to Isaac Levy, and in 1886 to M. E. Legendre. It has passed through several hands since then and is known to-day as the Planters' Rice Mill, and has a capacity of about 500 barrels of cleaned rice per day.

The National Rice Milling Company entered the field in 1892 and erected a very large mill on the corner of Chartres and Montegut streets, with a capacity of from 1,500 to 2,000 sacks of rough rice per day.

The People's Rice Mill, located on North Peters street, has a capacity of 450 barrels of rice per day.

Thompson's Rice Mill, on Marigny street, erected in 1895, has a capacity of 325 barrels per day.

Lanaux's Rice Mill, located on Decatur street, near Conti, employs about 20 hands and has a capacity of about 500 sacks of rough rice per day.

Socola's Rice Mill, located on Decatur street, near St. Peter, has a capacity of about 750 sacks per day.

Levy's Rice Mill, on Julia, near Magazine, has a capacity of about 800 barrels of rough rice per day.

The latest rice mill to be established in New Orleans is Rickert's Mill, at the corner of South Peters and Notre Dame streets, erected in 1898 by Frank Rickert, Jr., with a capacity of 400 barrels of rice per day.

Other rice mills are the Crescent City and Ward's, on Toulouse street, and the Dixie, on Tchoupitoulas street.

The manufacture of cotton-seed oil from cotton-seed also dates back to a few years before the Civil War, when Messrs. Fisk and Maginnis were successful in extracting the oil from the seed of the cotton plant; but the industry was of little practical value until 1865 and 1866, when improved processes used made it an exceedingly profitable one. The period from 1865 to 1885 may be considered the most prosperous in the cotton-seed industry in New Orleans, and during part of that time it was the most important and profitable industry in this city, there being no less than eight mills employed in the manufacture of cotton-seed oil and its by-products. The mills refined and steadily improved the quality of the oil turned out by them. The bulk of their output was shipped to Europe, whence it returned to America labeled "olive oil." Indeed, cotton-seed oil was found so useful as an adulterant, and even as a substitute for olive oil, that the olive-producing countries, like France and Italy, took steps to prevent its introduction or to compel it to pay such a heavy duty as would prevent it from being used to any great extent as an adulterant. The uses of cotton-seed oil greatly increased from year to year. It was found to be an excellent adulterant in the manufacture of lard, and thousands of gallons of it are so used in the lard refineries of Chicago and Kansas City. An attempt to use it in the manufacture of artificial butter has not been so successful. The oil, however, proved a magnificent material from which to manufacture soap, especially the higher grades. An excellent imitation of the castile soap of Spain, which is made from olive oil, was obtained from cotton-seed oil, and in their earlier days several of the cotton-seed oil mills used their entire product in the manufacture of soap.

The oil mills also manufactured cotton-seed cake and meal, these being the residue of the kernel after the oil had been extracted from it. They have ever been found excellent as a food for cattle,—and thousands of tons are exported to Europe each year for feeding stock,—as well as a high-grade fertilizer, and they enter into the manufacture of nearly all the commercial fertilizers produced in the South to-day.

The cotton-seed oil industry owes its origin to New Orleans. The process of manufacturing oil from the seed was discovered and improved there. New Orleans has always been the center of the industry, and the largest manufacturer of cotton-seed oil in the world. The industry attracts less attention now than in the earlier days, when there were half a dozen mills competing for the cotton-seed to be crushed by them, as it is in the hands, and more or less under the control, of a single concern to-day, the American Cotton-seed Oil Company. Moreover, a

number of oil mills have recently sprung up in the interior towns in order to be near the supply of cotton-seed. These mills manufacture crude oil, which is shipped to New Orleans and there refined and prepared for the market. This city has, therefore, become more of a refining than an oil-manufacturing center. It still turns out more oil than any other city in the Union and handles the bulk of the product of the South, which is shipped through it to Europe or Chicago and other points where lard-rendering is an important industry. The largest mill, the Union, is situated at Gretna, immediately opposite New Orleans, and represents the consolidation of several large companies. There are several independent concerns, of which the Standard Cotton-seed Oil Mill, Independent Mill and the Delta Refining Company may be mentioned.

Outgrowths of the cotton-seed oil industry are the soap mills and fertilizer and acid factories, of which New Orleans boasts several. The city possessed in its earlier days several large factories, manufacturing soap and candles, but the manufacture of cotton-seed oil gave them much better material with which to work than they had used before, and the consequence was a larger production of soap, and of a better quality. The same is true of the fertilizer factories, which have found in cotton-seed meal the very material they needed for the manufacture of a high-grade fertilizer for use in cotton and sugar lands.

The Standard Guano and Chemical Manufacturing Company is one of the pioneers in Louisiana in the manufacture of commercial fertilizers. It was organized in 1872, as Stern's Fertilizer and Chemical Company. The present company was established in 1887, with a capital of \$200,000 and a plant costing \$100,000. It employs 200 hands and has an output of \$1,000,000 a year—most of the fertilizers being manufactured for the cotton and sugar plantations.

The Standard Cotton-seed Oil Mill is an outgrowth of the Standard Guano and Chemical Company. It was established in 1878, with a capital of \$120,000, employs 100 hands and does a business of about \$500,000 a year. Its works are located at the corner of Elysian Fields and Marigny avenues.

The National Acid Company is an outgrowth of the Standard Guano Company. It was organized in 1889 and manufactures sulphuric, muriatic and nitric acids and acid phosphate, which are sold throughout the South and West. It has a capital of \$210,000, employs about 100 men and has an output of \$400,000 per year.

The Planters' Fertilizing Company was established in 1886. It is the outgrowth of the Maginnis Oil Mills, which were for years pioneers in the manufacture of cotton-seed oil, as well as of soap manufactured from that oil.

J. H. Keller's Soap Works cover two squares of ground at Felicity, Josephine and Front streets. They were established on a small scale by John H. Keller in 1849. The capital of the company is \$150,000 and the output is \$200,000 a year.

The Crescent City Soap Works, limited, are situated on Girod and Notre Dame streets.

Ice was first introduced into New Orleans about 1826, when it was regarded as a great luxury. It came from New England, mainly from Maine, in sailing vessels. A large part of the cargo was naturally lost in the long voyage, and the ice when it reached New Orleans commanded a high price. The supply was uncertain and the city was frequently without ice for weeks at a time during the hottest weather of summer. The importation of ice continued up to 1868, when the manufacture of artificial ice in New Orleans drove out the New England or natural product.

The first company in the field, the Louisiana Ice Company, was formed in 1868. The process of manufacturing was very expensive and the factory of the company cost no less than \$450,000. It could be easily duplicated to-day for \$50,000. Its output was 50 tons a day and sold for \$20 a ton. Ice was then made with the Carré machines, manufactured in France. In 1878 the Louisiana Ice Company erected a second factory, on Front and Poydras streets, with a capacity of 75 tons per day.

A third factory was erected on Delord street, the capital, \$150,000, being supplied by Senator Jones, of Nevada. A new process was employed in the manufacture of the ice, by the spraying of water on pipes. Senator Jones lost all the money he put in the enterprise.

The People's Ice Company erected a factory at the corner of Fulton and Julia streets, at a cost of \$75,000, with a capacity of 50 tons a day. This factory went out of existence in 1892.

The Southern Ice Company erected a factory in 1881-2 at Tchoupitoulas and Third streets, at a cost of \$133,000 and with a capacity of 50 tons a day. It is now owned by the Crescent Ice Company.

The Consumers' Ice Company erected a factory on Magazine and Girod streets, which cost \$300,000 and had a capacity of 120 tons of ice per day. It is now owned by the Crescent Ice Company. The latter company, which had been in the natural ice business as early as 1866, erected a factory in 1889, at the corner of Front and Lafayette streets, and in 1890 a second factory, at the corner of Decatur and Elysian Fields streets, the cost of the two factories being \$250,000. A third factory

was built in 1894, at the corner of Antonine and Tchoupitoulas streets, at a cost of \$50,000 and with a capacity of 40 tons a day.

The Municipal Ice Company, established in 1892, built a factory at the corner of Market and Tchoupitoulas streets, at a cost of \$350,000, with a daily capacity of 200 tons of ice. This property was sold by the United States Marshal in 1899 for \$60,000 and was bought in by the Crescent Ice Company, which now largely controls the manufacture of artificial ice in New Orleans, operating six factories, three of which it erected itself and three it purchased. Its total output is 650 tons a day—more than enough to supply the needs of New Orleans and vicinity.

Since 1898, when the Crescent Ice Company secured a control of the artificial ice business of New Orleans, several new ice companies have been organized—the Carrollton Ice Company, on Burthe street; the Crystal Ice Manufacturing Company, on St. Peters street; the Hereules Ice Company, on North Peters street; the Home Ice and Distilled Water Company, at the corner of Water and Milan streets; and the Independent Ice Company, on North Basin street. The processes used in the manufacture of artificial ice have been so improved, and simplified, and the cost of the machinery has been so reduced, that it calls for very little capital to embark in the business of making ice, and new companies are constantly springing into existence.

An outgrowth of the ice industry has been the distillation of water and its sale as a commercial product. The water from which ice is manufactured in New Orleans is purified by distillation. As the water supply of the city is deficient, the river water being too muddy for use, several companies have embarked in the distillation of water, which is sold as low as five and six cents a gallon.

These industries, the manufacture of artificial ice and cotton-seed oil, with its kindred products, and the cleaning of rice, sprang into existence in New Orleans, in the period 1865-1870, as the result of improved processes in manufacturing. At the same time that they were building up, an industry, which had been one of the oldest and most successful in the city, was seeing new life and vigor. This was the foundry business and the manufacture of machinery. It had owed its origin to the necessity of keeping in repair the steamboats engaged in the trade of New Orleans and the construction and repair of the sugar-houses. The year 1865 saw these sugar-houses almost completely wrecked by four years of civil strife, overflow and neglect; and the foundries and machine shops of the city had an accumulation of work on their hands suffi-

cient to keep them busily employed for a decade. The result was an activity even greater than in the most prosperous ante-bellum days. Nor did this activity let up. On the contrary the development of the sugar industry of Louisiana kept the foundries and machine shops busier than ever, and compelled them to steadily improve the quality of their output. The manufacture of a higher grade of sugar required more complicated machinery than had been used, and the New Orleans foundries were no longer mere repair shops, but turned out the most complicated machinery, supplying not only Louisiana, but other sugar-producing countries.

The McKinley law, with its bounty proviso, stimulated the output of high-grade sugar machinery, since the bounty depended on the manufacture of the best quality of sugar. The Louisiana planters had to overhaul their sugar-houses and are estimated to have expended between \$5,000,000 and \$6,000,000 for improved machinery during the first two years the bounty was in operation. Nor did repeal check the demand for improved machinery, which has continued steady ever since. Formerly the planters made a large part of their purchases in Cincinnati, Pittsburg and other Northern points, but to-day the manufacture of sugar machinery is almost wholly concentrated in New Orleans, which city has latterly been supplying not only Louisiana and the neighboring States of Texas and Florida, but Mexico, Central and South America and even for distant Hawaii.

The principal business of the New Orleans foundries is in the manufacture and repair of sugar machinery, but the cotton-presses and gins also give them some business, as do the steamboats and steamships with their boilers, etc. These facts will explain how it was that the foundry, boiler and machine shops of New Orleans enjoyed a prosperity in ante-bellum days which were not shared by any other manufacturing industries, not even by the manufacture of cotton goods and lumber, for which the city seemed in so many ways admirably adapted.

The foundries and machine shops were highly prosperous as early as 1840, employed a large number of hands, who were paid handsome wages and who were easily princes among the mechanics of the few struggling industries which at that time managed to survive in New Orleans.

One of the first factories in New Orleans was Leed's Foundry, established in 1825, in the square bounded by Delord, Constance, Tchoupitoulas and St. Joseph streets. It manufactured all kinds of machinery, but made a specialty of that employed in the manufacture of sugar. The founder of this factory, Jedediah Leeds, died in 1844, and the foundry passed into the hands of his heirs and his

partner, John Leeds. It was doing a large manufacturing business when the Civil War broke out. The Confederate Government, finding New Orleans in danger from the Union fleet under Farragut, lying off the Passes, set to work to construct at New Orleans several powerful vessels of a new type and more or less ironclad, which would be able to meet and overcome the wooden vessels of which Farragut's fleet was mainly composed. Two of these vessels, the *Louisiana* and the *Mississippi*, were far in advance of anything in naval architecture which America had yet ventured on. The contract for the supply of the machinery to be used was let in New Orleans, and the Leeds Foundry, as the principal one, secured the best contracts. The two vessels of which so much was expected were not, however, completed in time and were set fire to and destroyed when it was announced that Farragut had passed Forts Jackson and St. Philip and was on his way up to New Orleans. There was some complaint made about the slowness of the New Orleans foundries in supplying the necessary machinery, and the whole transaction was made the subject of a special inquiry by the Confederate Congress, which showed that no blame attached to the local factories. As a matter of fact these foundries were in no position to manufacture ironclad men-of-war, however successful they might have been in turning out high-grade sugar machinery. In this connection it may be mentioned as an evidence of the development and improvement in New Orleans manufactories that in 1899 the Johnson Iron Works of that city furnished all the steel gunboats used by the republic of Mexico in patrolling its Atlantic coast and in carrying on war with the Maya Indians of Yucatan.

The Leeds Foundry also turned out the cannons used by the citizens of New Orleans in the battle fought on the levee at the foot of Canal street, September 14, 1874, and which resulted in overthrowing the Kellogg State Government.

The Leeds foundry was subsequently incorporated as a company, with Mayor Charles J. Leeds as president. In 1896 the plant was purchased by the Schwartz Foundry Company, Limited, of which company Moses Schwartz was president, and the plant materially improved and enlarged.

The Daniel Edwards Foundry was established in 1846, by Daniel Edwards, an Englishman, who had been brought up in the business. After conducting the establishment for some years alone he associated with him in the firm his son, James D. Edwards, under the firm name of Daniel & James D. Edwards. It became James D. Edwards on the death of the founder, and in 1884 Edwards & Haubtman, when Mr. Leon F. Haubtman was taken into partnership. On the retirement of Mr. Haubtman, in 1893, the business was turned over to Daniel Edwards, grand-

son of the founder, so that the firm, after many changes, returned at the end of a half century to its original name. The Edwards Iron Works are on Front street and extend through the square to Delta street. They employ from 200 to 250 men, with a yearly output of \$750,000, turning out all kinds of brass, copper and sheet-iron works and making a specialty of sugar machinery, as well for Cuba as for Louisiana. They have paid special attention to the diffusion process of extracting sugar from the cane and have built and equipped most of the diffusion plants in Louisiana and Texas.

John Ward established iron works in New Orleans in 1847. He was succeeded by John W. Ward, a son, in 1876, and in 1899 by John A. Ward and Patrick Kelly. They employ 150 hands and manufacture sugar machinery and ship-work, boilers and tanks.

The Shakespeare Iron Works were established in 1845, on Girod street, between Dryades and Baronne. They were operated originally by John Shakespeare, but passed at his death into the hands of his son, Joseph A. Shakespeare, for two terms mayor of New Orleans. Mr. Shakespeare took Julian Swoop into partnership, and the latter is now sole owner of the works. The foundry manufactures steam engines, sugar-mills, sawmills, drainage and centrifugal machines, gin gearings, grate bars, stone fronts, columns, ventilators and all kinds of blacksmith work. About 100 men are employed and the output is some \$200,000 a year.

The McCann Iron Works were established by David McCann at their present location, Julia, South Peters, Fulton and Notre Dame streets. The business carried on has been that of general repairing of steamboat and steamship machinery—all heavy work; and about 40 men are employed.

Joseph Sutton & Son, iron founders at 1158 South Peters street, are successors of Mims & Cochran, who established the business in New Orleans in ante-bellum days. The present firm dates from 1886 and makes a specialty of marine and architectural iron work, including columns, posts, railings, etc. It also does some work for sugar-mills.

The Johnson Iron Works, Limited, are on Julia, from Delta to Water streets. The works were established in 1869 and incorporated as a company in 1889, with a capital of \$100,000. They employ 100 hands in the manufacture and repair of marine work, sawmills, electric plants, railroad work, etc. In 1899 the foundry began building stern-wheel steamers, lighters and small gunboats at Algiers, on the site formerly occupied by the McLellan Dry Dock Company.

The Reynolds Iron Works Company, Limited, was established in 1869, at

the corner of Fulton and Delord streets, with W. H. Reynolds as manager. It manufactured cotton-presses, elevators, irrigating and drainage machinery and building ironmongery, and employed 125 men, with an annual output of \$150,000. The affairs of the company are now in the process of liquidation.

Murphy's Foundry, on Magazine street, near Lafayette, was established in 1884, and is especially devoted to sugar machinery, including nearly all the kinds used except the mills themselves. The New Orleans Boiler Works have been recently added to the plant as a branch, manufacturing steam boilers and bagasse furnaces and drags and conveyors for sugar-houses. In the machine shops 125 men are employed and in the boiler works 75, with a total output of \$600,000. The sugar machinery manufactured is not confined to Louisiana, but a very large portion of it goes to Cuba, Mexico and other sugar-manufacturing countries.

The Algiers Iron Works Company, Limited, originally situated near the Good Intent dry docks in Algiers, opposite New Orleans proper, was established by A. Tufts & Company in 1890, but was purchased in 1896 by Mr. Connell, renamed the J. D. Connell Iron Works and transferred to 1207 South Peters street.

The H. Dudley Coleman Machinery Company was organized in 1890, as the successor of H. Dudley Coleman & Company. The business dates originally from 1850, when Willis P. Coleman began the manufacture in New Orleans of cane-mills. In 1865 Mr. Dudley H. Coleman was taken into partnership. The works of the company were situated at the corner of Erato and Magnolia streets and at one time were most prosperous, having a capital of \$100,000, employing 150 men, with an output of \$200,000, doing general foundry work of a heavy character, such as cane-mills and sugar-evaporating machinery, steam engines, boilers, mills, machinery and mill supplies. The company is now in process of liquidation.

The Whitney Iron Works were incorporated in 1883. The business now owned and operated by the company was begun, in a small way, before the Civil War by E. M. Ivins. It was sold out to Charles G. Johnson, under whose proprietorship it was known as Johnson's Iron Works and was sold by him to the present company. It was always located on Tchoupitoulas, between Julia and St. Joseph streets. When the Whitney Iron Works were incorporated Mr. George Pandely was made president and Newell Tilton, manager. Upon the death of Mr. Pandely in 1894, Mr. Charles M. Whitney became president, and upon the death of Mr. Tilton, in 1895, Mr. A. H. Swanson succeeded as manager. The works have been increased in many respects of recent years and are now one of the largest of their kind in the Southern States. Their principal business is the manufacture of sugar ma-

chinery, repair work for steamships, sawmill machinery and a general line of heavy castings and all kinds of foundry work. Of recent years the company has been shipping sugar machinery in large quantities to South America. It employs from 200 to 400 men, dependent upon the season and the amount of business on hand.

There has been some development in other lines of iron and other metal manufactories, such as agricultural implements, but nothing like that in sugar machinery, foundry work, etc.

The Crescent City Cornice Works, situated on Perdido, between St. Charles and Carondelet streets, were established in 1892 by R. A. Vancleave. It employs 60 hands and confines itself to cornice and ornamental work, building fronts, skylights, ventilators, ice-cans and exhaust and blow pipes.

Hinderer's Iron Fence Works are located on Camp street, opposite Margaret Place. They were established in 1884, and employ 20 hands, manufacturing artistic iron fences and iron furniture of all kinds.

The Haller Manufacturing Company was established in 1888, by Mr. H. Haller, who had personally been in the business since 1865. The company, which is incorporated with a capital of \$50,000, is located at the corner of Constance and Orange streets. It manufactures all kinds of sheet-metal goods and stamped tinware. It employs 150 men.

The sugar industry of Louisiana may claim to have founded the important machinery and foundry business of New Orleans. It also naturally built up the business of refining sugar, as well as the refining and clarifying of molasses.

The largest single manufacturing industry in New Orleans is that of sugar-refining. The business, however, is almost exclusively in the hands of the American Sugar Refining Company (the so-called sugar trust), and it is difficult to get exact data on the subject of production. Even in 1890, when the Government was taking the census, the statistics were deficient and unsatisfactory. The American Sugar Refining Company's plant in New Orleans is one of the largest manufacturing establishments in the country, and the third sugar refinery in size. It consists of two large refineries, adjoining each other, including a cooperage, where are manufactured the barrels used for the sugar turned out by it. Of these two refineries, the Planters' was erected by E. J. Gay in 1876, for the purpose of refining the sugar crop of Louisiana, the bulk of which at the time was low-grade sugar. The Louisiana Refinery was erected in 1883. Both ultimately passed into the hands of the American Sugar Refining Company and have been greatly improved and added

to by it since then. The capacity of the two refineries is 1,250,000 pounds of sugar per day, and not only is all the sugar crop of Louisiana needing refining handled by them, but many million pounds are imported annually from Cuba, Hawaii and even Germany. The output frequently runs up to \$10,000,000 or more a year, a large part of the sugar consumed in the Mississippi Valley being refined in New Orleans.

Henderson's Sugar Refinery, located at the corner of South Peters and Julia streets, is the successor of a small refinery established in 1867 by Adam Goodal. It was purchased by William Henderson in 1876, when it was removed to the Pelican Warehouse, where it remained until 1892; it was then established at its present site. It has a capacity of 800 barrels of sugar per day.

Another outgrowth of the refining and sugar industries of Louisiana are the molasses factories of New Orleans, which take the crude molasses, much of it of a low grade, and prepare it for the market. Among the factories are the Louisiana Molasses Company, Constance and St. Joseph streets; National Refining Company, North Peters street; Southern Molasses Company, St. Louis street; and Wogan Brothers, North Peters and Port streets.

The lumber industry of New Orleans is one of the oldest. As has been noted the city even in its earliest days shipped a large quantity of lumber or boxes to Havana to be used in marketing the Cuban sugar crop. Later on it manufactured such lumber as it needed for its building trades, cisterns, tanks, shingles, etc. Cypress was almost exclusively used for these purposes, and it was not until about twenty years ago that the value of yellow pine was fully recognized. Even to-day cypress is the only wood mainly sawed in the New Orleans mills. The concentration of the lumber industry in the city has been due to the ease with which the lumber can be marketed there. The mills are situated either on the river front or on the new or old basin. The logs are floated down to them, while the lumber, doors and other output, are easily conveyed to any market. Whereas a few years ago the greater part of the lumber consumed in New Orleans in the building trades was imported into the city from the rural districts, mainly the Mississippi Sound country, now three-fourths of the lumber used in the city, whether for building or in the furniture or other kindred trades, is sawed in the city itself; and the output of the city mills is constantly increasing. The output of the city sawmills was 49,000,000 feet of lumber in 1897, 60,000,000 in 1898 and 85,000,000 in 1899, and will probably reach the 100,000,000 limit in 1900. The city mills also turn out nearly all the laths and shingles used in New Orleans.

On the other hand, the brick industry, which was formerly in a very healthy condition, has moved away from New Orleans, and now nine-tenths of the brick used in the city is imported from St. Tammany Parish or from along the line of the Illinois Central Railroad.

The Fischer Lumber and Manufacturing Company, Limited, operates the Picayune Saw and Planing Mill on the banks of the Mississippi in Carrollton. It was established in 1868 by F. Fischer, handling mainly cypress lumber. The firm became F. Fischer & Sons in 1887 and was incorporated as a limited company under that name in 1890. The mill manufactures cypress lumber, shingles, barrel headings and staves, and carries a large quantity of lumber in stock. It employs 100 hands, and, with a capital of \$250,000, turns out products to the value of \$500,000 per year.

The Algiers Saw and Planing Mills, which was formerly the property of Hotard and Lawton, is now operated by Albert E. Hotard alone. The mill proper employs only 35 men, but it has a number of others engaged in the parishes in getting out timber, chiefly yellow pine. The plant was established in 1879 by Peter Fink, who retired in 1892.

The Berwick Lumber Company, situated at Clio and Freret streets, deals in sashes, doors, blinds and saloon and office fixtures. It owns cypress lumber and shingle mills at Berwick, St. Mary parish, Louisiana, its establishment there having a capacity of 60,000 feet of lumber and 30,000 shingles per day. The factory in New Orleans, which converts their lumber into sashes, doors and blinds and other finished products, employs 100 hands. Other lumber and planing mills are the Central Manufacturing and Lumber Company, Lambou & Noel Company, W. Moffett, Roberts & Co., Pelican Sawmills, W. L. Sirjacques & Co., American Manufactory, Crescent City Manufacturing Company and Brackenridge Lumber Company.

The Otis Manufacturing Company, situated at the foot of Marengo street on the Mississippi river, was established in 1860 by Henry Otis, and the present company was incorporated in 1882. Its capital is \$100,000, and it employs 75 hands. It is mainly engaged in the manufacture of lumber from mahogany, Spanish cedar and other timber of the tropics, and has vessels running to Mexico and the West Indies for the importation of these woods. They are cut into lumber and veneering, to be used in the manufacture of furniture, cigar boxes, etc. The mill has a capacity of 35,000 feet of lumber per day, and the annual output is estimated at \$300,000.

The Orleans Manufacturing and Lumber Company, located at the corner of Julia and Clara streets, on the new basin, was established in 1888 and for a time was the largest manufacturing establishment of its kind New Orleans, employing 200 hands, having a capital of \$150,000 and doing a business of \$300,000 a year; but it is now in liquidation. It manufactured sashes, doors and blinds and dealt in lumber generally.

L'Hote & Company's Sash and Blind Factory is situated on Basin street, at the head of the old basin. It was established in 1847 by George L'Hote, now deceased. The factory covers three acres of ground and is one of the largest of its kind in the South. It makes a specialty of manufacturing cabins and dwellings framed for shipment and for interior finish. It has filled many contracts for foreign countries, particularly for Mexico, and furnished the lumber for the Orizaba exposition buildings and the quarantine station at Vera Cruz. George L'Hote, son of the founder of the factory, is now the manager. It employs 200 hands and has an output of 50,000 feet of lumber per day.

The other industries dependent upon wood as the principal material used by them have not made as great an advance as the manufacturers of lumber, doors, sashes and blinds and such other articles used in the building trades. But, even in their lines there has been some advance, and New Orleans now turns out a great deal of furniture, some of it of a high grade.

The cooperage business continues much as it was of old, save that it is concentrated in one or two large concerns, of which the Brooklyn Cooperage Company is an example, instead of being distributed among a score of small factories as formerly.

The manufacture of cisterns and tanks also continues much the same as formerly, but attracts less attention than it did because of the development of other and more important industries. The cypress of Louisiana being found one of the best woods for resisting injury and decay from water, the Louisiana factories do a large business in making tanks for Central and South America and the West and Northwest. The bulk of the business is in the hands of the country factories in Plaquemines and Baton Rouge, although New Orleans shares some of it.

In spite of the fact that New Orleans for more than half a century before the Civil War was the great cotton center of the United States and the world, supplying the cotton mills of New England and Europe with all the raw material used by them, it made no movement in the direction of using the cotton handled in the manufacture of cotton goods. In Southwestern Louisiana some of the small farm-

ers—Creoles and Acadians—had manufactured in their lines a small amount of a cloth which, like all homespun cloth, was coarse, but of a very strong texture. The cloth, known as Attakapas or "Tuckapaw," from the name the district was then known by, was popular and sold well; but the output was very small and there was shown no disposition to increase it. The industry was confined to a few families and handed down from mother to daughter; this spinning and weaving still prevails in many Acadian households, where the hand loom is always a prominent piece of furniture.

The only venture made by New Orleans in cotton manufacturing in the early days was the Whitney mill, erected by Mr. B. Whitney, at the corner of Tchoupitoulas and Rottignac streets, in 1838. The machinery was complete in all particulars, and the operations of picking, carding, spinning, dyeing and weaving were carried on simultaneously in the manufacture of twilled and double-twilled cotton goods. The venture attracted less attention than it would to-day. There being no skilled labor in New Orleans, Mr. Whitney had to import his labor from New England. The venture was only a temporary success, and went the way of several other similar ones of a later day.

In 1864, however, a more successful venture was made, although on a smaller scale. Mr. N. L. Lane erected a small cotton mill at the foot of Cadiz street, in what was then the city of Jefferson, but is now the Sixth Municipal District of New Orleans. From a very small beginning the mill gradually increased in size, and in 1883 it was incorporated with a capital of \$375,000. At that time the mill had 2,160 spindles and 68 looms, which were increased to 10,000 spindles and 308 looms, and again increased in 1894 to 17,000 spindles and 368 looms, while important additions were made to the buildings. The Lane Mills, for they retained the name of their founder, although they have passed into other hands, employ about 450 hands and manufacture sheetings, twills, ducks, osnaburgs, denims, yarns and camlets to the value of about \$400,000 a year.

It is not necessary to mention the several failures in the establishment of new cotton mills, one of the most conspicuous of which was the Louisiana Mill, upon which a considerable amount of money was expended, and which, after promising well in the beginning, proved a failure, and in doing so had a most unfavorable influence on the cotton industry in New Orleans, as it seemed to demonstrate that it could not be carried on here profitably,—a view of the matter which has since been corrected by the success of the Maginnis mills.

The Maginnis Cotton Mill No. 1 was erected in 1881, with 15,300 spindles and

360 looms. John B. Maginnis was the founder and served as president until his death. In 1888 a second mill, called No. 2, was built, with 19,968 spindles and 696 looms, the two mills having a capacity together of 11,000 to 12,000 pounds of cotton per day. Upon the death of John H. Maginnis, his brother, A. A. Maginnis, was elected president, and under his management the mill was still further increased to 40,752 spindles and 1,216 looms, consuming an average of 16,000 pounds of cotton each working day and turning out 65,000 yards of cloth, as well as a quantity of hosiery, yarn, cotton-batting and cordage. Its products are largely shipped abroad, going to South and Central America, as well as all parts of the United States. The mills employ 800 to 1,000 people, with a monthly pay-roll of from \$14,000 to \$18,000.

In 1899 the movement in favor of cotton mills in the South, which had shown such success in the South Atlantic States and brought about the erection of so many new mills, struck New Orleans, and a meeting called for the purpose of considering the subject appointed a committee to collect subscriptions for a new cotton mill, a number of large subscriptions being guaranteed in advance.

If, however, there are no large cotton mills, there have been established in New Orleans during the last ten years a number of smaller establishments, such as knitting mills for the manufacture of hosiery, jerseys, knitted underwear and similar goods, and these knitting mills supply a very considerable portion of the cheaper class of goods used in New Orleans and the region tributary to it.

The Alden Knitting Mills were established in 1891, with an authorized capital of \$10,000, and with Joseph E. J. Meyer as president. The works were first located on Julia street, with an output of only 50 dozen pairs of hose per day. In 1894 they were transferred to Decatur street and the product increased to 800 dozen of socks and ladies' hose per day, sold in all parts of the United States, the distributing points being New York and Chicago. The works employ 125 girls and about 10 men. The capital remains at \$10,000, but the investment amounts to \$60,000. Since 1894 the company has done its own dyeing, having established the first aniline and salt dyeing plant south of Baltimore. A. W. McLellan became president in 1892.

The Kohlman Knitting Mills, on St. Thomas street, also manufacture hosiery and underwear.

Although New Orleans handled all the tobacco of Kentucky and Ohio in the earlier days when tobacco was a more important item in its commerce than even cotton, it took no advantage of the opportunity for the manufacture of tobacco,

cigars, snuff and cigarettes. Several small ventures were made in earlier days, and Mr. Sarrazin secured quite a reputation for the snuff his factory turned out. New Orleans factories also did some business in grinding the famous Perique tobacco of St. James Parish. The city, however, won its importance as a great tobacco-manufacturing center first when Mr. S. Hershheim embarked in the business.

The factory of S. Hershheim Brothers & Company was founded in 1857 by Simon Hershheim, and its business has increased steadily since then to the present day, when it stands third in importance in the United States, giving employment to 1,200 hands and being the largest single factory in New Orleans. It turns out a number of famous brands of cigars, among which may be mentioned "La Belle Creole," "Jackson Square" and "El Belmont," as well as several varieties of tobacco, and controls the Perique tobacco crop of St. James.

The W. R. Irly branch of the American Tobacco Company (the tobacco trust) was established in 1872. Between 1875 and 1899 it absorbed no less than a half dozen tobacco companies. In 1899 it became a part of the American Tobacco Company.

The People's Tobacco Company, Limited, was organized in 1899, as an independent company to fight the trust.

The Southern Tobacco Company, Limited, was organized in 1899, by Mr. Augustus Craft, and others who were crowded out of the tobacco business by the consolidation of a number of concerns in the trust. It also is independent.

New Orleans, from the start, handled a large part of the cigarette business of the South, and claimed that in the manufacture of cigarettes it did not follow the example of so many of the Northern factories, which doctored the tobacco with drugs or chemicals, but that, on the contrary, it used only the highest grade and finest tobacco. The fact is that the cigarette habit is very old in New Orleans, a large part of its population having been smokers of Havana cigarettes for years, and they were not inclined to accept drugged cigarettes made with scrap or refuse tobacco.

One of the most recent industries of New Orleans and one of its largest is the manufacture of pants and ready-made clothing. The output is estimated at from \$7,000,000 to \$10,000,000 and is increasing. It is all of recent origin, due to the abundance of labor in New Orleans. The industry is in somewhat different shape from that in New York. Sweat shops are almost unknown, and only a very small population, less than one-quarter of the operatives, work in the factories, the others, mainly women, doing their work at home, and, therefore, under more com-

fortable conditions. Only a small part of the output is sold in New Orleans, the bulk of it being distributed in the country, from New York, Chicago and other central points. The tendency is in the direction of improvement in the quality of goods turned out: that is, while there has been a large increase in the amount of clothing manufactured, the amount of the cheaper goods remains the same. The average improvement in quality in the output between 1898 and 1900 was 25 per cent and the value 40 per cent.

The manufacture of boots and shoes has shown a similar change of recent years. The boot and shoe industry was large even as early as 1850, and New Orleans manufactured nearly all the shoes it wore, as well as those needed in the tributary country. These, however, were practically all custom-made, and the industry owed its success to the demand for a higher grade of goods than the New England factories turned out, and to the belief that the Southern foot required a different make of shoes, which were made on what were known as "Creole lasts."

The industry has been completely changed of recent years. The "Creole last" has been discarded, and the shoes turned out are of the same size and pattern as are made in other shoe-manufacturing centers. A large proportion of them, however, are factory-made, the most improved machinery being used. The result is that the New Orleans shoemakers, instead of being confined to a very limited territory, are now manufacturing shoes which are shipped to all parts of the South and West and are in great demand everywhere.

The canning of fish, fruits and vegetables is an important industry of New Orleans, which owes its success and prosperity largely to the Dunbars, who have built up the business. The specialties are the canning of oysters, done mainly at Biloxi and other points on Mississippi Sound; of shrimp, of which New Orleans has a practical monopoly; of figs, orange marmalade and of such syrups as can best be produced in a semi-tropical country. The shrimp industry has reached very large proportions, New Orleans shrimp being shipped to all quarters of the world. Several Chinese colonies are engaged in drying shrimp in the neighborhood of New Orleans, and hundreds of tons of dried shrimp are shipped annually to China, where they are considered a great table delicacy.

The manufacture of beer is one of the more recent industries of New Orleans, with some very serious ups and downs. In ante-bellum days a low-grade article had been manufactured in New Orleans, known as "city beer." In 1882 the Southern Brewery was organized for the manufacture of genuine lager beer,

and met with such success in supplying not only the local market, but the neighboring States and countries that a number of other breweries were established, with an output far greater than was needed. The Louisiana Brewery was established in 1885, and in 1887 the Pelican, Crescent, Lafayette and Weckerlings breweries (the latter an enlargement of an old establishment). The fact that these breweries manufactured more beer than was needed led to their consolidation in 1890, under the name of the New Orleans Brewing Association, with a capital of \$3,100,000. The new association closed the Crescent Brewery in 1893 and the Lafayette Brewery in 1894. The sale of beer by the company greatly increased, from 50,000 barrels in 1885 to 225,000 in 1894 and 240,000 in 1895. The association, however, did not prosper, and in 1895 Mr. A. G. Ricks was appointed receiver. It was liquidated in 1899, when the property was bought in on behalf of the stockholders and reorganized as the New Orleans Brewing Company.

Besides the business belonging to the New Orleans Brewing Company there are several independent concerns, the Jackson, Security, Standard and Columbia brewing companies.

The advantages New Orleans offers for the construction of vessels have long been recognized, but these advantages have never been fully utilized. It has turned out a number of schooners, luggers and smaller vessels and a few large ones, such as transfer and ferryboats, but its boat-building business has been confined mainly to repair work. Its docks are located at or near Algiers. The United States has ordered the construction of a large dry dock at that point, has purchased the necessary grounds and made all the required preparations, except to vote sufficient money to complete the works. There are several private docks for the repair of vessels.

The Good Intent Dry Dock Company, Limited, was organized in 1866. Its charter expired in 1891, when the company was reorganized, with its dock at the ferry landing in Algiers. It employs 100 hands.

The McLellan Dry Dock Company was established in Algiers in 1866, and employs 100 hands. The Marine Dry Dock, formerly at the foot of Bermuda street, Algiers, was removed in 1897 to Tunisburg (now known as McLellanville), three miles below Algiers; and in 1897 the Ocean Dock was also moved to the same point. In 1897 a sectional steel dock was purchased from the United States Government at Pensacola, and towed around to McLellanville, where it is now located.

Plans are on foot for the establishment of a large shipyard in New Orleans, but nothing practical has yet been done in that line.

It is impossible to review at length on the other industries of New Orleans, as the total runs up to 123. They include nearly all kinds of manufacture incident to a great city. Gas, electricity, paint, willowware, umbrellas, pickles, macaroni, trusses, artificial flowers, china and pottery, perfumery, horse collars, patent medicines, mustard, etc. In fine, New Orleans, which forty years ago manufactured scarcely anything and had to send North for the simplest manufactured articles, now turns out nearly every variety of goods.

The development of manufactories in New Orleans, however, is best shown in the following statistics, which give the number of separate industries, number of factories, employes, wages paid and products, at the several censuses taken in 1870, 1880, and 1890, carried up to 1899:

	No. different industries.	No. factories.	Employes.	Wages paid.	Total products.
1870	63	554	4,411	\$ 1,204,254	\$ 8,450,439
1880	89	915	8,404	3,717,557	18,808,906
1890	145	1,960	25,221	10,887,584	48,295,449
1899	183	2,215	37,622	17,116,420	78,820,960

New Orleans is the largest manufacturer of cotton-seed oil in the world and the largest cleaner and preparer of rice, molasses, prepared moss and of various canned goods; and it holds a high position in the refining of sugar, the manufacture of clothing, cigars and a number of other important industries. Its manufactories now give employment to a much larger proportion of its workers than does commerce, which was formerly supreme.

CHAPTER XXII.

COMMERCIAL AND MERCANTILE INTERESTS.

BY NORMAN WALKER.

NEW ORLEANS is to-day, and has been for half a century, the second port in the Union, its commerce, imports and exports being exceeded only by those of New York. There was a time when it promised to be first. This was the dream of Jefferson, who, in a message on the purchase of Louisiana, prophesied that the world would see in the capital of this new dominion, New Orleans, the greatest commercial entrepot of all times. The author of "The Declaration of Independence" could see far enough ahead to know that the center of population, production and wealth of the American Union would be transferred to the great and fertile valley of the Mississippi, two-thirds of which he had purchased for the United States. As the port of this great valley New Orleans seemed destined for the high position that Jefferson had prophesied for it. He could not, of course, foresee that Stephenson's invention, the railroad, would carry the produce of the great valley over the mountains to New York and other ports on the Atlantic and thus deflect a great deal of business which, in his day and long afterward, it seemed certain that New Orleans would monopolize for all time.

But if New Orleans has not yet secured the commercial supremacy in the Mississippi Valley which Jefferson and the other political economists of his time predicted for it, it has never stood lower than second in commercial importance among American cities; and its commercial history is full of interest and plays a leading part in the story of the continent. Spain, France, England and the United States all saw in New Orleans the key to the great Mississippi Valley, and it played a leading part in the international politics of the eighteenth century. When the United States sprang into existence New Orleans became of even greater commercial and political importance than it had been before the birth of the republic. During the last years of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth the great question of the West and Southwest was which power was to possess New Orleans. We are now able to see how nearly this question broke up

the new union of States during its infancy, when the people of Kentucky, Tennessee and the other settlers who had poured over the mountains into the Mississippi Valley talked secession loudly and proposed disunion because they thought the Government had neglected their commercial interests, and because they saw their only hope for the future in the possession of New Orleans and the mouths of the Mississippi, which would give them an outlet for their produce. It is unnecessary here, however, to go into the history of the many conspiracies which had for their purpose the separation of the States and Territories of the valley from those of the Atlantic coast, to form with Louisiana a new empire. Jefferson's purchase, accomplished largely in consequence of the European complications then prevailing, prevented the establishment of a new republic on American soil, of which New Orleans was to have been the capital and commercial center; but it did not affect its commercial importance; indeed the next forty years raised the Louisiana city to the zenith of its power and importance.

The commercial and mercantile history of New Orleans shows a succession of marked epochs and of great vicissitudes. No city in the world of its importance has witnessed more radical changes in its commercial methods from the early days of pirogues and canoes to this latter age when the great Father of Waters handles only a small share of its business, and the railroads play the leading part in transportation; yet it has never during all this time, not even during the depression of the Civil War, failed to be a power in the commerce of the world, affecting the trade of both Europe and America.

Just, as in Jefferson's day, the aim of the Government was to secure possession of New Orleans and the outlet of the Mississippi and thus prevent the secession of the Western States, so in the Civil War, Lincoln saw that if New Orleans and the Mississippi remained in the hands of the Confederates it would weaken the loyalty of the trans-Mississippi States and tend to bring about a break-up between the West and East. His first important military movement, therefore, was that directed against New Orleans for the purpose of opening up the Mississippi river—a movement in which he was successful, and which played so important a part in weakening the Southern Confederacy and hastening its end.

Throughout the commercial and mercantile history of the nineteenth century the importance of New Orleans comes to the front. It gave its name to the best grade of molasses, and New Orleans molasses (that is, molasses shipped through New Orleans) is known throughout the world. It gave its name to the best grade of cotton—"Orleans;" and cotton manufacturers everywhere so called the long staple cotton produced on the fertile lands of the Mississippi bottoms.

It made its impress even upon the size and draft of vessels. It was seen during the middle of the century that freight could be carried far more cheaply in large vessels of great tonnage than in the smaller ones that had formerly been used. The ship-builders everywhere commenced building larger vessels, and therefore vessels of greater draft. The increase in size of the average sea-going vessel was marked from year to year, but was suddenly checked. The ship-builders explained that this check was due to the bars in the Mississippi river. As New Orleans was so important a port it would not pay, they said, to build ships of so great a draft that they could not sail up the Mississippi. It was thus the conditions prevailing at New Orleans which held back for some years the development and growth in size of the merchant marine, not of America alone, but of the whole world.

Of the earlier epochs of New Orleans commerce it is unnecessary to say anything here. The French political economists of the day saw a brilliant future for the colony, but it was merely a dream as far as they were concerned. Nothing practical was accomplished, and the whole matter was badly mismanaged. The city and colony were of no importance in the commerce of the world and were actually a drag and a heavy expense upon France and afterward on Spain, when Louisiana was transferred to it.

Law's great Mississippi scheme, watered as badly as some of the railroad stock of to-day, did nothing for the colony. The early colonists, like those on the Atlantic coast, came to Louisiana looking for easy fortunes, which they expected to make from the gold mines and pearl fisheries they believed to exist in El Dorado, and with no desire or intention of cultivating the soil or developing the resources of the country, or doing any similar slow and hard work.

They found in the Mississippi a splendid water way opening to them the commerce of a continent: but as there were no settlements of any moment on that river or its tributaries, this water way was of little practical value to them. As early as 1705 the Mississippi had suggested itself as a means of communication between the far North and the Gulf of Mexico. In that year, only six years after Bienville had first visited New Orleans and had seen in it the best site for the capital of the new colony and for the port of the great valley, the first cargo came down the Mississippi. As might be expected, it consisted neither of the product of the field or the factory, but altogether of the fruits of the chase. A number of French voyageurs settled in the Indian country around the Wabash, collected from the several hunting posts in the neighborhood 10,000 deer and 5,000 bear skins and shipped them down the Mississippi as the only way by which they could reach Europe, as it was

impossible to pack them across the country and over the mountains to Canada or Philadelphia. It was a wild experiment, but one that had a most important influence, since it contributed largely to the success of Bienville's plan to have New Orleans made the capital of the colony, as well as to the ultimate settlement of the Mississippi Valley, for it showed that colonists upon the great river had an outlet to the markets of the world, as short in time and less expensive and difficult than packing their products by horse or wagons over the mountains to the Atlantic seaboard.

The Canadian voyageurs who brought down their first cargo on the Mississippi traveled 1,400 miles without seeing a settlement or a white man, and through a country filled with hostile Indians. It took them nearly six months to make the trip, but they got through all the difficulties and reached the Gulf in the early part of 1706. As New Orleans did not exist then or until twelve years later, these primitive merchants floated down the Mississippi only as far as Bayou Manchac, then a navigable stream (it was closed by Gen. Jackson in 1815 as a protection against the British fleet), and sailed through Bayou Manchac and Iberville (now Amite) river into Lake Pontchartrain. Thence they went through Mississippi Sound to Mobile (then known as St. Louis des Mobiles), where their cargo was marketed. The furs were sold in France and the voyageur merchants made a handsome profit, but they did not care to repeat the experiment. They did not return home, but settled in Louisiana.

The experiment produced important results. It inflamed the speculative craze, just then so prevalent in France. The French Western Company, organized by Anthony Crozat, was formed to operate the colony and received a monopoly of its trade for 25 years, on the condition of spending a large sum annually in the development of the country and settling so many families there annually. The movement proved an unprofitable one. The amount of commerce handled via the Mississippi was small; the people whom the company brought over to the colony did not care to cultivate the land or did not know what crops to cultivate, and the country selected for settlement—the coast of Mississippi Sound—proved sandy and unfertile. After losing considerable money on his investment, Crozat surrendered his charter or contract in 1717 and turned the colony over to the French crown. The change enabled Bienville to carry through his far more practical ideas, which were to transfer the French settlements to the Mississippi and to make New Orleans, whose commercial possibilities he foresaw, the capital.

During the first years of the new city its trade consisted almost exclusively

in the products of the chase, and these figured very prominently in its business for nearly half a century afterward. During all of this early time New Orleans was one of the chief entrepôts of the Northwestern and Canadian fur trade. About 1720 it began receiving other products by river, from the French settlements on the Illinois and at the mouth of the Missouri. These shipments, as to-day, consisted largely of food products, the country around New Orleans being not self-supporting in the matter of food at the time, growing mainly indigo and similar articles, so that it had to get its food supply abroad. In 1720 the exports from New Orleans were valued at only \$62,000 a year, of which 65 per cent was in the shape of skins from the upper country.

The early French domination in Louisiana saw little improvement in the commercial conditions of New Orleans, for while there was no monopoly of the trade as there had been under Crozat, it was bound by so many limitations that it was anything but free, the colony not being allowed to sell or buy in the open market, but being compelled to ship to France alone. This restriction proved as injurious to the government as to the colony. At no time was Louisiana self-supporting as the British colonies on the Atlantic were, but France was compelled to make good an annual deficit in the revenues.

In 1763 Louisiana was ceded to Spain. The commerce of New Orleans at that time amounted to only \$304,000 a year, less than the value of a single cargo shipped from the city to-day. Of these exports only half came from the country around New Orleans. The items are as follows: Indigo (raised in Louisiana proper, and the main product of the colony at that time), \$100,000; deer skins and furs from the Upper Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio, \$80,000; lumber, \$50,000; naval stores, \$12,000; rice, peas and beans, \$4,000; tallow, \$4,000. The smuggled trade was put down as \$54,000, but may have been more. Most of this was in the hands of the English, whose commercial influence in the colony was very great. As for the food products brought down from the Illinois country they were all consumed in and around New Orleans and did not find their way abroad.

With Spanish rule the commerce of New Orleans advanced rapidly. This was due less to the policy pursued by the Spanish government than to the situation of the city itself. The importance of the Mississippi, with its 20,000 miles of navigable water-ways stretching into all parts of the continent, began to be realized and appreciated, and the great powers of Europe played an exciting game of intrigue for its control.

Spain took Louisiana in 1763, not from any particular desire to own the country, but as a protection against British aggression on her Mexican possessions. She was never able to overcome the prejudices of the original French settlers, although she dealt more liberally with Louisiana than with any of her Spanish-speaking colonies and spent far more on it than she got in return. Her commercial policy, however, was the same Spanish policy which has lost her all her colonial possessions in America—the restriction of all trade to Spain alone. New Orleans was shut out from every market in the world except certain specified ports of Spain—markets in which the merchants of New Orleans were completely at the mercy of the Spanish merchants, and could neither sell their goods to advantage nor purchase what was needed in Louisiana. It was prohibited even from trading with the neighboring port of Havana, although that also was under Spanish rule.

The natural result of these restrictive regulations was to defeat themselves and build up a smuggling trade, which was almost as large as the legitimate commerce and far more profitable. From one-fifth to one-half of the imports received in New Orleans were smuggled in; and this business was easily enough conducted because by treaty Great Britain had reserved to itself the right for British ships to enter the Mississippi and supply the British settlements on the east bank of the river, above Bayou Manchac, with such articles as they needed. These vessels were supposed to be handling the trade of the English settlements in West Florida and in what is now the State of Mississippi; but their voyages up the Mississippi gave them a splendid opportunity of dealing with the colonists below Fort Bute, the southernmost British port (at the junction of the Mississippi river and the Manchac). British trading vessels on the way to Fort Bute or Baton Rouge landed part of their cargoes in Louisiana. The center of this smuggling trade was at a point about six miles above the city of New Orleans, where entire cargoes were disembarked and where the city merchants had their agents and representatives to purchase the British contraband goods. The slave trade formed a very considerable proportion of this smuggling, and the Louisiana planters were supplied with "Guinea negroes" mainly by the British vessels. In all the earlier commercial reports this smuggling was spoken of openly. There was, indeed, very little secrecy about it, and during the French régime it was winked at by the authorities, many of whom found it personally profitable. Popular sentiment was very warmly in favor of the contraband trade, which was so profitable to the country and which enabled the Louisianians to get many goods that would otherwise have never reached the colony.

When the Spaniards took possession of New Orleans they set to work to break up this smuggling, which not only cut down the colonial revenue, but injured the mother country. Governor O'Reilly found the commerce of the city very much demoralized by this contraband trade. He reported to the Spanish government that he found the foreign commerce of New Orleans almost wholly in the hands of the English. "They have their traders and their ships here," he reported, "and they pocket nine-tenths of all the money spent in New Orleans and Louisiana."

The extreme measures of O'Reilly soon broke up the business and ousted the British from their commercial supremacy, which, however, was never quite as great as he asserted. All foreign vessels were prohibited and prevented from trading with the Louisianians. This Chinese policy did not continue very long in the face of the popular protest. New Orleans was granted absolutely free trade with Havana and all the Spanish ports instead of being restricted to a few; and the non-intercourse act was ultimately so modified as to permit two vessels per year to enter New Orleans from France, so that the natives could get the fashions and costumes of Paris, to which they still clung.

The Spanish government grew steadily more lenient in its commercial policy, in the vain hope that it would win by these means the good will of the people of Louisiana. Under Unzaga, who succeeded O'Reilly, smuggling through British vessels again became common. It enriched the planters and enabled them to greatly increase the number of their slaves. Unzaga, seeing that the Louisiana Creoles, because of their French origin, preferred dealing with France rather than England, gave the former country all the opportunities he could; and during his regime the control of the colonial trade passed into the hands of French merchants and so continued for many years, until the irrepressible American came on the scene.

The British traders found themselves treated with rigor by Unzaga, while the French were favored and encouraged. Soon afterward, in 1778, when Galvez, the greatest of all the Spanish governors of Louisiana, and the most interested in its welfare, was at the head of the colony, he issued a proclamation giving New Orleans the right to trade with any port of France, and a little later included among the ports with which New Orleans was allowed to carry on free and unlimited intercourse the thirteen American colonies, just then struggling for independence. Thus it was that New Orleans entered into business with the country of which it was destined soon to be a part. At that time Spain was at war with England, and Galvez was leading a Louisiana army against the British port of Pensacola (which

he captured). In consideration of the bravery of the Louisiana troops, the commercial facilities of New Orleans were still further extended, and it was also allowed to trade with Mexico, which country had heretofore been completely closed to it.

During this period, with the relaxation of the severe commercial restrictions that had prevailed, the trade of New Orleans had grown very rapidly. It added to the diversity of its exports. In 1750 it, for the first time, shipped a little cotton, and in 1765 some sugar. Its fur trade had grown to over \$100,000 a year, all going to Europe. It did a considerable business in lumber, supplying, indeed, most of the Havana demands, and furnishing the boxes in which the Cuban sugar was shipped to market. In 1770 the exports of New Orleans had risen to \$631,000 a year, having more than doubled during the short period of seven years of Spanish rule.

In the meanwhile events were occurring that completely changed the commerce of New Orleans and ultimately the ownership and flag of the colony. All the river trade of the city had hitherto been downward, but with the settlement of the Ohio Valley some business sprang up in the way of supplying the people of Kentucky and Ohio with calicoes and such other manufactured goods as they needed.

The first commercial relations between New Orleans and the Americans were of a very friendly nature. During O'Reilly's governorship, when provisions rose very high in price, and there was an actual scarcity of flour and other food products, in consequence of the non-arrival of the Spanish supply ships upon which the people of Louisiana depended exclusively, one Oliver Pollock, of Baltimore, entered the port of New Orleans with a cargo of flour, which he sold to the governor for \$15 a barrel, two-thirds of the then current price, in return for which O'Reilly granted Pollock the right of free trade with New Orleans during his life-time. Pollock was the first American merchant to establish himself in New Orleans, and had his agents and representatives in the city, who did a very large business. This commercial venture proved of the utmost importance to the American cause in the end, as much of the ammunition and arms furnished the Continental army was obtained through Governor Galvez, being carried by boat up the Mississippi and Ohio to Pittsburg, and thence distributed to the American forces. At the close of the Revolutionary war New Orleans was receiving produce to the value of \$225,000 a year from the settlements in Tennessee and Kentucky, mainly flour, tobacco and similar produce, and was supplying in return manufactured goods, principally cottons and other dry goods, imported from France. At that time there were several American merchants in New Orleans engaged in that character of business, most of them from Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Governor Galvez, who always showed himself deeply interested in the prosperity of the colony, and particularly of New Orleans, was anxious to make that port a free one, with the right to do business with any country. The traditional Spanish colonial policy would not permit this; but Spain made exceptional concessions, apparently realizing the commercial possibilities of the city.

By a royal decree made public in New Orleans in the spring of 1782, the re-shipment to any South American colony of goods received from Spain was permitted, but this was not permissible with goods from other countries. Negroes were allowed to be imported free of duty from the colonies of neutral or allied powers, save from Martinique, whose negroes had the reputation of being too partial to voodooism. Foreign vessels could be bought and registered as Spanish bottoms. The export duty on staves shipped to Spain, which trade had reached very large proportions then, and has continued large to this day, was renewed, but other duties were advanced in order to produce a war revenue.

The importance of the Mississippi commercially was now fully recognized by all the countries interested; and in the next twenty years American politics centered around "the Father of Waters" and New Orleans. The treaty of Ghent, which restored peace between Great Britain, France, Spain and the United States, provided that the Mississippi river from its source to its mouth should forever remain free to the United States and Great Britain.

This stipulation was never carried out in good faith by Spain; but it became the origin of a series of Spanish and American intrigues, the aim of the Spaniards being to keep the Yankees away from New Orleans, and of the Americans to secure the free use of the river, if not to annex New Orleans and the adjacent territory, as necessary for the prosperity of the country above, whose outlet was through "the Crescent City." In 1786 a large number of American flatboats loaded with provisions and breadstuffs, which had been floated down from the Ohio and the Cumberland, were seized at New Orleans and confiscated by the Spanish government on the ground that they had violated some of the revenue laws of the colony. In 1787 General James Wilkinson succeeded in obtaining valuable commercial concessions from Governor Miro, and the flatboatmen were no longer interfered with. He also succeeded in shipping several cargoes of manufactured goods up the Mississippi to the American settlers above. The uncertainty of the trade, however, and the obstacles placed in the way of the American flatboatmen, led the Ohio settlers to demand of Congress that it show itself more interested in their affairs and better protect their interests; indeed the demand was coupled with threats, and the

Kentucky pioneers talked secession very loudly at the time and threatened to sever their connection with the Atlantic States, with which they had free commercial relations. The result of their agitation was the treaty of St. Ildefonso in 1795, the first treaty made by the United States with Spain. It defined the boundaries between the two countries, but the most important provision it contained was in regard to the Mississippi. This was not only made free to the Americans, but they were given the right of deposit for three years at New Orleans, without the payment of any duties or charges, save for storage. It was also provided that at the end of these three years a new arrangement of some kind should be made, whereby their right of deposit could be continued, Spain reserving the right to select another point than New Orleans where American goods could be stored.

At that time, which was only thirty-two years from the date of the Spanish acquisition of the colony, the trade of New Orleans had increased more than four-fold, and had very radically changed. Indigo no longer constituted the largest item in the exports, for indigo was fast disappearing as a paying crop in Louisiana and sugar was taking its place. The largest single item was Western produce, which constituted more than one-third of the total. The several items were as follows: Cotton (200,000 pounds), \$50,000; furs, \$100,000; boxes (shipped to Cuba for the sugar crop), \$225,000; sugar (40,000,000 pounds), \$320,000; indigo (100,000 pounds), \$100,000; tobacco (200,000 pounds), \$10,000; timber, \$50,000; rice (2,000 barrels), \$50,000; Western produce, \$500,000. Total, \$1,421,000. The furs came from the North and Northwest; the sugar, indigo, rice and timber from the Spanish possessions in Louisiana; and the rest from Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio.

The treaty of San Ildefonso and the opening of the Mississippi gave a stimulus to the American trade through New Orleans. In 1798 the Western produce received there was valued at \$975,000, and was increasing at the rate of \$300,000 a year with the heavy emigration then pouring into the Ohio Valley. For some reason, however, when the three years during which the right of deposit at New Orleans was to continue expired, Spain made no provisions for carrying out the other conditions of the treaty, to fix another depot. Her attention was called to this by the American government; but no action was taken. The Kentuckians became disturbed over this condition of affairs and called for action. If Spain did not want them to come to New Orleans let her fix another depot, they said. But the Spanish intendant, Morales, declined to do so. He interpreted the treaty to mean that with the lapse of three years the Americans lost all right of deposit at New Orleans. It was a fatal decision for Spain and lost her New Orleans within a few years. If

Señor Morales had seen the consequences, or understood the sentiments of the people of Kentucky and Tennessee, he would never have been guilty of so great a folly which hastened the expulsion of Spain from America. The freedom of the Mississippi became at once the aim of American diplomacy; and the United States was convinced that the stability of the republic and the commercial necessities of the West required the possession of New Orleans as the port of this new country that was being opened to civilization. For the next four years the problem of the Mississippi river and the purchase of Louisiana were the chief subjects of discussion in Congress, and the American statesmen at home and abroad worked earnestly to prevent New Orleans, from which so much was expected commercially, falling from the hands of a weak power like Spain into those of a strong one like England or France, both of which had their eyes on the city and the rich and fertile valley whose port it was and whose wealth the world was just beginning to recognize.

For some time it looked as though the closure of New Orleans as a depot and a port to the people of the upper valley would plunge the United States into war. There was loud talk of an expedition to seize the city, and it was estimated that there were 20,000 men ready for this filibustering expedition. Petitions innumerable poured into Congress, beginning with the declaration "The Mississippi is ours by the law of nature." The difficulty was definitely settled by the action of President Jefferson in purchasing Louisiana, and the people of the Mississippi Valley were more than satisfied; for not only was the great river thrown open to them, but it belonged to them exclusively.

During the period from 1795 to 1802, while the Americans and Spaniards were discussing the navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans, the outward ocean commerce of the city was also undergoing important changes, favorable to the Americans. At the time that the Spaniards took possession of Louisiana, and for some little while afterward, the dominant influence commercially had been the English, mainly through a smuggling and contraband trade. The Revolutionary war, but more particularly the war between France and Spain on the one side and Great Britain on the other, naturally cut off the English from trading with the Spanish colony of Louisiana, and the New Orleans merchants, who were almost all of French descent, made their purchases in France. But again the lines of commerce were changed. The success of the Revolution in France and the British blockade of French ports broke up most of the trade between Louisiana and these ports; and the Americans profited by it. Marseilles, Nantes and Bordeaux lost their hold on the commerce of New Orleans, to be succeeded by Philadelphia,

which then ranked first in enterprise among American cities, Boston, New York and Baltimore. This business was severely interfered with for some little while by the French privateers, who were nowhere more numerous than in the Gulf of Mexico; and it is largely from these privateers that the "French spoliation claims" sprang which have occupied the attention of Congress so many years.

On October 13, 1795, one of these French privateers entered the mouth of the Mississippi, seized the Spanish naval station at the Balize and occupied it for eight days. The Spanish governor sent down troops to dispossess them, when the Frenchmen destroyed the station and put to sea. When the war ended a number of American vessels which had been captured by privateers in the gulf were brought to New Orleans as prizes and sold there.

The purchase of Louisiana by Jefferson opened a new commercial epoch for New Orleans and offered that city the first opportunity it had ever enjoyed to prove its commercial advantages. While these had been recognized for some time, and the several powers—Great Britain, Spain, France and the United States—had been working and intriguing to secure possession of the city, and while its commerce had very naturally increased, this was accomplished under the most unfavorable conditions, with every possible restriction that could be devised by the Spanish. The city was, under the American dominion, to spring forward as one of the great commercial cities of the world, and for a time it promised to realize all Jefferson predicted for it—that it would be greater than even London itself.

The annexation of Louisiana to the United States was followed by a large increase in the trade of New Orleans. In 1795 its exports were \$1,421,000, of which \$500,000 was estimated as coming from the West (Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio). In 1801 the shipments from the districts of Kentucky and Mississippi alone were \$1,626,672, and from all the American possessions in the Mississippi Valley, \$2,111,672. In 1802, the last year of the Spanish rule, the trade ran up to \$2,637,564. This was divided as follows: Western Pennsylvania and territory northwest of the Ohio, \$700,000; Kentucky and Tennessee, \$1,522,064; Mississippi Territory, \$412,500. From the Spanish possessions there came \$120,000 from Upper Louisiana (mainly furs and skins) and \$1,720,800 from lower Louisiana (what now constitutes the State of that name). The total receipts of produce at New Orleans, therefore, were \$4,475,364, of which nearly two-thirds were from American territory. The produce received included 34,500 bales of cotton, of an average weight of 300 pounds each, the bale being smaller than now; 4,300 hogsheads of sugar, of an average weight of 1,000 pounds; 800 casks of molasses, of 125 gallons each, equal

to 2,000 of the barrels in which molasses is exported to-day; 4,000 casks of tafia or rum made from Louisiana molasses, each of 50 gallons; 3,000 pounds of indigo; lumber and (sugar) boxes to the value of \$300,000; peltries and skins to the value of \$120,000; rice and various other products amounting to some \$80,000. These were the products of Louisiana.

Among the chief articles of Western produce coming from American territory were 50,000 barrels of flour, 2,000 barrels of pork, 1,200 barrels of beef, 2,400 hogsheads of tobacco, 25,000 barrels of corn, besides butter, hams, beans, lard, staves and cordage.

Not only did the Americans control the interior trade, but they were rapidly getting control of the exterior or ocean trade of New Orleans, for of the ocean vessels leaving that port in 1802 a total of 265, of a tonnage of 31,241, there were 158 Americans and 104 Spanish and French. The British were shut out altogether by the war.

Such was the condition of affairs when the purchase of Louisiana by the United States opened a new commercial future for New Orleans and a chance to realize Jefferson's prophetic words in his message to Claiborne, the first American governor:

"New Orleans will be forever as it is now, the mighty mart of the merchandise brought from more than a thousand rivers, unless prevented by some accident in human affairs. This rapidly increasing city will in no distant time leave the emporia of the Eastern world far behind. With Boston, Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia on the left, Mexico on the right, Havana in front and the immense valley of the Mississippi in the rear, no such position for the accumulation and perpetuity of wealth and power ever existed."

If this prophecy has not been fully realized in the century that has passed since then it must be attributed to that accident in human affairs which Jefferson spoke of as possibly interfering with his dream of the commercial prosperity of New Orleans.

The transfer of Louisiana to the United States saw a large immigration of American merchants into New Orleans. There had been a number of Americans already settled there even during the Spanish days; but with few exceptions, notably that of Oliver Pollock, they had been regarded with suspicion. Of the new-comers nearly all were from the Atlantic coast cities, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York. Among those prominent in commercial circles were John McDonogh, general merchant, whose magnificent donation has done so much for the public

school system of New Orleans; Chew and Relf, ship agents; George Morgan, general merchant and dealer in liquors; P. Madan & Company, ship agents; Earle Jones & Company, dry goods; Henry O'Hara, hardware; Judah Touro, of Newport, Rhode Island, to whom New Orleans owes so many charities; Stephen Gorton, dealer in coal; Samuel Packwood, wholesale grocer; John Poulteney & Company, James P. Sanderson, Ludlow & Conwell, Clark & Rogers, Richard Thomas, Richard Clague, George T. Phillips, Amory & Callender, Kenner & Henderson, George Pollock, Meeker, Williamson & Patton, and John Myers. Not a few of these merchants dealt in slaves also, as a side issue to their regular business. Of other Americans settling in New Orleans during the first five years of American dominion may be mentioned McMaster and Adams, Williamson, H. Munro & Company, White & Morris, William Simpson, Flower & Faulkner, Rezin D. Shepherd (the chief legatee of Judah Touro) and Talcott and Bowers. It will be seen at a glance how few of these firms survive to-day in any form.

The first few years of the American dominion did not see as large an increase in the commerce of New Orleans as was expected. The receipts of Western produce were \$4,275,000 in 1804, \$4,371,545 in 1805, \$4,937,323 in 1806 and \$5,370,535 in 1807. In the latter year the produce reached New Orleans in 314 keel-boats and barges and 110 flatboats, and was shipped to market in 350 sea-going vessels of a tonnage of 43,220 tons.

The flatboat and keel-boat period lasted for about ten years, and they were years of commercial progress and prosperity, in spite of the disadvantages under which transportation labored from the rude vessels then employed. The traffic was nearly all down stream, because the boats, having no propelling power, could not stem the current of the Mississippi. The flatboatmen, after making the voyage to New Orleans and selling their cargoes, generally broke up their boats for lumber and sold them and walked home to the Ohio or Cumberland overland. The up freight was almost prohibitive, five or six cents a pound, with not much profit in it even at those figures.

The barges and flatboats generally landed immediately above the corporate limits of New Orleans, in front of what is now the first district of that city, and around their landing place soon grew up a settlement, which was first of a very cheap and wild character, but which is now the wholesale district. Further down and immediately abreast of the city and the Place d'Armes (now Jackson Square), at what is the sugar and ship landings of to-day, lay the ocean-going vessels, averaging some 20 or more at a time and ranging from 100 to 200 tons each.

There were no ship lines or companies, the vessels sailing under charters and having no fixed hour of departure, but going when they had received their cargo.

The next ten years saw a steady growth in the commerce and business of New Orleans, restricted, however, by the lack of good transportation facilities, and it was not until Fulton's invention of the steamboat that the city could fully enjoy the great advantages possessed in having the Mississippi, with its many tributaries, at its door. In 1810 the arrivals by river were 679 flatboats and 392 keelboats, a total of 1,071. These brought to New Orleans a most miscellaneous character of products, which included sugar, molasses, rice, cotton, flour, bacon, pork, whisky, apples, cider, corn, oats, cheese, beans, lumber, butter, lard, onions, potatoes, hemp, yarn and cordage, linen, tobacco, beer, horses, hogs, poultry, etc. Three-fifths of these products originated above "the falls of the Ohio" (Louisville) and two-fifths below that point.

In 1811 the arrival of the New Orleans, the first steamboat to navigate the Mississippi, created a revolution in the river business of New Orleans. The change was somewhat slow at first, because the steamers were possessed of so little power that they could with difficulty resist the mighty current of the river, and found it a most difficult, slow and tedious matter to go up stream. There were only five steamboats built in as many years. Moreover, the navigation of the Mississippi was handicapped by the attempt of the Louisiana Legislature to establish a monopoly. A company had been formed, at the head of which were Fulton and Livingston, who had made the first experiments with steam on the Ohio and the Mississippi. This company had obtained from the Louisiana Legislature an act granting them the exclusive right of navigating the waters of Louisiana with steam vessels for 14 years, with the privilege of renewing their charter at the expiration of that time. Any violation of this monopoly subjected the violator to a fine of \$500. But in 1815 the *Washington*, the first high-pressure steamer on the Mississippi, openly violated the Fulton monopoly, carried the matter into the courts and won, the court declaring that the Mississippi river was the heritage of the people, and that neither Congress nor any State Legislature had the right to give control of its navigation to any person or company.

This decision served as a stimulus to the steamboats, which from this time forward took the place of the flatboats in carrying the traffic of the Mississippi. In 1814 the arrivals at New Orleans consisted of 508 flatboats and 324 barges, of a total tonnage of 88,350, and 21 steamboats, of 2,098 tons. These steamers were the *New Orleans*, *Vesuvius* and *Enterprise*. The sea-going vessels leaving New Orleans

that year were 351, of which 188 were ships, 95 barges and 52 schooners, with a total tonnage of 81,180 tons. The chief products received from the interior were 58,220 bales of cotton, 116,872 bushels of corn, 73,820 barrels of flour, 11,640 hogsheads of sugar, 11,220 barrels of molasses, 7,225 barrels of pork, 7,500 barrels of rice, 3,205 casks of rum, 6,210 hogsheads of tobacco and 16,200 barrels of whisky.

The return trade, that is the supply of manufactured goods, mainly of European make, came by way of the East from Philadelphia, New York and Baltimore overland. Nor did the discovery of steam as a motive power for river boats cause much change in the business. New Orleans increased its shipments up the river when a better means of stemming the current was discovered, but the bulk of its shipments to the Ohio Valley were heavy articles that could be transported cheaply. Most of the importers in New Orleans were Creoles or French, who imported French goods. As a consequence the Kentuckians or Tennesseans of eighty years ago were supplied from New Orleans with French prints and broadcloths, while their brethren on the Atlantic wore almost wholly the products of British looms. This early French influence, due to the large French population in New Orleans, made itself felt throughout the Lower Mississippi Valley almost to the outbreak of the civil war; and in many portions of the country the demand was for French rather than for English goods. The United States at that time was manufacturing very little in the way of calicoes and cottons, save of the lowest grade. Nothing better illustrates the early commercial influence of New Orleans than this very fact—that for years it set the fashion in the goods used throughout a large portion of the Mississippi Valley.

The introduction of the steamboat as a means of transportation on the river brought about a radical change in trade lines and gave an immense impetus to the business of New Orleans. The quarter of a century between 1815 and 1840 was the golden age commercially of that city, when it saw its greatest prosperity. Its trade is larger in the aggregate to-day, but not relatively and proportionately, and there is not as much profit in it. During the early steamboat period New Orleans, in spite of epidemics, rose to be the wealthiest city in the Union, the third in point of population, and disputed with New York the rank of the first port in America. It was the metropolis of the great valley, leading in all industrial, financial and commercial enterprises; indeed, no other American city ever occupied the metropolitan position that New Orleans filled for half the century during its "flush days."

The opening of the Mississippi to steamboats without let or hindrance in 1816 saw a total of \$8,052,540 of produce received at New Orleans, about double the re-

ceipts of the first year of the American dominion. Cotton still constituted only a small part of this commerce, amounting to 37,371 bales, or twelve per cent in value, and the bulk of the receipts were from the Ohio Valley and included breadstuffs, provisions, tobacco, and other Western produce, or eighty per cent in value of the receipts. New Orleans was the center not of the cotton and sugar trade alone, but of the grain, tobacco and provision trades, and received more tobacco than it does to-day. The river traffic of New Orleans at that time required six steamboats, 594 barges and 1,287 flatboats, of a total tonnage of 87,670. The trip down the Mississippi was full of danger, because of the many snags and other river accidents, and a rough estimate placed the losses at 20 per cent; that is, only 80 per cent of the goods which started down from the Ohio to New Orleans ever reached that port, the remaining fifth being sunk or burnt in the Mississippi on its way down stream.

From 1816 the river trade destined for New Orleans increased rapidly, thanks to the steamboats. It had been \$8,062,540 in 1816; it was \$9,749,253 in 1817; \$8,773,379 in 1818; \$13,501,036 in 1819, and \$16,771,711 in 1820, having doubled in the short period of four years; nor did the improvement stop then. The trade of New Orleans with the interior country continued to increase with years in spite of the heavy losses of the river and the very expensive commercial methods that prevailed, until the construction of the Erie and other canals diverted some of the business of the Upper Ohio. The merchants of New Orleans did not notice this diversion at the time, nor as a matter of fact did it make itself felt upon the aggregate trade of the city until long afterward. The Mississippi Valley was growing so rapidly in population and production that there was as much as New Orleans could handle, notwithstanding diversions of business to the East.

The chief feature of this quarter of a century, from 1815 to 1840, as far as New Orleans was concerned, was the war between the steamboat and the flatboat—between the old, rough and primitive way of doing business and a more systematic method with boats running on schedule time and with fixed charges, and with the trade in the hands of merchants instead of flatboatmen. It is needless to say that the steamboat and civilization triumphed over the primitive flatboat, but not immediately, as one would have imagined. Flatboats continued to be used to a large extent up to the time of the civil war, and some reach New Orleans even to-day, but generally in tows. However, the steamers steadily gained on them, handling a larger share of the trade each year and relegating the old "arks" to the transportation of apples, potatoes and similar articles that can be carried in bulk.

The first steamboat, the *New Orleans*, had reached New Orleans the day before

Christmas, 1811. In 1815, when the river was declared open to all steamers and the Fulton-Livingston monopoly was pronounced unconstitutional, forty steamers reached New Orleans; in 1820 the arrivals were one hundred and ninety-eight; and they continued to increase as follows:

Value of produce		Value of produce	
Steamers arrived	received at	Steamers arrived	received at
at New Orleans.	New Orleans.	at New Orleans.	New Orleans.
1821 202	\$11,967,067	1831 778	26,044,820
1822 287	15,126,420	1832 813	28,238,452
1823 392	14,473,725	1834 1,280	29,820,817
1824 436	15,063,820	1835 1,081	37,566,842
1825 502	19,044,640	1836 1,272	39,537,762
1826 608	20,446,320	1837 1,374	43,515,402
1827 715	21,730,887	1838 1,549	45,627,729
1828 698	22,886,420	1839 1,551	42,263,880
1829 756	20,757,265	1840 1,573	49,763,825
1830 989	22,065,518	1841 1,958	49,822,175

In this period of twenty years, during which the trade of New Orleans was transferred from the flatboats and other lesser craft depending entirely upon the current for their motive power to take them to New Orleans, to the steamboats, the receipts of produce from the interior increased fourfold and the ocean traffic showed a similar improvement. The increase in the number of steamboats reaching New Orleans does not fully show the improvement which took place because the steamers not only became more numerous, but of larger tonnage and could therefore carry more freight. The tonnage of the steamers reaching New Orleans in 1815 was only 77,220, whereas in 1840 it was 537,400 tons.

In regard to the flatboats and other craft during this period there is no sufficiently definite information. It should be said that while the steamboats supplanted the barges and other floating vessels in many lines, they did not entirely drive them from the river. The Mississippi counted some hundred or more tributaries. On some of these the settlements were sparse and the surplus to be exported to market afforded at best only one or two cargoes a year and these were sent far more cheaply and conveniently in flatboats and barges than in steamers. As late as 1840 one-fifth of the freight reaching New Orleans was carried by flatboat, keel-boat or barges. The early flatboats had depended exclusively on the current of the river to carry them to New Orleans. The system of towing, so general now,

and used almost exclusively in the coal and grain trades, was tried as early as 1829 and a small steamer—it would be called a tug to-day—was successfully used in towing keel-boats down and up stream, thus doing away with the necessity of selling the boats when they reached New Orleans, as had formerly been the practice.

During this quarter of a century the steamboat had secured a practical monopoly of the trade of the Mississippi; and New Orleans, as the city to which all the steamers of the Mississippi and its tributaries went, became the commercial center of the great valley. The other river towns, particularly St. Louis and Cincinnati, prospered, but none did as well as New Orleans. Of the 362 steamers navigating the Mississippi and its tributaries in 1840, none were over eight years old. Their average tonnage was 302 tons, and only four exceeded 500 tons.

The ocean commerce of New Orleans had increased in exactly the same proportion with the river business. The city was not a manufacturing one, and but a small proportion of the produce received there was consumed. New Orleans was simply a point of transshipment, which took what it got from the South and West and exported it, sometimes not even repacking it; hence its exports were within a few millions of the receipts, the difference being such breadstuffs and provisions as entered into local consumption. A number of changes occurred, but they were not of great importance. These changes were in the size of the vessels coming to the city, the gradual displacement of sailing by steam vessels, the substitution of foreign for American bottoms, and again the change in the ports to which the exports from New Orleans were shipped.

At the time that Jefferson purchased Louisiana the ocean trade of New Orleans was almost exclusively with the American colonies and consisted in the shipment in American vessels to the towns of the Atlantic seaboard, of the products of the vast interior country, the basins of the Ohio and Mississippi. The merchants of Baltimore and Philadelphia had been the first to establish agencies in New Orleans, doing so while the city was still under the control of Spain. Next in importance was Boston in the receipts of produce from New Orleans, while New York, Charleston, South Carolina, Newport, Rhode Island, and other seaboard towns did some business with "the Crescent City." In the first years of the acquisition of Louisiana, this coastwise trade between New Orleans and other American ports far exceeded the foreign commerce of the city; and from three-fourths to four-fifths of the vessels entering and leaving New Orleans were American bottoms. Cotton for Europe had not yet become the chief export article, and indeed

cotton was one of the smaller items in the commerce of the city in those days, the bulk of the exports being flour, pork, tobacco, sugar and similar produce. The vessels engaged in this trade were small sloops and schooners of 250 tons burden or thereabouts, in the handling of which the American seamen of the day were unexcelled.

It was not until 1830 that the foreign commerce of New Orleans exceeded its coastwise shipments, when the two stood as follows: Exports to coastwise ports, \$8,357,788; to foreign ports, \$9,868,328. The coastwise traffic of New Orleans has improved very considerably since then, but it never afterward caught up with the foreign trade. In 1840 this coastwise traffic reached a total of \$21,960,859. It remained for years at or near that figure. The opening of the Erie and Ohio canals, followed soon afterward by the construction of railroads, diverted the Western produce of the Ohio Valley to New York and Philadelphia. New Orleans began to devote itself more exclusively to cotton and other Southern products, which were shipped to Europe rather than to the American seaports. A radical commercial change was going on which in time completely revolutionized the trade of the city.

With the prosperity of the steamboats came also the prosperity of the ocean commerce of New Orleans. At the beginning of the steamboat epoch, 1815, the imports at New Orleans were half as great as the exports of Southern and Western produce; that is, the people of the West supplied themselves through New Orleans with nearly half the manufactured goods which they needed. This continued up to the time when the canals and railroads began to invade the Mississippi Valley. In 1840, the imports were still one-third of the exports, but they dropped to one-fourth in 1850 and to one-fifth in 1860.

The size and character of vessels engaged in the commerce of New Orleans were radically changing during all this period. Merchants, the world over, were finding that they could send their goods more profitably in larger vessels and the average size of the merchant vessel was constantly increasing, although the low water on the bars of the Mississippi had a very material influence in delaying this growth, as shipyards, especially the American ones, were unwilling to turn out vessels which could not engage in the most profitable trade then known—that of New Orleans.

In the earlier days American bottoms had handled nearly all the trade of New Orleans, and even as late as 1857 eighty-three per cent of imports at this port came in American ships, and only seventeen per cent in foreign ones, whereas, to-day the American vessels carry only eight or nine per cent of the total.

At the beginning of the century the average tonnage of the vessels trading with New Orleans had been 150 tons. They increased slowly to 236 tons in 1840, which would be regarded as a pleasure boat to-day; to 376 tons in 1857; and to 521 tons in 1860. Of the arrivals in 1846 only 109 were steamers, against 2,863 sailing vessels, consisting of 1,997 ships and brigs and 875 schooners. Even when the Civil War broke out the number of steam vessels calling at the port of New Orleans was barely 300 a year, against from 1,000 to 1,200 sailing vessels. The following gives the gradual growth of the ocean tonnage of New Orleans, by decades, and will furnish some idea of the troubles encountered at the bar: Average size of vessel engaged in the New Orleans trade: 1820, tons 183; 1830, tons 217; 1840, tons 236; 1850, tons 362; 1860, tons 521; 1870, tons 645; 1876 (construction of the jetties), tons 732; 1880, tons 998; 1890, tons 1,193; 1899, tons 1,702. The increase in the last ten years is really larger than these figures of the average vessel indicate, being pulled down slightly by the development of the Central American trade, the steamers in which have to be small and of light draft in order to enter the shallow harbors on the Atlantic coast of Honduras and Nicaragua.

The height of New Orleans' commercial prosperity and prestige was reached about 1840, when there seemed every certainty that it would become the greatest port in America, but about that time new conditions arose which threatened New Orleans' monopoly of the trade of the Mississippi Valley. The merchants of the city did not see the danger at the time, and did not fully realize that their territory was being invaded. To the superficial observer, it was impossible to see that the commerce of the city was affected when its receipts of produce and its exports and imports continued to grow larger from year to year. None the less the city was relatively losing ground commercially, for it was losing its hold upon the trade of the great West, then forging ahead so rapidly in population and production, and was concentrating itself too much on handling a single product—cotton—which the South unfortunately believed to be the king and master of the commercial world. New Orleans had, up to that time, been the port not for a section only, but for the whole great valley; it had handled the sugar of Louisiana, the tobacco of Kentucky, the flour of the Ohio, and the products of all the States of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri valleys. It let these slip away from it to worship at the shrine of cotton.

The first diversion came from the canals which entered the field as competitors with the Mississippi river, upon which New Orleans placed all its de-

pendence, imagining that its prosperity was coincident with that of the river traffic. The Erie and Ohio canals were begun in 1823. By 1832 the waters of the Upper Ohio were connected with Lake Erie by canal and the latter with the Hudson river by the Erie canal. This gave New York a direct all-water route to the Ohio valley. It was a somewhat long and circuitous route, slow, because of the many locks in it, and completely closed during the winter; but on the other hand, the route to New Orleans down the Ohio and Mississippi had many obstacles and difficulties. The river was full of snags and lined with wrecks, and the winter closed the Ohio as well as the canals. In 1835 the State of Ohio alone shipped 86,000 barrels of flour, 98,000 bushels of wheat and 2,500,000 staves to New York, all of which had formerly come to New Orleans. It was a startling commercial change, the first blow that the trade of the city received. Hitherto all the heavier products had gone down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans to be shipped thence to New York, a roundabout route of 3,000 miles, whereas, the direct distance by canal was not more than five or six hundred miles. Many shipments were now made by way of Cleveland and Buffalo. New Orleans scarcely felt the diversion at first and paid too little attention to it. It had as much business as it could well handle and did not see anything to fear from the competition of the canals; and indeed, though the canals continued to improve their business, and to handle each year a large amount of Western produce, they did not seem to affect the trade of New Orleans in any material way. The period between 1825 and 1850 showed a greater increase in the river than in the canal trade; and it became at once apparent that the canals were only a makeshift, and were not destined to control the commerce of the country. The fifteen years of competition from 1825 to 1840 between the canals, representing New York, and the river, representing New Orleans, showed the latter to still hold its own well. The products of the lake country of Northern Ohio and those of Western Pennsylvania found their way to the seaboard by the canals, but as far up the Ohio as Wheeling goods were shipped mainly by river. The competition was scarcely felt at Cincinnati before 1850. All the leading tributaries of Ohio, but particularly the Cumberland and the Tennessee, sent all their produce down the river to New Orleans in steamers and flatboats. A comparison of the business done by the rivers and canals in 1840 shows that the increase in the canal traffic did not keep pace with the rapidly increasing population and production of the valley.

But a new and more dangerous competitor was entering the field, one that was destined to seriously cripple the commerce of the New Orleans, and to transfer

to other ports much of the trade it had monopolized. A few miles of railroad had been constructed in 1830. The experiment was successful and the railroad mileage increased each year. For the first fifteen or twenty years the railroads were almost wholly local, and of very short mileage. There was no idea of competition with the water routes, and the roads were regarded as excellent institutions to supply transportation to market where there were no waterways open. For many years there was no through line connecting the seaboard with the West. There were breaks and gaps in all of the then existing companies. From such transportation as this New Orleans had nothing to fear, and the merchants of the city unfortunately flattered themselves with this idea, that they would be safe years after the railroads had proved their strength and shown that they were likely to control the trade of the country.

In Spanish days, about forty per cent of the exports of New Orleans had consisted of Louisiana products and sixty per cent came from the Ohio valley, and was what is called to this day "Western produce." With the annexation of Louisiana to the United States, the Western produce became a larger element in the commerce of the city. About 1815, when the steamboat came into vogue, cotton constituted only 12 per cent of the commerce of New Orleans, and all the Southern products only 20 per cent, while 80 per cent of the articles reaching New Orleans were from the West, the upper Ohio and the Mississippi. By 1840 the Western produce had fallen to 61 per cent of the total commerce of New Orleans and 28 per cent was from Louisiana and the neighboring States. From 1840 on, the proportion of Western products reaching New Orleans steadily decreased and cotton correspondingly grew in importance.

Some of the more far-seeing political economists of the time, and a few, but only a few, of the merchants of New Orleans began to see that the city was losing a very valuable part of its trade; and there were demands upon Congress that it improve the Mississippi so as to get rid of the dangers to navigation at the bar. It was still insisted that the river would suffice for all the needs of the valley if only it was put in good condition, the snags removed, the rapids and falls obviated by means of canals around them and the shallow places deepened.

At the time of the meeting of the great Memphis convention of 1845, over which Henry Clay presided, and which called for the improvement of the Mississippi and its tributaries by the Federal government, it was found that two-thirds of all the steamboat tonnage was owned and controlled in New Orleans, which had regular steamers running as far up the Ohio as Pittsburg and on the Mississippi as St. Paul.

In 1849 the river commerce of New Orleans, that is the receipt of produce at that port from the interior, had in spite of canals and railroads, reached the magnificent total of \$81,989,692. It was at this time that New Orleans began entering on its career as the great cotton city of the world. The twenty years between 1840 and 1860 were years of great prosperity in New Orleans, when its merchants won fortunes and could rank among the *mercatores principes* of the world; but it cannot be said that the commerce of the city was in as good a condition as in the previous quarter of a century. New Orleans was devoting itself too exclusively to one article. Instead of being the port for the valley, it was becoming the port only for the cotton country. Its prosperity was based on cotton and on slavery, and any injury to either of these meant a commercial downfall. The South insisted on the sovereignty of King Cotton, and New Orleans claimed, like Mahomet, to be its prophet. It was overflowing with money in those "flush times." Its banks had larger capitals and larger deposits than they have even to-day, and they loaned their money readily, thus establishing the credit system which became universal among the planters, particularly those engaged in raising cotton and sugar. New Orleans became not only the lender of money at a high rate of interest, but the depot of Western supplies—corn, pork, etc., which it advanced in large quantities to the planters in the vast region tributary to it. The whole agricultural country along the lower Mississippi became in a manner commercial slave and was not allowed to sell to or to buy of any one else. The Western produce shipped down the river did not stop at the plantations, but went direct to the city, and was transshipped thence and sent up the river to the plantations by the very same route it had come down.

The prediction that Jefferson had indulged in when he purchased Louisiana, that New Orleans "will be forever the mighty mart of the merchandise brought from more than a thousand rivers, leaving the emporia of the Eastern world far behind," was again repeated and thoroughly believed in by New Orleans. So disinterested a witness as the *British Quarterly Review* declared that New Orleans, because of the Mississippi, must ultimately become the most important commercial city in America, if not in the world; and that eminent statesman and political economist, De Boro, stated that "no city in the world has been advanced as a mart of commerce with such gigantic strides as New Orleans."

Nor was this an idle boast. Between 1830 and 1840 no city in the United States kept pace with it. When the census of 1840 was taken it was fourth in population, exceeded only by New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore;

and it stood fourth in point of commerce among all the ports of the world with only London, Liverpool and New York ahead, and only slightly behind the last of these cities, with every prospect that it would pass it before the century ended. It was ahead of New York in the exports of domestic products, but unfortunately its import trade was small. It shipped coffee, hardware and many heavy articles up the river, but it left the West dependent upon New York and the other Atlantic cities for nearly all the finer class of manufactured goods. Later on, when Cincinnati, Pittsburg and other Western cities engaged in manufacture, New Orleans bought their goods and reshipped them to the plantations. Of these shipments up-stream more than 75 per cent, strange to say, were articles which had previously been shipped down-stream. There was no trade between the Western manufacturing cities and the Southern plantations, very little even with the towns on the lower Mississippi. All this traffic paid tribute to New Orleans. Some thirty-two steamboats of a tonnage of 48,726, was required for the trade between St. Louis and New Orleans, and thirty-six steamers, of 26,932 tons, for the Cincinnati trade.

The change in the commerce of New Orleans from Western to Southern produce is most marked during the second decade of the period. In 1815 cotton had constituted only 12 per cent of the receipts of the city. In 1850 the value of the cotton received at New Orleans was \$41,885,156, against \$55,012,675 for all other articles, cotton being then 43 per cent of the total trade. It continued to increase both in the aggregate and proportionately up to the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1855 the value of the cotton received at New Orleans was \$51,390,729; in 1856, \$70,371,729; in 1857, \$86,255,079; in 1858, \$88,127,340; in 1859, \$92,037,794; and in 1860, \$109,389,228. All the other exports amounted to only \$75,822,026. Cotton constituted 58 per cent of the total trade of the city. If the other Southern products—sugar, molasses and tobacco—be included, only \$42,881,486 remained for Western produce. Those articles which had contributed at one time 80 per cent of the commerce of New Orleans had sunk to only 23 per cent. The city had largely abandoned its Western trade for what it believed to be more profitable—the cotton business.

In 1845 it was estimated that half the produce of the Mississippi Valley shipped to seaboard found its way to market via the canals, railroads and other routes, and half by way of the Mississippi to New Orleans, thus showing how much business had been diverted as compared with the period when New Orleans had a practical monopoly. In 1846 the receipts of flour and wheat at Buffalo exceeded

those of New Orleans for the first time. This created somewhat of a sensation and was discussed at length in the newspapers. The New Orleans press expressed the sentiment that this diversion was merely temporary, that an artificial waterway could never compete successfully with a natural one; and that sooner or later this flour and wheat trade would return; but it never did return. On the contrary, Western produce was more and more diverted over the Eastern route. The Erie canal captured the flour trade. The Pennsylvania canal took annually some twenty thousand hogsheads of tobacco that had formerly been marketed in New Orleans, all the pig iron manufactured in the Pittsburg district, and large quantities of lard, bacon and other Western produce from the upper Ohio. It supplied in return manufactured goods, chinaware, dry goods, hardware, hats, shoes, etc., and as early as 1846 it furnished the Ohio basin with more manufactured goods than New Orleans did.

In 1846 the rate on flour from Cincinnati to New York was \$1.53 per barrel by the Erie canal; \$1.40 per barrel by way of Pittsburg and the Pennsylvania canal, and \$1.30 by way of New Orleans, but on the other hand the river route was much the longer, and far more dangerous, so that, the insurance added, it was really more expensive than to ship the flour by canal.

The result was the loss of the grain and flour trade, save such flour as New Orleans reshipped to the cotton and sugar planters of the territory tributary to it, or exported to Cuba, and other countries of Latin America. It lost, also, and from the same causes, its tobacco trade, which in the earlier days, had outranked cotton in importance. In 1852, the lead trade of Illinois and Missouri, which had formerly passed through New Orleans, was lost to it, in consequence of the railroads having made through connection with Galena, the center of the lead industry. In 1846 New Orleans had received a maximum of 785,495 pigs of lead, and the average for the decade was 600,000 pigs. The trade sank suddenly. In 1856 New Orleans received but 15,291 pigs of lead, and soon afterward the trade disappeared altogether from the commercial records, or was of too little importance to deserve separate enumeration. The merchants of New Orleans took their losses philosophically and congratulated themselves upon the fact that there was more money in the cotton business than in these other lines of trade diverted elsewhere. The exports of Western produce had become, they said, merely a transit business. The wheat, flour, etc., from the West left but little money in the city, whereas the cotton trade paid splendidly. They got an advance on the cotton, on the supplies furnished the merchant, and it returned a profit in many other ways; there was, in fine, more money in it.

But about this time another difficulty assailed the trade of New Orleans, which proved extremely injurious to it and affected it for nearly thirty years, until Congress took the matter in hand; this was the difficulty of getting the produce from New Orleans to the ocean on account of the bar at the mouth of the river. The use of steam had greatly increased the size of vessels engaged in the New Orleans trade. As early as 1829 attention had been called to the mouth of the Mississippi and the changes which were going on there in consequence of the formation of bars. In 1837 Northeast Pass, through which a majority of the vessels had previously entered the river from the Gulf, shoaled up and became useless. Southwest Pass then came into vogue and was used by most of the entering vessels up to 1850, it being from fifteen to sixteen feet deep. The draft of many of the vessels was sixteen feet or more and those of one thousand tons or over encountered great difficulty in getting over the bars in this Pass. In 1852, within a few weeks there were forty vessels aground on the bar, suffering a detention there of from two days to eight weeks. Many of them could not get over the bar with their cargoes and had to discharge the latter into lighters. In 1853 the same difficulties occurred, and in a memorial presented to Congress by the merchants of New Orleans, it was represented that vessels with cargoes valued at \$7,367,339 were delayed at the mouth of the Mississippi, being unable either to get into it or to get out. This naturally increased the freight rate from New Orleans and tended to injure the commerce of the city. The trouble was constantly recurring for the next twenty years or more, and was only cured in 1874 by the construction of the Eads jetties. It is difficult to determine to what extent the trouble about low water at the passes affected the trade of New Orleans. That port had always been a very expensive one from the earlier days, because of the high insurance rates; but it could afford to be expensive. As the rates of transportation were decreased elsewhere it began to feel the influence of the decline and it became evident that New Orleans would have to cut down its port charges and expenses and that freight could not stand several weeks' detention at the passes.

The decade which ended at the outbreak of the Civil War saw New Orleans at the height of its commercial prosperity according to some; but in reality, having failed in its great destiny, what Jefferson and other enthusiasts had seen for it was that it would become the port and emporium of the entire Mississippi valley, shipping all its products to the markets of the world and supplying it in return with all it needed in the way of European or manufactured goods. There seemed, indeed, at one time every chance of this prediction coming true, and New Orleans

narrowly missed this destiny, which would have made it the greatest commercial city of the world. The lack of a power that would take its boats up-stream stood in the way of success at first. There was no difficulty in getting the produce to the city and thence to market, either in Europe or on the Atlantic seaboard of America; but there was a difficulty in furnishing return supplies, such as the people of the interior needed. The discovery of steam and its application to boats so that they could ascend the river against the current overcame the difficulty and gave the merchants of New Orleans an opportunity of controlling and monopolizing the entire commerce of the Mississippi Valley, the imports as well as the exports; and, for a time, it looked as though they would do so, in which event New Orleans would have accomplished all predicted of it; but the chance had been lost and, instead of becoming the port of the whole valley, it had been satisfied to pin its faith on cotton, to become the metropolis of only a section. It had allowed the canals and afterward the railroads to divert a large amount of business to the Atlantic ports, and this diversion was at its height when the firing on Fort Sumter brought on the cataclysm in which the commerce of New Orleans was, for a time, completely overwhelmed, and the city had to go to work to build up its trade once more and on entirely new lines.

When the Civil War came on, a few far-seeing economists saw the danger ahead of New Orleans and issued frequent warnings to its merchants, declaring that the trade of the city, however prosperous it might appear to be, was not built on safe foundations, and that there was a danger lest it might be lost. But these warnings were as futile as those the prophetic Cassandra sang to the Trojans. Mr. De Bow, editor of *De Bow's Review*, the leading commercial authority of New Orleans, and one of the best commercial and financial papers ever published in the United States, complained, month after month, of the apathy that the merchants of New Orleans showed in the matter of railroads; pointed out that the railroads were likely to become the chief means of transportation, and that the Eastern ports, by constructing them in to the West, territory formerly tributary to New Orleans, were diverting from that city trade rightly belonging to it. Mr. De Bow succeeded in arousing interest among some of the Southern financiers and capitalists in this matter. A railroad agitation was started, which resulted in the construction, largely through the assistance of New Orleans, of a line which was to connect with the Ohio river and thus bring back to the city the trade it had recently lost. This road was completed in part on the very eve of the Civil War, but New Orleans had no favorable chances to test what it could do. Save the Opelousas railroad,

running some eighty miles westward to Morgan City, the old Pontchartrain railroad, one of the first constructed in the country, had been, for twenty odd years, the only line New Orleans possessed. Thus it will be seen, that New Orleans, after starting out with the Pontchartrain road to build railways had stopped there, and, like Rip Van Winkle, had slept for twenty years, while the Atlantic seaboard cities were extending their railroads into the interior.

Whether the railroad agitation, which began in New Orleans in 1858-60, would have accomplished any important results in keeping the trade of the West can only be surmised, for the work was completely stopped by the Civil War. It is doubtful if the people of New Orleans could at that time have been brought to realize the possibilities of railways. Public sentiment was decidedly hostile to them. It was a prevalent idea that it was a great commercial battle between New York, for whom the railroads were fighting, and New Orleans, whose success depended on the Mississippi, and it was impossible to convince the people of the lower valley that any transportation could be as cheap and as satisfactory as the river, free and open to all. The railroads were regarded in the Southwest simply as feeders to the Mississippi or its tributaries, and it remained for a future year to see railroads built parallel to the river and along its very banks in the face of the steamboats.

The season before the Civil War, 1859-60, saw the largest receipts of produce at New Orleans, and the heaviest and most profitable trade the city had ever done; and it stands on record to-day as the summit of its commercial prosperity. The number of steamboats arriving at New Orleans was, it is true, not as great as in 1846-7, but the boats had, in the meanwhile, more than doubled in size, and the tonnage reaching New Orleans by the Mississippi has never been equaled since. The total receipts of produce amounted to 2,187,560 tons, and the total trade in the receipts and shipments of produce and in the exports and imports coastwise, and to foreign ports was: River trade, \$289,565,000; ocean trade, \$183,725,000; total commerce of New Orleans, \$473,290,000. To-day, forty years afterward, when the production and wealth of the country have increased five-fold, the trade of New Orleans is no greater than it was in the last year of peace.

The wide extent of the river trade then is well shown in the several regions or districts with which New Orleans was carrying on business. No less than thirty-three different lines, or rather, different points of communication, are given in the commercial reports of the day. Not only did New Orleans have a complete monopoly of the business of the adjacent States of Louisiana and Mississippi, but

it had no less than twelve steamboat arrivals from Cairo, Illinois, in direct communication with New Orleans. From Cincinnati 206 steamboats arrived during the year; from the Cumberland river, 66; from Evansville, Indiana, 8; from Louisville, 172; from Memphis, 110; from Pittsburg, 526; Paducah, Kentucky, and St. Louis, 472; Tennessee river, 16; Wheeling, 9; and White river, Arkansas, 4.

Divided by States in order to give some idea of the region commercially tributary to New Orleans at that time, the arrivals of steamboats and other vessels navigating the Mississippi, the following is interesting:

ARRIVALS AT NEW ORLEANS OF RIVER VESSELS BY STATES

Louisiana	1,835	Pennsylvania	134
Missouri	672	Illinois	112
Mississippi	388	Indiana	108
Ohio	306	Texas	48
Tennessee	236	Virginia	9
Kentucky	226	Alabama	10
Arkansas	140		

Two-thirds of this business was lost by the merchants of New Orleans during the Civil War and has never been regained. It can only be surmised what the results would have been had the war not come on us. Certain is it, however, that unless New Orleans had realized the importance of railroads, as it did not fully do until years afterward, unless it had contributed from its superabundant capital toward their construction, instead of placing too much confidence on the Mississippi river and its "unequaled advantages," it would have lost the region commercially tributary to it, war or no war, but it would have taken decades to do what four years of Civil War brought about.

New Orleans was losing, at that time, another branch of business, the importance of which it never fully recognized. When the immense tide of foreign immigration poured into the country in the last of the forties, in consequence of the great famine in Ireland and the political disturbances in Germany and other parts of the continent, growing out of the revolutions of 1848, the bulk of the immigrants made the Mississippi Valley their destination. They passed on through New Orleans by the thousands and tens of thousands, and went up the river to their destination in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana or Missouri; although many thousands remained behind in New Orleans, to give that city its cosmopolitan population. It cannot be said that New Orleans ever appreciated this immigration or saw what it meant for the development of the country. There was a dis-

tinct prejudice against it, growing out of the slavery issue, and the city made so few efforts to keep this business, which was once largely centered here, that the immigration drifted to New York, where it did much to build up that city into a great manufacturing center. Here, again, was another opportunity lost.

Yet in spite of all these neglected opportunities New Orleans was at the outbreak of the Civil War one of the great ports of the world, and to all appearances the most prosperous commercial city in America. It ranked second to New York City in the amount of commerce it handled, but it was further behind that city than it had been in 1840, and there seemed little chance of its ever distancing Manhattan, as had seemed probable twenty years previously. Its cotton trade yielded a larger profit than the grain, flour and provision trade, which had been diverted to New York. Its banks were running over with gold, and had money to contribute to all important commercial enterprises. It was New Orleans capitalists who stood at the van and were agitating and preparing for the continuation of a railroad or canal across the isthmus of Panama or Tehuantepec in order to give us an outlet to the Pacific. Its banking and financial system was regarded as the safest and soundest in the Union, and even New York was glad to borrow some ideas from it. Its commercial and financial supremacy over all the country tributary to it, which included some half a dozen States, was undisputed. New Orleans supplied the capital for the cultivation and movement of cotton, sugar and the other crops of the South. The planters almost without exception were indebted to its merchants and could not send their produce to any other port, nor buy what they wanted elsewhere. The consequence was that no other commercial towns existed in the neighborhood of New Orleans; that city swallowed up all the trade and business of its section. Louisiana and Mississippi were signally deficient in the cities of the second class, which were springing up throughout the North and West, and even in the Southern Atlantic States. The policy of commercial centralization was marked and operated in the interests of New Orleans and its merchants.

These merchants were men of the highest character and integrity, far-seeing in their business, but unfortunately accepting the doctrine of the kingship of cotton; and they thought that slavery, upon which the commercial system of New Orleans, as well as the industrial system of the South, was founded, was safe and beyond the danger of destruction. New Orleans was a most cosmopolitan city, and its merchants, like its population, came not only from all parts of the country, but from all parts of the world. The Southern element was the largest and gave

direction to the course of commercial sentiment; but some of the leading business men were of Eastern and even of New England origin. With their life in New Orleans, however, they soon became pro-Southern in their sentiments, habits and views of life. The West was but poorly represented in commercial life, and this fact, and the political prejudices which were growing up in the country over the slavery question, contributed toward the loss of the Western trade. The Creoles, or French of Louisiana descent, still controlled the sugar trade, which ranked next to cotton in importance. The foreign element was largely represented, mainly by the English and French, engaged, however, principally in the import trade, in supplying the markets of New Orleans and the South and such parts of the West as still received their goods through the Southern metropolis with the manufactured products of Europe. The slave business, although it was not too conspicuous, constituted an important element of the trade of New Orleans. That city was the best slave market in the South, negroes bringing the highest prices there, and it handled thousands of them each year, selling them to the planters engaged in opening up new cotton and sugar lands.

The commercial methods and practices were quite different from what they are to-day, and if more expensive were more picturesque. There were no commercial exchanges then, where quotations of produce could be obtained, and business was handled more or less in the saloons, which called themselves "exchanges," and made some attempt to give the standard prices of the leading commodities; but, as might be expected, these prices fluctuated widely. The commercial business of the city, instead of being hidden away as it is to-day, at the railroad depots, was concentrated on the levee; and "the levee" was one of the show places of New Orleans, to which strangers were taken to give them some idea of the city's immense commerce. It seems to have impressed them all, for they declared without exception that they had never seen anything like it. The description of the levee in those ante-bellum days reads like fairy tales from *The Arabian Nights*. The levee was the storehouse for all the great Mississippi Valley. Along the wharves lay steamboats or steamships two or three deep, for the wharfage was not sufficient to accommodate all the vessels loading at the port. All was action; the very water was covered with life. It was beyond all question the most active commercial center of the world, with which not even the docks of Liverpool and London could merit comparison; and whenever any one expressed fear that the railroads would sap the commerce of New Orleans, he was taken to the levee and asked if that looked like commercial decay.

In the midst of all this, in the very height of New Orleans' prosperity as a cotton market, when it exported half of the cotton crop of the country, came the shock of Civil War. The previous season, 1859-60, had been one of the most prosperous in the history of the city, and New Orleans, which, like the rest of the South, anticipated a very short war, if any, took a most roseate view of the future, and had no idea that the four years' struggle which was to ensue meant its commercial ruin and its setback a generation or more.

Anticipating the blockade of the port, a very earnest effort was made to market the cotton crop at as early a day as possible and before the Federal fleet could get off the mouth of the Mississippi. Wonders were accomplished in that direction, but it was of course impossible to get all the cotton exported in time. The receipts of produce at New Orleans, however, for the season 1860-1 showed only a slight loss from the previous year, being \$155,863,564, as compared with \$185,211,254 for 1859-60, not a bad showing for a blockaded port.

The history of the next four years is military rather than commercial. When the Civil War shut up the mouth of the Mississippi to the Western States, a demand went up from them to the Federal government that it be opened. Yet this demand, if compared with that made by the settlers in the upper valley, in 1798, showed that the Mississippi had lost some of its importance as far as they were concerned. In 1798 the people of the Ohio Valley had declared that they could not get along without the navigation of the river; but in 1861 they found that it was not absolutely necessary to them, although advantageous. None the less President Lincoln saw how important from a military, if not a commercial, point of view, was the possession of New Orleans, and the control of the Mississippi, and almost his first expedition was that which, under Farragut and Butler, occupied "the Crescent City" in a little over a year from the time Louisiana had seceded from the Union.

In April, 1862, the Federal fleet passed the Confederate forts defending the mouth of the river and appeared before New Orleans. It was greeted with a scene of wholesale destruction, characteristic of the then commercial conditions. All the steamers in the river which could not escape up-stream were set fire to and sent floating down the river in flames, lest they might fall into the hands of the Union forces. Cotton being deemed at that time a contraband of war, the possession of which would strengthen the Union cause, was ordered destroyed by a special committee appointed for that purpose, hauled from the warehouse to the river front, piled up on the wharves and publicly burned; and the city was full of cotton

at the time, the crops of 1860-1 and 1861-2, which had not yet been marketed, because of the blockade, being still stored there. A quantity of sugar, molasses and other products was similarly destroyed, through a misunderstanding of the order issued.

The statistical reports of the commerce of New Orleans for the four years of the Civil War are misleading and give a false idea of the commercial condition of that city. They are as follows:

	No. of steam- boat arrivals.	Value of prod- uce received.
1861-2	1,456	\$ 51,510,990
1862-3	655	29,766,454
1863-4	1,414	79,233,987
1864-5	1,481	113,649,280

The value of the produce received at New Orleans during this period is apparently very large for a city surrounded by a hostile army and with only a small region tributary to it. This is due mainly to the greatly inflated value of goods, and particularly Southern products then. In actual volume, the receipts of produce at New Orleans during the first year of its occupation by the Union forces were the smallest since Louisiana had been purchased from France. There was tributary to the city only one hundred and forty miles of river, for the Mississippi was closed at Port Hudson, thus cutting off the Red river and all the tributaries except the Lafourche. Over this small stretch of country some few steamers ran, picking up whatever freight there was, carrying supplies to the planters or the Union forces, but the business was small and risky. The receipts of New Orleans for the season were just enough to feed the population of the city. There were no exports save of such cotton as could be raised inside the lines or smuggled in. In 1859-60 New Orleans had received 2,185,600 bales of cotton. This dropped to 38,880 bales in 1861-2, and to 20,774 in 1862-3. With the capture of Port Hudson and Vicksburg, its business improved somewhat in 1863-4, the total number of bales received running up to 131,144. The last year of the war, 1864-5, showed a still greater increase to 275,015 bales. During this period the commerce of New Orleans was practically dead. Its merchants, with few exceptions, had left the city, and the business was handled entirely by foreigners or by those connected with the army who could get special favors from the authorities. So dead was New Orleans, for it had no manufactures to fall back on, that in spite of the fact that its population was much smaller than it had been, in consequence of the large

number of Orleanians who had gone out into the Confederacy, it was not self-supporting, and the military authorities were compelled to distribute relief and feed a considerable proportion of the poorer classes left without the means of living, in consequence of the decay of the city's commerce.

An effort made in 1865, when peace had come, to find what New Orleans had lost by the Civil War made a most melancholy showing. It was found that the Western States were getting from New York their coffee, sugar and other supplies which they had formerly obtained through New Orleans, and the shipments of Western produce through the Crescent City had declined 75 to 90 per cent. Thanks to the embargo of the war, the railroads had gained in four years an advance on the river route with which the commercial prosperity of New Orleans was so closely identified that they could not have otherwise gained in twenty years of ordinary competition.

With the return of peace the merchants of New Orleans found that the commerce of this city was almost completely destroyed and that they would have to rebuild it from the very foundation. They took a most hopeful view of the future, under the belief that the conditions that prevailed at the time of the outbreak of the war would be resumed at once. This optimistic sentiment was reflected in the commercial activity shown in 1866, and the great advance which took place in all property values—an advance which would be called “a boom” to-day. The merchants found their task harder than they had imagined. The ways of doing business had radically changed during the interim and New Orleans had to conform itself to these new ways. It had, in the old days, had no commercial exchanges, and the bulk of the business had been transacted immediately on the levee. The necessity was recognized of having some place where information could be obtained as to the movement of crops and current prices, and the Merchants' Exchange was established on the model set by the Northern and Western cities.

New Orleans was still deficient in railroads, and an earnest effort was made to extend them, but at first in vain: and the city was compelled to depend mainly upon the Mississippi and its tributaries. Its merchants saw the trade of the great Empire State of Texas slipping away from them from lack of railroad communication. An attempt was made to retain this trade with steamboats running up the Red river to Jefferson, but the river route was uncertain because of the low water, and was expensive. The old difficulty at the mouth of the river, growing out of the low water on the bars, grew steadily worse, in consequence of the larger size and greater draft of vessels engaged in ocean commerce. The delay of vessels

at the passes, waiting for a favorable tide or rise in the river to take them out, the cost of towing them over the mud-heaps, were expenses that preyed on the commerce of New Orleans. In all the conventions held at that time the merchants called attention to the trouble and asked favorable action on the part of Congress.

The railroads had been able to considerably reduce their freight charges by several improvements and devices, and it was felt that New Orleans must make a similar cut from the rather high charges which the steamboats still demanded. This reduction was brought about by the introduction of barges built entirely for freight transportation and not encumbered by the magnificently fitted up saloons, which had formerly been considered a *sine qua non* in river steamers. This improvement had a marked effect in reducing river rates, and, for a short period in the seventies, New Orleans enjoyed a large share of the grain trade. But even with cheaper river rates the situation was not altogether satisfactory. The railroads continued to divert trade from New Orleans. In 1859-60 this city had handled 46 per cent of the cotton crop; in 1866-7 its proportion was only 35 per cent. It dropped to 33 per cent in 1870-1, and to 27 per cent in 1876-7,

A new era then began to dawn upon New Orleans—the era of railroads. The city had previously been almost hostile to railroads, confident that the water route was the cheaper; but at last it was beginning to see that it needed the railroads as well as the Mississippi. In 1870 it secured its third road, the New Orleans, Mobile & Texas, a short line, and largely competing with the river; but a step in the right direction. In 1871 was noted the first receipt of produce in New Orleans by rail from a river town. This was a large quantity of flour which came from St. Louis by rail, whereas, previously all such shipments had been made by river. The flour was brought from St. Louis for seventy-five cents a barrel, the same rate it would have cost had it been brought on a steamer, but it saved the expenses of insurance. This movement, prophetic of the future, was one to cause a great deal of surprise, because New Orleans had close, excellent and cheap water communication with St. Louis at the time, and boasted loudly of its barge line of seventy-three river barges.

The last twenty-five years have seen a radical change in the commerce of New Orleans and a steady improvement for the better. The turning point may be considered to be 1874-5, when the jetties were begun. The bad condition of the passes had been a source of constant worry and a serious hindrance and expense to commerce. It was evident that New Orleans could not hope to compete with other ports if vessels of over one thousand tons were completely shut out or

admitted only after long delay. In the seventies the question came to a focus. Three plans had been proposed; a canal, dredging, and jetties, which by contracting the river would increase its current and enable it to wash away the obstructive bars. The dredging was tried and proved a failure; and Congress then, with rare good luck for New Orleans, allowed Captain Eads to try his jetty plan. It was a grand success. Completed in 1879, it afforded a depth of thirty feet in the center of the channel and opened New Orleans to the largest vessels then afloat. To the jetties New Orleans owes much of its commercial prosperity to-day. They expedited what had long hung fire—the construction of railroads to the city. In the days immediately succeeding the Civil War every inducement had been held out to the railroads to build to New Orleans. They were offered bonds, financial assistance and public lands, but they could not be induced to build. It was not until 1873 that New Orleans was connected by rail with the neighboring city of Mobile, only one hundred and forty miles away. But when the railroads saw that New Orleans had deep water, that it was one of the best ports from which to ship, they exhibited as great a desire to have terminal facilities there as they had shown disinclination before. The result was the completion of several trunk lines, making New Orleans the terminus of five of the largest railroad systems of the country.

By the purchase of the Mississippi Central and the New Orleans, Jackson & Great Northern, the Illinois Central obtained a direct rail route from Chicago and the grain fields of the Northwest to the Gulf, which connection was afterward strengthened by the purchase of the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley system. Similarly, by the purchase of the New Orleans & Mobile Railroad, the Louisville & Nashville system, with its lines through the States of Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee, found an outlet on the Gulf at New Orleans. The Cincinnati Southern and the Great Southern Railway system, running through half a dozen States, secured entrance to New Orleans over the New Orleans & Northeastern.

On the west bank New Orleans, which had so long lacked railroad connection with Texas, secured two lines to that State. The Southern Pacific extended the old Opelousas road to connect with its Texas lines; and the Texas & Pacific road did the same for the old New Orleans, Mobile & Texas Railroad, building it to Shreveport, Dallas and Fort Worth.

The continuation of these several lines had a material effect upon the commerce and trade of New Orleans, and the city regained much of its old business.

How much the railroads have contributed to this improvement the following figures show :

RAILROAD BUSINESS OF NEW ORLEANS.

Year.	Tons of freight forwarded.	Tons of freight received.	Total tons of freight handled.
1872-3			464,240
1873-4			530,224
1874-5			615,963
1875-6			729,920
1876-7			807,672
1877-8			714,842
1878-9			722,213
1879-80			998,788
1880-1	372,964	564,660	937,624
1881-2	493,297	730,642	1,223,939
1882-3	603,912	902,046	1,505,958
1883-4	640,820	1,022,272	1,662,200
1884-5	642,820	1,113,462	1,754,282
1885-6	662,600	1,165,211	1,777,811
1886-7	685,447	1,254,616	1,940,063
1887-8	720,840	1,282,736	2,009,576
1888-9	1,324,208	1,749,892	3,074,200
1889-90	1,486,515	1,969,681	3,456,197
1890-1	1,493,226	2,064,516	3,555,742
1891-2	1,452,620	2,398,368	3,850,968
1892-3	1,403,538	2,554,484	3,958,022
1893-4	1,412,541	2,601,531	4,014,072
1894-5	1,374,677	2,731,932	4,106,599
1895-6	1,386,378	3,129,815	4,516,193
1896-7	1,530,481	3,401,371	4,932,212
1897-8	1,608,505	3,964,497	5,573,002
1898-9	1,534,234	3,390,381	5,464,615

The total commerce of New Orleans for the year season 1898-9 was as follows :

	Tonnage.	Value.
Receipts from interior by river, rail and canal.....	5,096,660	\$147,731,618
Imports by coastwise vessels	505,819	59,986,872
Imports by foreign vessels	1,478,124	11,946,344
Total receipts	7,080,600	219,664,834
Shipments by rail and river	1,740,500	\$82,165,860
Exports, coastwise	512,015	47,762,812
Exports, foreign	1,465,418	90,121,115
Total shipments	3,717,633	\$220,059,787
Grand total of commerce of the port.....	10,798,233	\$430,724,621

This port compares as follows with previous seasons:

Season.	Total Commerce of New Orleans.
1876	\$371,664,126
1886	456,062,948
1889-90	521,484,618
1890-1	531,764,118
1891-2	496,465,741
1892-3	527,830,632
1893-4	483,507,065
1894-5	455,659,431
1895-6	419,580,908
1896-7	479,751,019
1897-8	486,131,712
1898-9	439,724,621

The maximum commerce would seem to have been reached in 1890-1. These figures, however, are somewhat misleading, for this reason: that the prices of staple products were much higher than they were later, so that the total does not really represent more in volume than the business of the later years. The last two years show some loss on account of the interruptions to business and the diversion of trade due to quarantine embargoes. The average business of New Orleans has materially changed from previous years. First the bulk of the products from the interior are brought to the city by rail instead of river. A much larger share is mere transit goods, not handled at all in the city, but sent there in transit for shipment abroad, and consequently leaving a smaller percentage of profit in the city. The business is done largely through the exchanges, the cotton and sugar exchanges and the board of trade, and the fluctuations are less marked than formerly. Exports are carried mainly in foreign vessels. Probably one-fourth of the exports are coastwise, mainly to New York, the other Atlantic cities having little ocean trade with New Orleans. Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston occasionally send cargoes or receive produce from New Orleans, but the trade is uncertain and there are no regular lines, as to New York. On the other hand steamship lines run regularly to most of the European ports, especially Liverpool, London, Havre, Bordeaux, Antwerp, Bremen and Palermo; and the bulk of the trade is in the hands of these vessels instead of the tramp steamers, as formerly. The direct import trade has shrunk very materially, although the imports are really much larger than ever before; but they come by way of New York and the coastwise steam-

ers from that port. These steamers handle twice or three times as much in the way of imports to New Orleans as the foreign lines.

In the past few years the railroad rates between New Orleans and the interior were very greatly reduced, with the result that the city had become in 1896 the third largest grain port in the Union, and was handling a much larger share of the trade in Western produce,—flour, grain, pork, etc.; but this subject is more fully treated elsewhere in the commercial and other advantages of New Orleans. At the end of the nineteenth century New Orleans occupies a less exalted position relatively in the commerce of the world than it did at the beginning of the century, but it still possesses the same advantages and opportunities, only awaiting their utilization. Nor does commerce exercise the same supremacy in the city as of old. Up to 1860, New Orleans devoted itself almost exclusively to commerce and did little to encourage manufacture, whereas, in 1900, the latter industry gave employment to more persons than all the branches of mercantile and commercial life. The promise seems to be a city equally divided between the two—a great mart of the world's trade, and a great manufacturing centre.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BANKING AND FINANCE.

BY NORMAN WALKER.

THE history of banking in New Orleans is interesting and instructive, and not wholly local; that is, not New Orleans alone but the entire country is interested in the development of banking in that city. During the period previous to the Civil War, from 1820 to 1860, New Orleans occupied a far more important position in the commercial and financial system of the country than it does to-day, and from practice and experiment it built up a banking system founded on such strong principles, so well adapted to the needs of the country, with a currency so elastic yet so well protected, that the banking law of Louisiana was imitated or copied in a number of the States, even in the older East; and some of the principles which first saw the light in this law have been incorporated in the National Bank system of to-day. New Orleans had the benefit of the experience and knowledge of financiers who had graduated in the best banking schools of Europe. When the development of steam navigation gave it control of the commerce of the Mississippi Valley, it became also the banker of the immense population residing in that valley. It was through the New Orleans banks that the exchanges were made and the European purchasers paid the Southern and Western farmers for their cotton, sugar, flour, etc.; so that these banks were better known at the time in Paris, London, Amsterdam and other monetary centers than even those of New York. To maintain this necessary credit, the laws had to be such as to assure the European bankers against all possibilities of loss; and this was a more difficult matter then than to-day, because American credit had been seriously crippled by several ugly failures and even by repudiation. The home conditions also required the adoption of some plan by which the people of the interior could obtain without difficulty such capital as they needed for the development of the country, for the opening of new farms, the building of railroads and other improvements. Most of this capital, for the South at least, came through New Orleans and through the banks of this city. Later on, it was found possible to negotiate



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loans in Europe and issue bonds, which ultimately proved too easy a matter and brought on excessive indebtedness and finally a crash; but in the earlier days the New Orleans banks were counted on to furnish the capital needed for any great improvements. Hence we find many of the new improvement companies to be banking institutions or to have banking departments attached to them. The Canal Bank is one of the relics of this system, having been organized with the specific purpose of building the new canal. A Gas Bank was organized for the purpose of providing New Orleans with gas; while the Citizens' Bank had the special object in view of assisting in the development of the agricultural lands of Louisiana. The Commercial Bank was organized to provide the city with water-works.

In those days, when the varied currency of the country caused even the natives great confusion, and when "shin-plasters" left every one in doubt as to the value of notes, the bankers of New Orleans set to work to establish so perfect a system that their notes would never be at a discount. This they succeeded in doing, after some very heavy losses and a great deal of financial confusion, and it had a most beneficent effect on the trade and commerce of the city, ultimately compelling the neighboring States to adopt the same or similar systems. It was due as much to its splendid banking system as to its commercial position that New Orleans won the high position it occupied in the ante-bellum period, when it had the entire Southwest not only tributary to it commercially, but in debt to it and completely under its financial control. As the banks of New Orleans are largely responsible, therefore, for the National Bank system of the country and for the credit system upon which the cultivation and moving of crops in the South are based, a history of banking New Orleans will prove interesting not only from a local but from a national point of view as well.

The history of banking in early French and Spanish days in New Orleans and Louisiana—for the two are the same, there being no banks outside of the metropolis until of very recent years—is much like the celebrated chapter on owls in the history of Iceland, which simply recites, "There are no owls in Iceland." There were no banks in Louisiana before the coming of the Americans. The government, first Crozat, then France, then Spain, had securely in their own hands absolute control of the finances, and managed them most execrably.

The very foundation of the colony was due to a bank; for the famous Mississippi Company, to which Louisiana owed its origin, and the Royal Bank of France, were one and the same thing, with the famous John Law at its head, the charter

of the company and its exclusive right to trade with Louisiana being one of the chief assets. As noted elsewhere, the bank failed and the French government took charge of the colony. The company which had control of Louisiana wound up its affairs in 1731, and in settlement of its debts issued a large quantity of bonds, called "billets de caisse." These came into general use as the currency of New Orleans and interfered with the king's coin to such an extent that Governor Périer found it necessary, towards the end of 1731, to issue a proclamation in which he fixed the time that those "billets" should cease to be used as currency and should be withdrawn from circulation. Any one convicted of dealing in them as currency was subject to a fine of \$4 for the first offense and corporal punishment for a second offense,—a law which will give some idea of the paternal government then prevailing in Louisiana and the deep knowledge of finance that existed then. The Périer law had the natural effect of greatly depreciating these "billets," which at that time constituted the principal currency of Louisiana, and resulted in withdrawing them from circulation. Then followed, as a natural consequence, because of insufficient currency—for there was very little coin in Louisiana at the time—a financial crisis which brought great distress upon the colonists. Many of them emigrated and for a time it looked as though Louisiana and New Orleans would be deserted, as the result of the unfortunate commercial and financial policy which the French government was endeavoring to force on them.

The government sought to relieve the financial crisis it had itself caused by the issue of a special currency designed for Louisiana. Many coins have been dug up, from time to time, with the excavations made in New Orleans; but these coins were few and insufficient for the commerce of the colony. In 1735 the government endeavored to replace the depreciated paper money of the India Company (the billets de caisse) by pasteboard notes (known as billets de carte), which it was said would be worth a great deal more, as they had the government behind them as a guarantor instead of an irresponsible company. This change was vigorously opposed by Governor Bienville, but insisted on by the government and put in operation. The new notes did command a better value at first, but they gradually depreciated when the colonists found that there was no means of redeeming them; and all the punitive laws passed to strengthen them proved of no avail. The billets de carte steadily went downward until, in 1744, nine years after their issue, they were worth only 33 cents on the dollar.

The Council of State was called together to consider the situation and see

what could be done to remedy the evil. It declared the condition of affairs prevailing to be prejudicial to the finances of the government, the welfare of the colony and the progress of commerce. It was therefore determined to call in all the pasteboard notes, redeeming them at 40 cents on the dollar, which was slightly higher than their current value. How thoroughly bad, if not dishonest, were the financial ideas then in vogue, is shown in the redemption of these billets de carte; for the Council of State, instead of paying cash or coin for them, gave in return drafts on the Treasury in France; in other words, the colonists upon handing in the notes were paid off not in New Orleans, but given orders on Paris. This was a large discount on these drafts, because of the delay and the difficulty of cashing them. It was further proclaimed that all the bills not presented within two months of the proclamation should be null and void, and valueless, and could not be accepted in payment of any debt. Thus the colonists were twice fleeced with depreciated currency,—first by the company which settled Louisiana and founded New Orleans, secondly by the government itself.

In spite of these failures, only five years elapsed before Governor Vaudreuil, on his own responsibility, issued an entirely new paper currency. Finding the revenues not sufficient for the support of the colony and receiving no assistance from the home government, France, he, at the suggestion of the Intendant Commissary, Michel de la Rouvillière, and to the gratification of the wishes of many of the colonists who found the currency too limited for the needs of commerce, manufactured and placed on the market a large amount of paper money, ranging from twenty livres (\$4) up. These notes were given in payment of all the expenses and debts of the colony and were made exchangeable for all other paper money, obligations and bonds, in the hope that they would speedily become the only currency of Louisiana.

The action of Vaudreuil and de la Rouvillière was at once repudiated by the home government, and the new notes were ordered retired. Governor Vaudreuil's attention was called to the fact that the two previous issues of notes had resulted most unfortunately; and to the further fact that the governor of Louisiana had no power or authority to issue paper notes; and that none of his predecessors had ever thought of doing so. The confusion resulting from this illegal issue of paper money was further intensified by the discovery that a very considerable proportion of the new notes in circulation were counterfeits. They were of the crudest character, and an investigation into the counterfeiting disclosed the fact that a negro by the name of Joseph, had been largely instrumental in turning out this

first bogus money. Such was the history of finance and banking in Louisiana under France,—a succession of gross blunders and outrages, which kept the currency always at a discount, proved a millstone around the neck of commerce and upset and disturbed all values; in fact, the same wild policy which ultimately bankrupted the mother country (France) and brought on the Revolution, was tried in Louisiana.

France left the currency in Louisiana in a thoroughly unsettled condition when it transferred the colony to Spain. There were in circulation 7,000,000 livres of paper money issued by the French government and for whose redemption it was responsible. As France drew out, it left this currency with an uncertain standing. The colonists could not know whether the Spanish government would, as the successor of France, accept it or reject it altogether. If Spain redeemed it, it was impossible to say whether that government would take it at par or at a discount of 25 per cent, which the French government had established as the legal amount of its depreciation. In ordinary business, four dollars in paper currency represented one dollar in specie. The matter was laid before Governor Ulloa by the Intendant Commissary, Foucault, and it was pointed out to him what confusion and loss would result of Spain established a new currency and neglected the French currency in general circulation. Ulloa wisely realized that the disfavor with which the Spanish rule was received would only be increased by interfering with the currency and ordered the French paper to be received by the Spaniards as well as the French, at the rate of 75 per cent on its face value. The colonists, however, were not satisfied with this and attempted to make the new government give more than the old one had given and demanded par for their paper. Ulloa, in the policy of conciliation he had determined on, bought up a large quantity of this paper money at 75 cents on the dollar and tendered it to his Spanish soldiers, paying them two-thirds in cash and one-third in Louisiana paper; but the troops refused to accept the paper; and Ulloa, finding both the French (or Creoles) and the Spaniards unwilling to adopt this financial policy, was compelled to abandon it altogether.

Under the Spanish government the financial system slightly improved and a great deal of coin (almost exclusively silver) found its way from Mexico to Louisiana; but the Spanish government also issued a large quantity of paper money, called "liberanza" for the redemption of which no provision was made, and which soon depreciated in value, like all such currency had done in the colony. When Spain pulled out of New Orleans and transferred Louisiana to France, to be sold to the United States, it made no provision for taking care of this paper issue, which shrunk in value to almost nothing.

It will be seen from this brief recital of the financial history of Louisiana under French and Spanish dominion, there was really no such thing as banking, that the currency was all the time in a more or less disturbed condition, and most of the money at a great discount; that there was never sufficient currency for the needs of the colony, and that the power in authority, whether the Mississippi or India Company, or the French or Spanish government, devoted itself to fleecing the colonists as much as possible, by issuing unlimited paper or pasteboard currency and then redeeming it at one-third or one-fourth of its face value.

With American rule came a complete change. When Governor Claiborne took possession of Louisiana for the United States, he found the Territory suffering from a depreciated and insufficient currency. Largely through his instrumentality, the Louisiana Bank was founded, in 1804,—the first bank ever to be established in New Orleans. Its officers were Evan Jones, an American, as president, and Paul Lanusse, a Creole, as secretary, the desire being to unite the two races which made up the population of Louisiana at that time, in this financial venture. Commissioners were appointed to lay before the merchants and people of New Orleans the purposes of the bank and to solicit subscriptions to its stock. This required much delicacy and judgment, because the rule of American government at that time was not popular with the Creoles, who resented the fact that Louisiana was kept under Territorial government instead of being granted full legislative power. When it became known that the bank proposed to issue paper notes, there was a loud protest from the more ignorant classes, who recalled the many disasters that the colonists had met with under Bienville, Vaudreuil and Ulloa from a paper currency.

The commissioners, however, paying no attention to this popular clamor, went to work to organize the Louisiana Bank. They decided, first of all, not to take stock in, and thus it become a part of, the Bank of the United States, which, from its headquarters in Philadelphia, was endeavoring to establish a branch in New Orleans, as a branch here would enable it more or less to control the finances of the new acquisition of Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley. In the resolutions in which it was decided not to join fortunes with the United States Bank, it was recited that "the Bank of the United States is owned by Europeans altogether, by persons residing some thousands of miles from this country. * * * Whereas the Louisiana Bank, being owned altogether by inhabitants of this country, all the profits which it may make will be divided among them and remain in this country."

The bank was formally organized in January, 1805, with Paul Lanusse, James Pitot, Julien Poydras, Daniel Clark, Michel Fortier, John Soulie, Thomas Harman, Thomas Urquhart, William Donaldson, John F. Merieult, Francois Duplessis, James Garrick, John McDonogh, John B. Labatut and Nicholas Girod as directors, and with the following officers: President, Julien Poydras; cashier, Stephen Zacharie; tellers, James Fitzgerald and John Thibaut. It would have been impossible to have secured a better list of names in New Orleans for directors and officers of the new bank. The president, Julien Poydras, was the most prominent and wealthiest man in the French colony, as was John McDonogh among the Americans. Clark was the delegate of the Territory in Congress. Pitot was mayor, as Girod was afterwards. It will be seen that the directors were divided among the French and American elements, the former being in a majority, as they constituted a majority of the population and merchants and business men of New Orleans at that time.

At the same time, 1805, that the Louisiana Bank came into existence, the United States Bank, of Philadelphia, succeeded in establishing its branch in New Orleans, with Evan Jones, originally the president of the Louisiana Bank, at its head. The local directors in 1805 were Evan Jones, Benjamin Morgan, Thomas Callender, John Palfrey, Whitten Evans, J. B. Prevost, William Brown, Cavalier Jennier, Beverly Chew, John W. Gurley, Joseph McNeill, William Kenner and George T. Phillips. It will be seen, at a glance, that while the Louisiana Bank was attempting to unite the Creoles and Americans in financial matters, the branch of the United States Bank was distinctly and exclusively an American institution, which took little account of the native French population of Louisiana.

The Louisiana Bank was not a success: Considerable difficulty was encountered in its management, and in 1819, fourteen years after its establishment, it was decided to go into liquidation. At that time the assets were \$777,993, and the liabilities \$821,547; and it was announced that the stockholders would not lose more than 11 or 12 per cent of their capital, "provided no more notes of a fraudulent emission should be presented,"—a provision of which no explanation was ever given, and the meaning of which is therefore completely incomprehensible to-day. The liquidation of the bank took a much longer time than was expected, and two extensions had to be granted, the settlement of the bank's affairs not being completed until March, 1823.

Before the failure and retirement of the Louisiana Bank, other and stronger banking institutions had sprung into existence in New Orleans, which continued

up to the time of the Civil War, and disappeared then only through the fortunes of war. The first of these was the Bank of Orleans, established under an act of the Louisiana Legislature in 1811, with a capital of \$5,000,000. The first board of directors included R. D. Sheperd, William Kenner, Benjamin Morgan, William Nott, John Taylor, Daniel Olivier, D. Ronquette and Thomas B. Williams. An evidence of the peculiar commercial and financial conditions prevailing in New Orleans at the time and the lack of facilities such as exist to-day in the commercial exchanges, is given in the fact that the subscription book for the stock of the bank was left open for subscriptions for some time at the Commercial coffee-house,—the coffee-houses, or, as they called themselves, “exchanges,” being the places where “merchants most did congregate” and where most of the commercial transactions of the period occurred.

The first president of the Bank of Orleans was Benjamin Morgan. He was followed by Samuel Packwood and the latter by Zenon Cavalier. Upon the expiration of its charter, a new charter was obtained, the bank securing exemption from the payment of State taxes by paying a bonus or lump sum of \$25,000.

The Louisiana Planters' Bank was organized the same year as the Bank of Orleans, 1811, for the convenience of the agricultural interests of the Territory. It made a specialty of discounting the notes of planters and advancing money for the improvement of agricultural property. Its directorate, therefore, included a number of the more prominent planters in Louisiana, mainly those engaged in the sugar industry,—Colonel Bellechasse, A. D. Duplantier, D. de la Croix, William Donalson, Jacob Trimble, James Johnston, S. Hillen, S. Henderson, P. Foucher, W. W. Montgomery, N. Cox, R. Butler, John Grieve and Samuel Packwood.

These three banks—the Louisiana Bank, the Bank of Orleans and the Planters' Bank—were amply sufficient for the financial needs of Louisiana for the first two decades under American rule; indeed, considering the fact that Louisiana had previously been without any banking facilities at all, they would seem to be more than enough. They did all the business of New Orleans and the region tributary to it for the fifteen years that followed the annexation of Louisiana to the United States. In 1818, however, when the Louisiana Bank was on its last legs and preparing for liquidation, the State—for the Territory had become a State in the interim—was far more ambitious in its banking ideas, and the Louisiana State Bank, which was provided for by the Legislature to take the place of the Bank of Louisiana, was established on far greater foundations than anything that had been seen before in New Orleans. The new institution was quite colossal in its

proportions. The capital was fixed at \$2,000,000. Subscription books were opened at New Orleans under the supervision of five managers and under three managers at each of the following places: Donaldsonville, St. Francisville, Alexandria and St. Martinville. The capital of the branch bank at St. Francisville was fixed at \$200,000, while the Alexandria, St. Martinville and Donaldsonville branches had each \$150,000 capital. The bank, in fine, was not a New Orleans one alone, but a State institution with no less than five different banks located in the richest and most prosperous portions of the State, but united under one common management. The first directors included F. X. Martin (chief justice of the State), L. B. Macarty, E. J. Forstall, I. Roffignac (mayor of New Orleans), A. Chopin, John K. West, Henry McCall, Charles Harrod, H. Foster, M. Duralde, G. R. Stringer and John B. Dibley. The governor appointed as directors Dusnau de la Croix, Samuel Paxter, John Poullency, Jr., Bernard Marigny, A. L. Duncan and Etienne Borè (one of the first mayors and the first producer of sugar in Louisiana). The bank being a State institution, in which the State of Louisiana was interested, the governor was entitled to appoint six of the eighteen directors, and he chose them from among the most eminent men in Louisiana, so that its directorate is a roll of honor, including senators, representatives, mayors and even future governors.

The banking business in New Orleans at that time was in a thoroughly satisfactory condition, and it was not until more than a dozen years afterward that the spirit of speculation and inflation seized on Louisiana and indeed the whole South and West, and led to those financial excesses that brought on the great panic of 1837.

The Louisiana Bank had gone down in 1818, and had completely wound up its affairs in 1823, after two extensions granted it by the Legislature for the purpose of facilitating liquidation. Soon after its closure the Bank of Louisiana was incorporated, in April, 1824. It was the largest of any of the banks yet established, with a capital of \$4,000,000,—many times greater than any institution of the kind existing in New Orleans to-day. It was modeled upon the same style as the (Louisiana) State Bank mentioned above; that is, the State was interested in it and had a part of the stock. It maintained more or less control over the bank, the governor appointing nearly half the directors, six out of thirteen. This practice prevailed in nearly all the early banks of New Orleans. The position was taken by the Legislature that the State was interested in the banking business, that it should facilitate the people in every possible way, especially by providing the capital necessary for the development of their resources, and that its partici-

pation in the management of the bank through directors appointed by the governor, would prevent speculation or wild financiering. The State's subscription to the bank was \$2,400,000, divided into four equal proportions of \$600,000, made in bonds bearing 5 per cent interest, falling due in 10, 15, 20 and 25 years respectively. Branch offices of discount and deposit were established at Baton Rouge, Alexandria, Donaldsonville and St. Francisville, each with a capital of \$200,000, on which they were to pay the mother bank 6 per cent.

The charter of the bank continued until 1870, and contained a number of very stringent provisions. It provided, for instance, that the bank should at no time suspend specie payment on any of its notes, bills or obligations, or on any moneys received by it on deposit, under penalty of paying 12 per cent on these obligations until they were paid in full.

The seven first directors chosen by the stockholders were Samuel Livermore, Andrew Lockhart, Samuel F. Oakey, William Brook, James Hopkins, Samuel B. Bennett and J. M. Fortier, with Benjamin Story as president and Joseph Saul as cashier.

The Consolidated Association of the Planters of Louisiana, an institution which it took so many years to liquidate because of the large amount of real estate it held and whose liquidation was completed comparatively a few years ago, was organized in March, 1827, with a capital of \$2,000,000, which was to be obtained by means of a loan, by the directors of the institution, based on the real estate put into it by subscribers. It was, therefore, a land bank with plantation property as one of its principal assets. Subscription books were opened by five commissioners for \$2,500,000, each share to be \$500. The books were to remain open for six months and planters only were permitted to subscribe to the stock. In order to procure the loan of \$2,000,000, upon which the bank depended for capital, bonds were issued bearing 5 per cent interest, payable in equal proportions in five, ten and fifteen years, the bonds being secured by mortgage on real estate, for an amount equal to the shares to which each stockholder subscribed. It will be seen that the association or bank—for it was a bank, although not so called—was an ingenious plan whereby the planters of Louisiana who were in need of money to improve their property and to purchase slaves for its cultivation could obtain the necessary capital. They subscribed to the stock of the association, putting into its capital so much real estate as equaled in value their subscriptions. Upon this security, which was supposed at the time to be the best possible, as real estate was high and improving in value because of the success of the cotton and sugar industries, bonds were issued

with a mortgage on the real estate as security. The bonds were sold and produced the necessary capital, from which the planters could draw such money, in loans, as they required for their improvements. The circle of credit was therefore completed and the only danger to the bank lay in the possibility of the crops failing, agriculture decaying and the land declining in value,—something which the planters of that day did not believe possible, so great was their confidence in King Cotton, just then coming to his full power and strength. As in the case of the Bank of Louisiana, the State was appealed to and asked to take an interest in the new bank, on the ground that the prosperity of the planters was the prosperity of Louisiana. It did so in 1828, when the capital of the association was increased to \$2,500,000, the State being recognized as a stockholder to the amount of \$1,000,000, and pledging itself for the reimbursement of the capital. Thus \$1,000,000 of stock was received by the State as a bonus, upon which it was allowed a credit of \$250,000; that is, it could borrow that amount from the bank, paying interest thereon, upon any part of this credit it might use.

The success of this plan of raising money for the development of the planting interests of Louisiana led to the formation soon after of a number of improvement banks with specific improvements in view. Several of these survive to-day, but very much modified in form. The Gas Company, for instance, is a relic of one of these old improvement companies, the banking part of the institution having disappeared, while the gas-works survive. The reverse is the case with the Canal Bank, established to construct the new canal. Here the banking feature survives, in one of the largest and soundest financial institutions in New Orleans, whereas the improvement to carry out which the bank was founded has severed company with it, is now wholly independent, the property of the State of Louisiana, and managed by a board of control appointed by the governor.

The New Orleans Gas Light Company, the first of these improvement banks, was incorporated in February, 1829, with a capital of \$100,000, which could be increased to \$300,000 if deemed advisable, for "the purpose of introducing into the city of New Orleans and its fauxbourgs (suburbs) the use of gas-light. Its charter was for twenty-five years. The company failed to comply with its charter and the franchise was transferred to James H. Caldwell (who may be regarded as the father of gas in New Orleans) and his associates, who were given a monopoly of supplying gas to the city and its fauxbourgs St. Mary (now the first district of the city) and Marigny (now the third district) for a period of twenty-five years, provided they put their system in operation within two years.

Mr. Caldwell was successful in his enterprise, but after he had succeeded in lighting New Orleans with gas—to the great delight of its population, for it was one of the first cities so illuminated in America, while most of the others were struggling on in the gloom of oil lamps—he was not satisfied with the charter under which he operated and asked for a new and grander one. It was an era of inflation just then, an era of grand and extravagant ideas, and New Orleans was at the height of its “flush times.” A gas company with only \$300,000 capital, and its business confined to the narrow limits of supplying New Orleans and its suburbs with gas, was too insignificant for the conditions then prevailing. Mr. Caldwell, therefore, asked in 1835 that the charter of his company be amended, or rather that it be entirely repealed and a new charter granted; and with the success he had met with he had only to ask anything to have it granted. The New Orleans Gas Light Company disappeared, to make way for the New Orleans Gas Light and Banking Company; the capital was increased from \$300,000 to \$6,000,000, and the company was required to establish five branch banks and gas companies—for a division or apportionment of all privileges and franchises to the several sections of the State, was provided for in all the legislative acts of the time—in Port Hudson, Springfield, Napoleonville and Harrisonville, each with a capital of \$300,000, and in Alexandria with a capital of \$800,000. The selection of the places for the branches is somewhat extraordinary and shows a lack of foresight. With the exception of Alexandria, all the towns mentioned were insignificant then, and none of them, even at this day, 65 years afterward, have reached a population of 1,000. The charter of the Gas Bank, as it was called, was loaded with various other conditions in the interest of certain sections of the State, which seem onerous viewed from the standpoint of to-day; and the bank, in order to secure the privileges it asked for, was required to assist other struggling improvements then under way or contemplated. It was required, for instance, to subscribe to 500 shares of the stock of the Barataria and Lafourche Canal Company, and also to loan money, up to \$150,000, to any railroad company which might be incorporated by the Legislature of Louisiana after March 20, 1835, for the purpose of building a railroad from Alexandria to Cheneyville on Bayou Boeuf,—the loan to run 25 years and bear 5 per cent interest. These conditions will illustrate the financial conditions and opinions of the time, and the boom just then under way for public improvements. A company is started for the purpose of constructing gas-works in New Orleans. It is not satisfied with this, but wants to run a banking business along with its gas-works, and is allowed to do so, on the condition that it will establish

five branch banks in various parts of the State, four of them in insignificant villages; that it will furnish the capital necessary for the construction of a canal in another part of the State, and a railroad many miles distant and of purely local interest—the possibility of railroad building at that time being an unknown quantity. The charter of the Gas Bank also contained the provision usually inserted in the banking corporations in Louisiana at the time and intended to give stability to these institutions, forbidding it to suspend specie payment on any of its obligations. In the event that it did so, it was required to pay 10 per cent interest on its obligations for a period of 90 days. Suspension for over 90 days rendered the charter of the company *ipso facto* null and void.

On the other hand, the bank was given a monopoly of lighting with gas the cities of New Orleans and Lafayette (now the fourth municipal district), but was subject to a fine of \$500 per day for its failure to light the city, and \$25,000 for any failure to provide the Charity Hospital with free gas.

Various other amendments were made from time to time in this charter, and the Legislature seemed determined to load the Gas Bank down with obligations. It was required to establish another branch in St. Bernard, with a capital of \$100,000, and still another in Franklin, with a capital of \$300,000; and the Alexandria branch was authorized to retain \$250,000 of its capital to be loaned to citizens of Natchitoches and Claiborne parishes. In fine, the New Orleans Gas Light and Banking Company seems to have combined a half dozen institutions,—gas company, bank, loan institution and improvement company. Ultimately these side issues were separated from the Gas Company, which has continued to this day, but confining itself exclusively to its legitimate business of providing New Orleans with gas.

The next few years saw a flood of new banks and corporations. It was what would be called to-day a “boom,” and brought the natural consequences of a reaction, collapse and panic. The new banks were of immense capital, far greater than the commerce of New Orleans and the development of the tributary country required. It was a case of pushing a good thing along too far, and in the crisis which followed some of the old banks went down as well as the new ones. The banks established between 1831 and 1833 were as follows:

March 3, 1831, City Bank of New Orleans, capital \$2,000,000. March 5, 1831, New Orleans Canal and Banking Company, capital \$4,000,000. It, or rather its successor, survives to-day in the Canal Bank. April 2, 1832, Union Bank, capital \$7,000,000. This bank survives to-day in the Union National Bank. April 1, 1833,

Commercial Bank of New Orleans, capital \$8,000,000. April 1, 1833, Mechanics' and Traders' Bank, capital \$2,000,000. April, 1833, Citizens' Bank, capital \$12,000,000.

Thus in barely two years six new banks had been authorized in New Orleans—three of which survive to-day after many vicissitudes and changes in their charter—with capital to the amount of \$33,000,000. Could there be better evidence of overdoing the banking business? In 1835 the Legislature granted five more banking charters: The New Orleans Gas Light and Banking Company (of which mention has already been made and which was merely an amplification and modification of the Gas Company), capital \$6,000,000; Exchange Bank, capital, \$2,000,000; Carrollton Railroad Bank, capital \$3,000,000. The latter survives in the New Orleans and Carrollton Railroad to-day. It was thought necessary, it will be seen, to extend the banking privileges to canal and railroad companies. The total capital of new banks established in New Orleans in 1835 was \$16,000,000, aggregate capital of the banks and other similar institutions chartered by the Legislature at its twelfth session (that of 1835), \$39,345,000. The success that had been met with had started the State on a policy of wild inflation almost as great as that of Law, which had marked the foundation of the colony of Louisiana a century and a half before.

Of these several new banks only brief mention is needed.

The City Bank of New Orleans was incorporated March 3, 1831, with a capital of \$2,000,000 and with Nathaniel Cox, John A. Merle, Martin Duralde, George Eustes, Stebbins Fisk, J. J. Bordier, A. H. Wallace, F. Gardere, James P. Freret, Joseph Lallande, A. Cruzat and D. S. Borderzat as directors. It was authorized to establish two branches of discount and deposit at Natchitoches and Baton Rouge, respectively, each with a capital of \$200,000 and five directors. There was the usual provision inserted in bank charters at the time, relative to the suspension of specie payment, interest of 12 per cent on all such suspended papers and the forfeiture of charter in the event that the suspension lasted longer than ninety days. The City Bank was one of those that suspended payment in the great panic of 1837, but it was renewed afterward, and it was not until March, 1850, that it passed into liquidation under an act of the Legislature.

The New Orleans Canal and Banking Company was one of the improvement banks, chartered for the construction of a canal in the newer or American portion of the city, to which trade and business was at that time rapidly drifting from the old city, the vieux carré. It was chartered March 5, 1831, with a capital of \$4,000,-

000 under the superintendence of 17 commissioners; and it was authorized to establish four offices of discount and deposit, one at St. Francesville, one at Alexandria, with a capital of \$4,000,000, one at Franklin and one at Donaldsonville, each of the latter two with a capital of \$250,000.

The Canal, in the construction of which Hon. Simon Cameron, afterward Senator from Pennsylvania and U. S. Secretary of War under Lincoln, was employed, was completed in 1839, although at great cost and with more difficulties and obstructions than the company had anticipated. The canal and banking privileges were subsequently separated, the former passing into the hands of the State, which still holds and controls it, while the banking franchise is now operated by the Canal Bank.

The Union Bank was incorporated April 2, 1832, with a capital of \$7,000,000, to be raised by means of a loan negotiated by its directors. The faith of the State was pledged for the security of the capital and the guarantee of interest, and \$7,000,000 of bonds were issued, bearing five per cent interest, one-quarter being payable each 12, 15, 18 and 20 years. The bonds issued by the State were secured by the stockholders' subscriptions. These were to be in cultivated lands and slaves, lots or houses, or other edifices yielding a revenue, or on lands not cultivated but susceptible of cultivation, and in vacant lots, provided that no more than one-fifth of said stock should be secured by such lands. No mortgages or slaves alone were received; they must be slaves as part and parcel of a plantation. It will be seen that the Union Bank was founded on much the same principle as the consolidated Planters' Association, except that the security was slightly broadened. The Planters' Bank would take none but plantation property; the Union Bank included city as well as country real estate, houses and lots, as well as plantations—in fine any kind of real property, not even excluding negro slaves, at that time one of the most valuable assets in Louisiana.

The charter of the bank gave it an existence of 25 years. It was to be operated by 12 Directors, of whom six were to be appointed by the Governor in view of the direct interest the State had in the bank, in consequence of supplying the bonds upon which its capital was based, and six elected by the stockholders. There was the usual provision in regard to branch banks or depositories, but the Union Bank was authorized to establish eight of these, more than any of its predecessors. These branches, with their respective capitals, were as follows: Thibodaux, \$250,000; Covington, \$225,000; Marksville, \$220,000; Vermillionville (now Lafayette), \$200,000; St. Martinville, \$200,000; Plaquemine, \$250,000; Natchitoches, \$200,000; and Clinton, \$250,000. Each of these branches were in charge of local boards of directors, consisting of five or seven members.

The Union Bank, whose president was Matthew Morgan, was for the first four or five years of its existence one of the most prosperous of the financial institutions in New Orleans, and during a considerable part of that time handled the large business of the New Orleans branch of the United States Bank, which was just then going out of business. It figured very conspicuously later on in the troubles incident upon the capture of New Orleans by the Union forces in 1862.

The Commercial Bank of New Orleans, like the New Orleans Gas Light and Banking Company, was an improvement bank, organized for the purpose of providing New Orleans with water, and practically survives to-day in the New Orleans Water Works Company. It was incorporated April 1, 1833, with a capital of \$3,000,000, and with five commissioners or directors, three of whom were to be appointed by the Governor and two by the City of New Orleans. The bank was required to furnish the city with free water for the extinguishment of fires, as well as for the public squares. On this score frequent complaints were made and the Legislature of Louisiana found it necessary in 1848 to pass a special act compelling the bank to carry out its obligations to the city in the matter of supplying it with such water as was needed.

The Mechanics and Traders' Bank was incorporated April 1, 1833, with \$2,000,000 of capital. It had but one branch, at Opelousas, with a capital of \$300,000. The State subscribed for \$150,000 of the stock and the privilege of The other banks, it will be noticed, were organized mainly for the benefit of the planting interests of Louisiana, or for public improvements. The manufacturing and mechanical interests of New Orleans were but little thought of, and, indeed, viewed with more or less contempt. The Mechanics and Traders' Bank was founded largely for the purpose of developing these interests. The men who were mainly instrumental in organizing the bank were Jedediah Leeds, James McKenna, John Wilcox, Maurice Cannon, Nicholas Sinnott, James B. Hullen, Jesse Cowand, John D. Bair, Maunsel White, Evarste Blane, James Hopkins, John G. Greeves, George W. White, Maurice Pizetti, Claude Gurley and C. Corryjolle, Jr. The liquidation of the bank was authorized in 1850.

The Citizens' Bank of Louisiana was chartered in April, 1833. It was the largest and most important bank yet provided for, and started out with the immense capital of \$12,000,000, based upon a plan of loans or bonds to be issued by the bank. The amount to be subscribed for by the stockholders was \$14,400,000 in 144,000 shares of \$100 each, to be guaranteed, secured and pledged by mortgages on real estate. Upon these subscriptions the bank was authorized to issue bonds, payable

in 14, 23, 32, 41 and 50 years. The subscriptions were to be divided between New Orleans and the country districts as follows: New Orleans, \$8,400,000, and the country \$6,000,000.

The bank was a "boomer" from the start, and gave great impetus to the improvement of plantations, the building of houses, etc. As one of the historians of the times writes: "Every owner and proprietor of a vacant lot, whether dry or under water, every proprietor of old and tenantless buildings imagined that the millennium was really approaching" and hastened to subscribe to the "stock." The bank was authorized to advance money for the building of houses, prescribing of what material they were to be built, to take stock in the Lake Borgne Navigation and Canal Company, to build a railroad from the river to Gentilly Ridge and to do a hundred other things—"enough to bankrupt the best bank in the world"—an able financier of the times remarked.

The Citizens' Bank did not enjoy the same advantage as the Union Bank, which had the credit of the State behind it, whereas the Citizens' Bank had as its security only lands and property in Louisiana. When, therefore, its agents went to Europe to arrange for the negotiation of its banks, as had been so successfully done by the Union and other banks, they encountered several rebuffs, and were unable to place the bonds. The State was several times appealed to and asked for its guarantee, but refused at first. In 1836, however, the Legislature assured the Citizens' Bank the assistance it asked for. It was just on the eve, however, of the great panic. The Citizens' Bank did only a few years' business, for it went into liquidation in 1843, to be reorganized afterward on a new basis. Under its charter it was authorized to establish seven branches in various parts of the State.

The New Orleans Improvement and Banking Company was incorporated February 26, 1834, for the purpose of purchasing and selling real estate. The capital, originally \$1,000,000, was increased to \$2,000,000 in 1836. This Company built the first St. Louis Hotel, the finest hotel of its time; but one of the conditions of its charter—there were remarkable addenda to charters then—required it to build three steamboats to run on the Red River, Upper Coast and Lake Pontchartrain trades respectively. The Legislature selected the Directors of the company, who were J. F. Canonge, Alonzo Murphy, Felix de Armas, Henry F. Denis, F. Gardère, E. J. Forstall and Noel Barthelemy Le Breton. This company went under in the panic and was compelled to liquidate its affairs in 1846.

The Atchafalaya Railroad and Banking Company was incorporated March 10, 1835, with a capital of \$2,000,000, to build a railroad from Pointe Coupee, in the

Mississippi River, to Opelousas. The company had its headquarters at Bayou Sara, with branches at New Orleans and Monroe, the former with a capital of \$500,000, and the latter with \$400,000.

The Exchange and Banking Company of New Orleans was incorporated April 1, 1835, with a capital of \$2,000,000, to build a hotel in the new or American section of the city. The hotel was to cost not less than \$300,000, exclusive of the sites, under a penalty of a forfeiture of the Company's charter.

The Merchants' Bank of New Orleans was incorporated February 25, 1836, with a capital of \$1,000,000.

The slightest consideration of the conditions prevailing in Louisiana at that time will show that the banking business had been overdone. This was due to the ease with which bonds could be floated, and the assistance the State of Louisiana gave the banks by lending them its credit and guaranteeing their bonds and interest thereon, apparently safeguarding itself by the securities furnished by the subscribers, who put their property—plantations, houses and slaves—into the new companies. It was pretty much the same condition of affairs that preceded the Argentina panic of a few years ago, which resulted in the suspension of the great English banking house of Baring Brothers.

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that Louisiana and New Orleans were alone in going beyond their credit, and in placing more securities on the market than they could handle. The same condition of affairs existed throughout the South and West, more particularly in the latter section. The ease with which bonds and securities of all kinds could be floated in Europe was a temptation. Every town and county issued bonds, and companies were organized for every conceivable improvement. The total amount of securities sold in Europe ran far up in the hundreds of millions and swallowed up all the available capital of that continent.

New Orleans had been somewhat moderate at first, but from 1830 to 1837 it was attacked by the prevailing epidemic, and was turning out new banks by the dozen. In 1837 it boasted of no less than fifteen banks, capitalized at \$62,000,000, enough to do more than five times the business the city then handled.

The panic was threatening long before its danger was recognized in New Orleans, or, indeed, anywhere else. The failure of the United States Bank to secure the renewal of its charter in 1832 was the first warning note. This stimulated the several States Legislatures to grant charters for State banks, which increased in number with marvelous rapidity, each of these banks being authorized to issue currency, and the Legislature in many of the States having taken no sufficient steps

to protect this currency, the country was flooded with notes. There was more money than was needed, not only in New Orleans, but everywhere else, and there was naturally a great deal of speculation and a rise in values, particularly real estate. Towns were laid off and gigantic improvements planned. In fine, the United States was enjoying one of the wildest booms which it ever knew, and as it had had very little experience in "booms" all this improvement and advance in price was greeted enthusiastically as evidence of great prosperity.

The imports were above the exports, and there was a steady balance of trade against the United States, which, however, was not felt at first because many of the States issued bonds, and these almost settled the balance against us. This method of business could not be carried on forever, and when, in 1837, conservative people, aroused at the overtrading and speculation that prevailed, demanded specie instead of bank notes, the crash came. Exchange on England ran up to 20 or 25 per cent, and the newer banks and companies began to go down before the storm.

The panic was worse in the West and Southwest, where the greatest proportional amount of banking capital had been created. New Orleans, which was then the financial capital of the Southwest, was naturally one of the worst victims; and the situation in this city was aggravated by the fact that about the same time that this financial flurry came upon the country the region tributary to New Orleans suffered from other causes, changes in the tariff unfavorable to sugar and other crops grown there and injury from crevasse and overflow—1840 was the worst flood year known up to that time.

The panic struck New Orleans May 13, 1837, when there was a run on the banks of the city, and fourteen of them, all save the Merchants' Bank, suspended specie payment, thereby forfeiting their charters under the conditions contained therein, that any suspension of specie payments for more than ninety days should, *pro facto*, wind up their affairs. For the next eight years the Legislature worked on this problem, finally succeeding in building up a new banking system and framing a banking law that was a model of its kind.

How to do in the meanwhile, however, was a difficult problem. The city had been suffering from a plethora of currency; it found itself, by the suspension of the banks, without enough to carry on its legitimate business. In this emergency, and in order to afford the community some relief, even if temporary, the three municipalities which then constituted the city of New Orleans, issued bills from the value of one bit ($12\frac{1}{2}$ cents) to four dollars, which were put in circulation. Then followed an era of "Shinplasters," as they were called, a number of companies, and

even private individuals, claiming the same privilege, so that the State was flooded with "rag money."

The Legislature appointed a commission to examine into and report upon the condition of the suspended banks. In 1839, however, the banks had resumed specie payments, and the Legislature, recognizing that their suspension was not due to local causes or any mismanagement on the part of their officers and directors, but "the result of a general derangement of the monetary system of the country," reinstated them in their chartered rights and privileges. This resumption of specie payment, however, was only temporary. The banks were still badly involved. They had issued large quantities of notes and their securities were difficult to realize on, while in many cases the property upon which money had been loaned was only a fraction of the value given it, and often altogether unsalable.

This financial crisis continued for practically eight years in New Orleans, from 1837 to 1845. During that time legitimate commerce, the handling of the produce of the interior and its shipment to market, continued as large as ever, but under some inconveniences, in consequence of the disarrangement of financial matters. There were many failures and bankruptcies of firms and individuals, and a large proportion of business houses in the Southwest and West had to take advantage of the Federal bankruptcy law of 1842 to get on their feet again.

The run on the banks and their suspension came, as already stated, in May, 1837, but they resumed specie payments in 1839. The Associated Banks of New Orleans then reached an agreement for a general interchange, by which the notes of all the banks obtained an equal currency in the market, all of them being bound to sustain this circulation. It was a union whereby the stronger banks sustained the weaker ones. This rule was not formally repealed until February, 1842. It was a temporary expedient which resulted in the end in loss to the public, for the notes of the weaker banks remained in circulation, while those of the stronger ones were being retired.

At the beginning of December, 1841, the depreciation in bank paper was from three to four per cent, and by March 1, 1842, even the paper of the strongest and best banks had gone down to seven or eight per cent. This was brought about largely by a law requiring the banks to resume specie payment on a fixed date. On March 2, 1842, notes of the Exchange Bank were at a discount of from 15 to 25 per cent, and those of the three other discredited banks at a discount of from 10 to 15 per cent.

To meet the condition of affairs prevailing, and to put an end to the financial

embarrassment, the Legislature passed a law restoring the charters of the suspended banks, all of which had been annulled because of their failure to pay in specie, in which it was provided that in the event they resumed specie payment before November, 1842, their charters would not be considered forfeited. As it was recognized that the capital of several of the banks had been made much greater than necessary, and as only a very small part of the capital in those concerns had been subscribed, there was a very considerable reduction made. The circulation of the Carrollton Exchange and Improvement Banks was reduced to \$250,000 each, that of the Bank of Orleans and the Atchafalaya Bank to \$150,000 each. The circulation of the other banks was fixed as follows: Union, \$800,000; Citizens', \$700,000; Louisiana, \$700,000; Louisiana State, \$500,000; Consolidated Planters' Association, \$500,000; Canal, \$500,000; Commercial, \$500,000; City Bank, \$500,000; Mechanics and Traders', \$400,000. The banking laws prepared by a Board of Currency created by the Legislature were not well received with favor in New Orleans, where they were regarded as hostile to the banks; and there was even a public meeting called to protest against them, as threatening the ruin of legitimate business.

When the banks opened for business on February 21, the notes of four of them generally classed as weak—the Orleans, Exchange, Improvement and Atchafalaya Banks—were refused by the others, either in payment or on deposit, which naturally sent these notes still further down, their holders being glad to dispose of them at 30 per cent discount.

The provision of the Legislature extending the charters of the banks on the condition that they resume specie payment by November, 1842, was accepted by five—the Citizens', Improvement, Louisiana State, Consolidated Planters' and Carrollton Banks; but rejected by eleven—the Union, City, Commercial, Gas, Orleans, Canal, Louisiana, Exchange, Atchafalaya, Merchants and Mechanics' and Traders' Banks. The Carrollton Bank accepted the condition for the avowed purpose of going into liquidation. The objection of the banks to the law was for the purpose of testing its constitutionality, and under their pressure the time allowed for the resumption of specie payments was extended to December 1, 1842.

When it became known that the paying teller of the Atchafalaya Bank was a defaulter to the amount of \$120,000, and that there were in addition overdrafts to the amount of \$70,000, the notes of that institution depreciated 50 or 60 per cent. The Attorney General brought proceedings against the bank, as well as against the Orleans and Exchange Banks, whose doors were closed, their notes being quoted at from 50 to 55 per cent discount, and those of the Improvement Bank at from 30

to 35 per cent discount. This action on the part of the State naturally created great confusion and had a most deleterious effect on business.

After considerable finessing the banks finally accepted the act of the Legislature and opened, with one exception, to renew specie payments on December 1. They anticipated that date, however, and began paying out specie in May. This action brought discredit on the notes issued by the several municipalities to the amount of \$1,000,000, and which had been the chief currency of the city during the interim. These municipal notes depreciated in value, and as they were held mainly by the poorer classes they caused great popular excitement, resulting in a mob forming and several riotous acts being committed. The riotous spirit was finally quelled to a large extent by the issue of certificates by the municipalities, which were generally taken at a discount of 8 or 9 per cent.

The banks resumed specie payments May 20. The Citizens' and Louisiana Banks again suspended May 29, after a rush on them; the Commercial, Consolidated Planters' and Canal Banks on June 1; the City Bank on June 2; the Carrollton Bank on June 9, leaving only three continuing business—the Union, the Louisiana and the Mechanics and Traders'.

The New Orleans banks imported specie and in December, 1842, it was possible to put into operation the law in regard to resumption. This was further facilitated by the action of the municipalities in settling and destroying a large quantity of their notes.

On June 1, 1843, eight banks—the Louisiana, Canal, Carrollton, City, Commercial, Louisiana State, Mechanics and Traders' and Union—had resumed specie payments, with assets amounting to \$6,975,314, while the Citizens' and Consolidated Association, with \$359,006 of assets, had not yet resumed. This may be considered as the end of the panic, or at least of the suspension of the banks, for Governor Roman announced in his message to the Legislature (January 3, 1843,) that the banks were in good condition again, having not less than \$4,565,925 of specie and an actual circulation of only \$1,261,514.

But, although the banks were on their feet again, it took fully three years to restore public confidence and to get rid of those institutions which had fallen by the wayside. The old banking system was at fault, and it was found necessary to construct a new one. Acts were passed to facilitate the liquidation of the insolvent banks, especially the property banks, and to settle the involved relations between the State of Louisiana and such institutions as had received the assistance of its credit. Under the act, passed in 1845, for the adjustment and liquidation of the

debts of the State, there was an adjustment of mutual obligations, a renunciation by the State of all interferences in bank management. By this arrangement the State was relieved of about \$3,000,000 of indebtedness. The banks also extinguished their bonded debts, and the city of New Orleans retired its depreciated promises to pay. Public credit was completely restored, a sound currency was established and the State Treasury was brought to a most prosperous condition.

These eight years of suspension and financial demoralization, however distressing during their continuance, had a most beneficial effect. They taught New Orleans safe banking, and the result of this bitter experience was the adoption of a banking system that proved perfect and of a banking law which continued unchanged up to the time of the Civil War, and proved so satisfactory in every way that it was adopted by half a dozen States and even by the General Government in part.

The banking history of the period 1845-1860 is free of incident. There were no failures or suspensions of any moment. When the Civil War came on there were no banks in the country in better condition or more solid than those of New Orleans, as the following table will show, giving their condition on January 1, 1860:

	Circulation.	Deposits.	Specie.
Citizens' Bank	\$ 4,089,780	\$ 4,262,705	\$ 3,416,034
Louisiana State	2,593,775	4,812,483	2,746,644
Bank of Louisiana.....	736,629	3,640,544	1,588,342
Canal	1,238,365	1,374,795	1,299,305
New Orleans	630,975	1,006,225	629,641
Union	558,200	1,225,865	601,213
Mechanics and Traders'.....	412,505	920,661	420,632
Merchants'	491,065	522,771	331,909
Southern	305,575	434,819	242,269
Crescent City	282,224	379,936	261,049
Bank of America.....	240,240	1,188,002	518,387
Total	\$11,579,313	\$19,768,806	\$12,055,425

After fifteen years of peace, quiet and prosperity the banks of New Orleans entered, in 1861, upon more serious troubles than those they had undergone during the period 1837-45, when Louisiana seceded and the Civil War broke out. Although the officers and directors of the banks sympathized with the Southern cause, they felt that their obligations to their stockholders required them to pursue a con-

servative course. They stuck manfully to their charters, which required them to pay in specie; but on September 16 they yielded to the pressure of popular sentiment, which required that they should accept Confederate notes as a proof of their loyalty to the Southern cause. Some of them suspended specie payment in consequence, and those who did not at first, deemed it advisable to do so soon after for their own protection. At that time their condition was still excellent, and they were doing a fair business, in spite of the commercial demoralization that existed. Their circulation was only \$6,481,916, or a little over half what it had been a year before, because the banks had deemed it advisable to call in as many of their notes as possible; but on the other hand the specie held by them was \$14,173,258, or more than in 1860. The deposits had shrunk some five millions to \$14,710,698, this representing the money withdrawn by timid persons, who feared what the war might bring forth. The Citizens' Bank was still the strongest, with \$4,086,819 of specie, while the State and Louisiana banks had each close upon \$3,000,000 of specie.

It is doubtful if the bank officials wished to accept Confederate notes; but public opinion, which was very intense at the time, would not allow them to do otherwise. After the suspension of specie payment and the acceptance of Confederate notes, nearly all the business of the city was done with the latter, and the bills of the banks were seldom seen. The banks threw their fortune, willingly or unwillingly, with the Southern cause. They contributed a large amount to the defense fund of New Orleans, and when the forts were passed by Farragut's fleet they sent some \$4,000,000 in specie into the Confederacy to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands.

When General Ben F. Butler took possession of New Orleans he became involved at once in an interminable squabble with the bank officials, who found him a very hard customer to deal with. He demanded of them an explanation of their conduct in sending out of the city their specie, which was intended, he claimed, as a protection for the depositors, and several of the presidents admitted that it had been "unadvisedly carried away." An attempt made to secure the return of the specie proved a failure, as the Confederate authorities would not permit its return; but the banks were allowed to transact business upon the basis of this absent coin, "just as though it was in their own vaults."

In regard to the Confederate bonds and notes which had almost completely ousted the bank bills from circulation, it was provided at first by an order issued May 1, 1862, that no Confederate bonds or obligations payable in Confederate

notes should be accepted; but the notes themselves, as they constituted almost the only circulation of the city, were allowed to pass until the financial situation improved. On May 16 a second order was issued by General Butler, in which he prohibited the use of any Confederate notes after May 26. This was immediately followed by a notice from the banks, given through the newspapers, advising all persons who had deposits with them in Confederate notes to withdraw them before May 27, and stating that all balances not withdrawn by that date would be at the risk of the owners.

This action of the banks General Butler refused to approve. He insisted that the banks had violated their charters in September, 1861, in suspending specie payments and introducing Confederate notes as currency, which, he declared in his peculiar manner, they had purchased at a discount with their own bills. These notes had obtained a wide circulation, and the action of the banks in accepting them over their counter, but refusing to receive them in deposit, would throw all the loss upon the public. Order No. 30, therefore, required that the banks incorporated, private banks and savings banks, should pay out no more Confederate notes, but that all depositors should be paid in valid money, in bank bills, U. S. Treasury notes or gold or silver. Relative to the "shin-plasters" or private currency, with which the city had been flooded, it was provided that all persons who had issued this "money" should redeem their notes at once under penalty of confiscation of their property and imprisonment at hard labor.

By a subsequent order General Butler seized all the money in the New Orleans banks to the credit of the Confederate government or any of its agents, and in August imposed on the banks as a penalty for "having aided the rebellion" (that is the Confederate cause), an assessment equal to their investment in the defense bonds of the city. This fine was collected in four installments of 25 per cent each, and the money was used in furnishing with rations the large number of negroes who had refugeed in New Orleans from the neighboring country, and who remained in the city during the continuance of the Civil War, the majority of them idle and indeed unwilling to work, believing that emancipation meant freedom from labor.

During all of General Butler's administration of the affairs of New Orleans, as well as those of his successor, General Banks, the financial history of the city is filled with quarrels between the banks and the military authorities, and an immense number of claims resulted and much litigation growing out of them. Many of these suits are still on trial, and it would take pages to explain them. Even

after the restoration of peace, and when the banks got to business again, these complications continued. The Legislature was appealed to frequently to amend their charters; and the history of the Citizens' Bank alone would furnish a large and interesting book of the changes in the methods of banking in New Orleans.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to give a general history of banking in the city after the war; and this can be best done in detail. There was no general panic and smash up, as in 1837, nor was there any such complications as during the Civil War. The New Orleans banks suffered from the general financial flurries which swept over the country in 1877 and 1893, and on such occasions were compelled to adopt the same precautions for their safety as the banks in other cities; but the crisis was never as general or as acute as it had been before. Banks went down, it is true, but they went down from their own inherent weakness or mismanagement, not as a part of a general crash. The bank history of the post-bellum period can best be considered under the several banks which grew up and prospered or failed.

The First National Bank, the first to take advantage of the national banking laws, had a short and inglorious career. An investigation into its affairs was ordered in May, 1867. At that time it was discovered that the affairs of the bank were tangled up with those of its president, Mr. Thomas May, who was U. S. Assistant Treasurer at the time, and in whose office a defalcation of \$1,077,079 was found by the special agents of the Treasury Department. The bank accordingly passed into the hands of a receiver at once, but its affairs were not fully settled until 1880.

The Louisiana National Bank was chartered in 1865.

The Germania National Bank was organized as the City Bank in 1865, but changed its name to Germania in 1869.

The New Orleans National Bank was organized in 1871.

The Mutual National Bank was organized in 1871, but went down in 1898, in the bank flurry which carried down three of the financial institutions of New Orleans.

The American National Bank was organized in 1889, but failed at the same time as the Mutual.

The State National Bank was organized in 1871. Originally the Louisiana State National Bank, it changed its name to State, dropping the Louisiana in order to avoid confusion with the Louisiana National.

The Whitney National Bank was organized in November, 1883.

The Hibernia National Bank was organized as a State bank in 1870, but became a national bank in 1873. It swallowed up the ——— National Bank in 1896.

The Metropolitan Bank is a State institution, doing both a commercial and savings business, and was organized in 1870.

The People's Bank is a State institution, and was established in 1869.

The Bank of Commerce was established as a State bank in 1887, but went down in 1898, in the same flurry that broke the Mutual and American National Banks.

At the time of the Civil War New Orleans had two savings banks:

The New Orleans Savings Institution, incorporated March 15, 1855.

The Crescent City Savings Institution, incorporated March 13, 1857.

The New Orleans Savings Institution did a splendid business immediately after the Civil War, but its very bad failure in 1876 had a demoralizing influence on the savings bank business for some years, and the city was altogether without these banks or with very weak ones until the Germania Savings Bank entered the field in 1879 and restored public confidence in savings banks, which had been very much tried by the failure of former institutions.

Under the encouragement given by it and the very successful business it has enjoyed three new savings banks have sprung up in New Orleans, as follows:

Teutonia Savings Bank, chartered in April, 1893.

Bondent Savings and Safe Deposit Bank, chartered in 1893.

United States Trust and Savings Bank, chartered in April, 1893.

Of the other banks it is unnecessary to speak, as they are doing business under their old charters as State banks, such as the Canal and Citizens' Banks, or have taken out national bank charters like the Union.

The New Orleans Clearing House Association was organized May 8, 1872, and the first exchanges were made on June 1 of that year. Originally composed of thirteen members, the Association subsequently included all the commercial banks of New Orleans. In the panic of 1893 and on other occasions of financial flurry, when the market was in a frightened condition, the Clearing House proved of great advantage, not only to the banks, but to the entire business community by providing for the issue of clearing-house certificates, which were accepted by all and tided over the strained financial conditions that prevailed. The transactions of the Clearing House for the first year it did business, September 1, 1872, to August 31, 1873, was \$501,716,239.06. It has varied but slightly from these figures since then, reaching its maximum in 1890-1, when the clearance ran

up to \$536,038,535.85, and its minimum in 1884-5, when they sank as low as \$393,452,741.10.

While the foreign insurance companies have always done a large business in New Orleans, the home companies have handled a great deal of insurance, not only for the city and the State of Louisiana, but for all the neighboring States, and even for some distant ones. The companies are:

Sun Insurance Company, chartered in 1855; capital, \$500,000.

Germania Insurance Company, chartered in 1866, but reorganized in 1891; capital, \$500,000.

Crescent City Insurance Company, organized as the Crescent Mutual in 1849; capital, \$240,000. It has liquidated its affairs.

Merchants' Insurance Company, organized in 1835. From 1854 to 1893 it was the Merchants' Mutual; capital, \$300,000.

Mechanics and Traders' Insurance Company; capital, \$375,000.

New Orleans Insurance Association, organized in 1869, reorganized in 1874, with a capital of \$200,000. Its business has been taken by the Sun Insurance Company.

Home Insurance Company, organized in 1878; capital, \$400,000.

Teutonia Insurance Company, organized in 1871, with a capital of \$250,000.

Lafayette Fire Insurance Company, organized in 1869, with a capital of \$150,000.

Hibernia Insurance Company.

Southern Insurance Company, organized in 1883; capital, \$300,000.

The Louisiana Homestead League was organized in 1891, and includes the following Homestead companies:

People's Homestead Association, organized in 1882.

American Homestead Company, organized in 1883.

Louisiana Homestead Association, organized in 1885.

Firemen's Building Association, organized in 1886.

Mutual Building and Homestead Association, organized in 1885.

Third District Building Association, organized in 1887.

Eureka Homestead Society, organized in 1887.

German-American Homestead Association, organized in 1885.

Suburban Building and Loan Association, organized in December, 1894.

Security Building and Loan Association, organized in October, 1893.

Sixth District Building and Loan Association, organized in October, 1891.

Union Homestead Association, organized in 1886.

These associations have facilitated the purchase or building of homes by people of moderate means in New Orleans. They have encouraged a spirit of saving and economy and they have resulted in the construction of more than a thousand handsome and up-to-date residences in the city, and have enabled some two thousand families to own their homes who would have been unable to do so but for their assistance.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CLUBS AND KINDRED ORGANIZATIONS.

BY WALTER PARKER.

FROM the very founding of New Orleans the people of the city have devoted as much if not more time to pursuits of pleasure than to the vocations of the work-a-day world, and in a community where the amassing of wealth has ever been a consideration secondary to the true art of extracting from life that which is best, and where tradition dominates innovation, it is but natural that good-fellowship should be a foremost characteristic. From time out of mind the social side of life in the great metropolis of the south has been of the highest order and the stranger within her gates has never failed to carry away the pleasantest memories of the hospitable and courteous men and women whose fame as host and hostess is known the world over. Here men do not derive that keen satisfaction from the accumulation of money that is felt in other sections of the country, for, in New Orleans, which has well merited the name, "The Delightful City," the parvenu is yet unknown. Here method is the child of a kind hearted, indulgent people, and is not of the school of Twentieth-Century Americanism. Here the business man spends his afternoons and evenings at his favorite club, and, if one is versed in the ways of the city, one will never call at his office before 11 of the morning nor after 3 of the afternoon. If one is a stranger he will marvel. No wonder then that New Orleans supports many handsome clubs, nor that the good fellows with which the city abounds, should in uncommon numbers organize for their mutual advantage.

From the great aggregation of a single club of 600 members, each one of whom has had to stand a severe test of qualification, down to the little dinner club of five, whose dinners, served under the long shadows of the old French market where the choicest of viands are to be had, is the great range, the two extremes between which there are hundreds of organizations of all classes and varieties. From the earliest days in the history of the city similar conditions have existed. Lack of space precludes the possibility of a review of the organizations which flourished in years that are gone, or, in fact, even mention of all that are now in existence, hence this chapter will be confined to those of greatest prominence of the present day.

BOSTON CLUB.

The Boston Club was organized in 1841 by a small coterie of gentlemen for the purpose of playing "the game of Boston," and is the oldest social club in New Orleans. From the beginning of its existence it has been famous as a rendezvous for army and navy officers. Of its original members none survive, and of those who were members previous to the Civil War but few are still alive. The club was incorporated in 1842 for a period of twenty-five years, and its first rooms were on Royal street; but in a short time these rooms were exchanged for rooms on the south side of Canal street, next to Moreau's restaurant, at first only a part of the building being used, but later the entire building. About this time other games than Boston began to be played in the rooms. During the Civil War the rooms were closed by order of the Federal authorities, but on August 5, 1865, they were again opened, on Royal street. Later the club moved to Carondelet street, and finally to its present quarters, on Canal street, between Carondelet and Baronne streets. Many of the prominent business men are members of this club, and in past days many very prominent men were members, such as Judah P. Benjamin, A. C. Meyers, and John R. Grimes.

Originally the number of members was limited to 150, and from the beginning the initiation fee has been \$100, with annual dues of \$100. When the club was reorganized after the Civil War the limit of membership was raised to 250. Among the presidents previous to the war was P. N. Wood, and since the war the following have been the presidents of the club: W. A. Avery, 1865; Judge Victor Burke, 1866-68; Gen. "Dick" Taylor, 1868-73; Dr. S. Choppin, 1873-80; A. P. Mason, 1880-83; Thomas J. Semmes, 1883-92; ex-Justice Charles E. Fenner, 1892 to the present time.

The present quarters of the club contain the following rooms: A parlor and

a billiard and pool room on the ground floor, the parlor being 55 feet deep and of harmonious width. The café is also on the ground floor, built out from the billiard room, and is 20x50 feet in size. The card room occupies the entire front of the second story and is 30x55 feet in size, and the lunch room in the rear of the card room is 30x50 feet. On the third floor in front is another card room and to its rear are the store rooms, bath-rooms, servants' rooms, etc. All the apartments are handsomely furnished and the home is in all respects an ideal one for club purposes.

PICKWICK CLUB.

The Pickwick Club was organized in 1857 in the parlor over the famous ante-bellum Gem saloon, the Pickwick Club and the Mystick Krewé being for many years, so far as was visible to the public eye, one and the same thing. At length, however, it became impossible to conceal the fact that they were so closely related, and the duality was dissolved. Comus became an independent organization and the Pickwick Club so amended its charter as to render the club an absolutely close one. But still, even down to the present day, Comus is the favorite of the members of the club. In its palmiest days the home of the club was the fine building at the corner of Carondelet and Canal streets, a four-story brick-and-stone building of Queen Anne architecture, which, prior to its partial destruction by fire in 1894, was one of the most stately buildings ever erected in New Orleans. The ladies' café, which from 1884 to 1894 was one of the chief prides of the club, was primarily for the use of the ladies of the families of the members, but it was never a financial success, and when the present quarters of the club on Canal street, near Rampart, were erected, no provision was made for a dining-room for ladies. There is, however, a banquet hall, in which dinner parties are frequently given, and in this hall the captain and the other officers of the United States cruiser *New Orleans* were entertained when that vessel paid her visit to this city in the spring of 1899.

The origin of this famous club is in a certain way attributable to Mobile, but to enter into the full particulars of this connection would require more space than can be spared in this work. Hence it is necessary only to state that seven gentlemen called a meeting for January 3, 1857, over the old Gem saloon. Thirteen responded other than the six of the seven that answered the call, and these nineteen members adopted the name of the Mystick Krewé of Comus. Within the next few weeks sixty-three additional members were added to the original number, and on February 24, 1857, Comus electrified New Orleans with the first illustrated

procession: "The demon actors in Milton's *Paradise Lost*." Proceeding to the old Gaiety Theater, "the grotesque maskers made much fun and merriment and enjoyed quizzing their sweethearts and wives to their hearts' content without revealing their identities. At 12 o'clock precisely the captain's whistle sounded and the Krewe marched without lights to No. 57 St. Charles street. On the third floor of this store a bounteous banquet awaited them, the experiences of the night were told in wine and wit and much enjoyment until early morning ended the first festival of the Mystick Krewe of Comus."

Later a social club was organized named the Pickwick Club. The two lower stories of the store at No. 57 St. Charles street, were rented and fitted up for club rooms. Colonel A. H. Gladden was president from 1858 until the breaking out of the war, and fell at Shiloh. The Pickwick gave its check for \$1,000 toward the support of the families of those who had gone to the war, and was then virtually for a year or two disbanded; but it was in a measure kept alive by such men as Hon. John Q. A. Fellows, and was afterward fully resuscitated and reorganized on the return of peace. The quarters of the club were at the corner of Canal street and Exchange alley up to 1881, when they were moved to the Mercer building, now the Boston Club, where they remained until 1884, when they were removed to the corner of Carondelet and Canal streets. In 1894 this building was burned, and the club removed to the other corner of the same two streets, later to the old No. 4 Carondelet street, and finally to its present magnificent quarters. When the club was on Canal and Exchange alley it entertained, one Christmas night, General W. S. Hancock, then in command of the military department here. This club has rendered efficient service on more than one occasion, having in 1874 aided in the overthrow of negro domination, and in 1878 having done much to relieve distress occasioned that year by the great epidemic of yellow fever. In 1879 the clubmen organized themselves into what was known as "The Dietetic Association," and distributed beef tea and soup for the sick and delicacies for the convalescent from the door and windows of the club in Exchange alley.

The presidents of the club have been as follows: Charles H. Churchill, General A. H. Gladden, Adam Giffen, Edward Barrett, W. H. Crafts, T. C. Herndon, E. B. Briggs, Octave Hopkins, James G. Clark, Jules C. Denis, C. M. Soria, Paul Capdevielle, William Blake, Hon. E. B. Kruttschnitt, James G. Clark (second time), S. L. James, Frank B. Haynes and Reuben C. Bush, present incumbent. The present quarters of the club are exceedingly handsome, no expense having been spared in fitting them up and furnishing them to suit the taste of the mem-

bers. In the rear of a white marble vestibule stands the familiar figure of Mr. Pickwick, and on the same floor are the club's office, the billiard room, the lounging room, and the bar. On the second floor are the main hall, the reading room and the card room, and on the third floor are the dining room and the private card rooms of the club. The entire building in its fittings and its furnishings is one of the finest in the South.

CHESS, CHECKERS AND WHIST CLUB.

The Chess, Checkers and Whist Club is one of the youngest, yet strongest, institutions of the city. The foundation of the club is ascribed to Charles A. Maurian, Charles F. Buck and James D. Seguin, who, in 1880, founded a small club for the study and cultivation of the game of chess. Their first domicile was a single room in the building at No. 128 Gravier street. At the first meeting, held July 21, 1880, Mr. Maurian was elected president and Mr. Seguin secretary. The club records show the attendance at this meeting to have been twenty-seven, some of whom were represented by proxy. In the twenty years of its existence the membership has increased to 800, the present limitation.

The early history of this club clearly demonstrates the invincible power of a movement based on sound principles and popular demand. It is essentially a young men's club, but its membership lists include a large number of older men—men who have become prominent in business life, in the practice of the law and in the various other professions. Nearly every chess-player of skill residing in the city is a member, and the games of whist, checkers, etc., are indulged in. But the club has other objects than the encouragement of scientific games and the occasional entertainment of its friends; for, not infrequently, the informal discussions of the members turn on deep subjects and a wide range of topics of general interest and importance are taken up by men whose knowledge specially fits them for an intelligent expression of opinion. The chronicle of the club's rise from an humble origin to the powerful institution of to-day is interesting. Less than ten days after the first meeting a second was held, at which it was found the membership had about doubled. In October of the same year the membership had grown to 110, and larger quarters being required the club moved to No. 168 Common street, and two months later to larger rooms next door. The membership had reached the number of 150 January 24, 1881, and, the belief then existing that the club had reached its climax, so far as membership was concerned, the initiation fee was placed at \$2, and an entire floor at the corner of Common street and Varieties alley was leased for club rooms.

Captain George H. Mackenzie, the renowned chess-player of St. Louis, visited New Orleans in the year 1881 and was the guest of the club from February 28 to March 10. He gave several exhibitions, displaying wonderful perception and great facility for rapid combination. President Maurian and Mr. James McConnell made even games on even terms with the visitor, but the others were easily defeated. The visit of Mr. Mackenzie was the beginning of the visits of a great number of distinguished chess-players who have come to this city since then. The list of great players who have been guests of the club includes such names as Zukertort, Lee, Steinitz, Pillsbury and others. The series of tournaments, which to-day are a leading feature of the club, was inaugurated during the first year of the club's existence.

For two years the club enjoyed a substantial and healthy growth, and in 1883 the present quarters at the corner of Canal and Baronne streets were secured. Fire destroyed the building in 1890 and nearly all of the club's records were lost. In place of the old building a modern club-house was constructed, and this is the domicile to-day. Paul Morphy, whose fame as a chess-player is second to none in the history of the game, was a constant attendant at the club until his death, and in memory of him there is a bust of fine workmanship in the club-rooms. One of the most highly prized possessions of the club is a unique set of chessmen of Swiss workmanship, presented by E. Block on February 21, 1881. Block was a contemporary of Morphy's in the early days of chess-playing in New Orleans. Mr. Maurian was succeeded as president by Charles F. Buck. The other presidents have been: Hon. Ben C. Elliott, Samuel Stafford, Thomas R. Roach, Hon. George H. Vennard and Charles J. Theard, who has been president since April, 1893. The popularity of the club is best attested by the list of applicants, which contains almost as many names as does the membership list. Applicants must wait for resignations before their applications are acted on.

HARMONY CLUB.

The Harmony Club was organized during the early seventies by a number of the more prominent young Hebrews of the city. Its objects were purely social, but the close relations of the early members with the members of the Deutsche Company, an organization in a flourishing condition at that time, soon resulted in consolidation. Mr. Joseph Wagner was the first president of the new organization, and with wise forethought, seeing that the Fourth District was destined to grow and improve rapidly, advocated building an up-town club-house, and succeeded in taking

the club as far up as Delord street. Some time thereafter the younger members secured a removal to Canal street. Years after, under the presidency of Judge I. D. Moore, the club was again moved up town, and now has magnificent quarters in its own handsome building at the corner of St. Charles and Jackson avenues. It is one of the finest buildings in the city. The Harmony Club membership is open to Jew and Gentile and is one of the centers of culture among the Hebrews of the city. The club as it stands to-day is in a large measure the natural outgrowth of the trying times of the Civil War, for it was through consolidation with the Deutsche Company that it became possible to carry out the broad objects which have made it so successful.

The Deutsche Company had its origin in a meeting of seven, all of whom were prominent in Jewish and German circles, in the latter part of 1862. This meeting was presided over by Mr. Sol Marks. The suggestion of the formation of a club was his and plans were put on foot with that idea in view. In April, 1863, a meeting was held with forty members present, and organization was effected. Mr. Marks was elected president and M. L. Navra, secretary. The stated object of the society was to cultivate sociability and to foster art and science. Soon after the new club was formed the two were brought together into one strong organization.

The Harmony Club is noted for the magnificence of its entertainments. The interior decorations of the club-house are superbly grand. The membership includes many prominent Gentiles, who stand high in their stations of life.

LOUISIANA CLUB.

Among the oldest social clubs in the city of New Orleans is the organization known as The Louisiana Club. The formation of this society was effected in 1879 and it is a social club in every respect. The officers are Paul Gelpi, president, and W. A. Brand, secretary. The club now has on its rolls 153 members, with its rooms at No. 122 Carondelet. Regular meetings are held each month, but the quarters are always open to the members.

NEW ORLEANS PRESS CLUB.

Of all the clubs in New Orleans, the one finally launched with the greatest promise of potentialities for the good of the city was the New Orleans Press Club. Various attempts in previous years had been made to establish a press club, but they had all failed for one or another reason.

The longest lived of any endeavor on the problem was the last; and it repre-

sented possibly the best planned and best executed of the attempts. It found its original motive in the recognition, by some members of the newspaper fraternity, of how hopelessly separated the reportorial brethren on the different papers were.

The first form of organization was a "call club." It had no domicile. It had no dues, no assessments, no cares, no obligations. It consisted in a dinner once or twice or thrice a month, at 2 or 3 o'clock a. m., when every one but the pressmen had left the newspaper shops. Henry Rightor was the first president of this body; Harry Hester, the first promoter of the plan. The first dinner took place at the Grunewald Hotel at 2 a. m. There were thirteen newspaper men present. Day was dawning when the club adjourned. It was a genuine success despite the unlucky number. The fun ranged from national subjects to Hester's famous discussion as to which side of a bluebird's eggs had the greatest number of spots—the north or the south side.

The initial number of the dinners made the little club famous. At the next dinner, at Forrestier's, corner Decatur and Madison streets, there were twenty-six members of the newspaper fraternity present, and an international complication, between a representative of the German press and one of the French, arose. It tended to increase interest in the club, and from that time on the Press Club dinners grew in popularity.

It existed as a call organization for about one year, when a meeting of all the members was held at the St. Charles Hotel, on the 17th of August, 1897. At this meeting, one of the most memorable in the early history of the club, in that the vast majority of the workers of the local press were present and enthusiastic, it was resolved to domicile the club. The following plan was adopted: There were to be two kinds of membership—active and associate. In the former, to keep the club always a real press club, was to be lodged the power of voting on everything except eligibility to membership, on which all members could vote. If a newspaper man went out of the business he ipso facto became, unless he were a charter member, an associate member. If an associate entered the business he became an active member. Dues and privileges were to be uniform. Active membership was unlimited by reason of the comparatively small number of newspaper men, but associate membership was limited to five hundred.

Under this plan of operation the club's new domicile was opened at No. 320 St. Charles street, a few months after its organization, under the new plan. It was conservatively estimated that 6,000 guests passed through its rooms, partook of its hospitality and heard some part of its programme. The opening programme, indeed, lasted for twenty-four consecutive hours, from 4 p. m. one afternoon to

the same hour the next afternoon. It was opened by prayers and addresses by such conspicuous men as Dr. B. M. Palmer, I. L. Leucht, E. B. Kruttschnitt, on behalf of the governor, Mayor Walter C. Flower, etc. Pages of the local press were devoted to the club's opening. It was one of the great events of the year in New Orleans. This was in the early part of 1898.

Two causes led to the club's ultimate downfall—primarily, dissension among the newspaper men; a floating indebtedness too heavy for the plan and budget of the club.

The first cause weakened its influence and checked its immense original momentum. As a result, the club could never reach the high-water mark possibilities of its budget. It consequently went into liquidation in January of 1900.

Its first president was Henry Rightor, who resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Armand Capdevielle, editor of the *New Orleans Bee*. Its next president was J. M. Lévêque, at the time of the *Times-Democrat*. Norman Walker was the last president of the club, being elected August 17, 1899.

Many famous men and women have been entertained, and have entertained, at the Press Club. Bryan, Ingersoll, great actors and actresses, musicians, singers, etc., etc. Its programmes have varied over a range extending from maccaroni dinners to evenings of original music.

THE MILITARY CLUB.

This organization was formed in 1895-6, as an offshoot of the Southern Athletic Club. Companies A and B of what is now known as the Fourth Battalion were members of the S. A. C., but decided to withdraw, and the result was the formation of a social and military club under the title of The Military Club. Quarters were established at Exchange alley and Canal street, and J. M. Baldwin was elected president. He was succeeded by J. M. Huger and after about two years of varied prosperity the organization disbanded.

ERA CLUB.

The Era Club, the membership of which is composed of leading women of New Orleans, was established in 1896 as an offshoot of the Portia Club, which has since disbanded. It was founded by Mrs. Evelyn W. Ordway, one of the faculty of the Sophie Newcomb Female College, for the purpose of advancing woman's suffrage, and since its organization has brought the question into some local prominence. It was through the efforts of the Era Club that the Women's League for

Sewerage and Drainage was formed, and the women taxpayers did much toward securing the improvements for the city.

Mrs. Ordway is the president of the club. The first president elected after organization was Miss Bell Van Horn.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Louisiana Historical Society, domiciled in New Orleans, has made many valuable compilations of historical data concerning the city of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana. The society was organized January 15, 1836, in Baton Rouge. At the meeting at which organization was effected, Judge Henry A. Bullard was elected president, and ^{Joseph B. R. T. H.} Mr. Harrison and Louis Janin, secretaries. The prosperity of the new society was not of long duration and it was soon disbanded. However, several years later, several gentlemen who were members took an active interest in the work, reorganized the body and in 1846 elected the eminent jurist and historian, Francois Xavier Martin, president, with John Perkins, J. D. B. DeBow, Edmund J. Forstall, Charales Gayarré, General Joseph Walker and Alfred Hennen, members. One year later the society was incorporated and Judge Bullard was re-elected president, Judge Martin having died in December after his election to the office. At this election John Perkins and J. D. B. DeBow were chosen secretaries.

For the next half decade the society prospered and by an act of Legislature in January, 1860, it became a State institution, insomuch as it was decreed that "in the event of a dissolution of the Historical Society, all books, maps, records, manuscripts and collections shall revert to the State for the use of the State Library."

At this time Charles Gayarré was elected president, but until 1877 there was little interest shown in the work and nothing of importance was done by the organization. In April of that year a new charter, was obtained from the Legislature and the domicile of the society was transferred from Baton Rouge to New Orleans. Then the work was revived.

From the time of his election, President Gayarré held the office for 28 years, resigning in 1888. He was succeeded by Judge W. W. Howe, who served until February, 1894, when the present officers were elected. During this time interest in the work of the society was greatly revived and the members accomplished much good work in the way of collecting historical data. The membership increased and much outside interest was shown.

The present officers of the Louisiana Historical Society are: Alcée Fortier, president; Gustave Devron, first vice-president; John R. Ficklen, second vice-president; J. W. Cruzat, treasurer; Grace King, secretary; and Charles G. Gill, assistant secretary. As there is no provision made by the State for the support of the society, an annual sum of \$3 has been decided upon as dues, and these funds are used to preserve the historical collections of documents and relics of the early life and growth of the State. The society is in good financial condition and the work is being carried on with great enthusiasm.

LA VARIETE ASSOCIATION.

La Variété Club, the real title of which is La Variété Association, is the owner of the Grand Opera House, and has its club rooms under the foyer and orchestra circle of that theater. The association was organized in the early part of 1849, through the efforts of Thomas Placide, who proposed to a number of prominent men a plan for the erection of a new theater "for the purpose of producing burlesque, vaudeville and farce." Mr. Placide's idea was to form an association of thirty members in order to raise \$15,000 for building purposes. This plan was carried out, but the stock was increased, forty-two subscribers having been secured. Mr. Placide agreed "to build a theater equal, if not superior, to any in this country," and "to spare no exertion to produce the proposed entertainments with the best talent, costumes, scenery and appointments that could be procured."

A stockholders' meeting was held May 29, 1849, and organization was effected with Peter Conery, Jr., president; C. W. Cammack, secretary, and N. N. Wilkinson, treasurer. Mr. Placide was placed in charge under an agreement which provided that the stockholders should receive 8 per cent on their investment; the association was to receive half the profits at the end of the season; the members were to have two seats, with a retiring room for their exclusive use, and the theater should be known as Placide's Variété. The building was commenced in June, 1849, and the corner-stone was laid on the 9th of that month. The site was the corner of Gravier and the narrow passage-way in the rear of the Cotton Exchange, to which the name Varieties alley was given.

The theater was opened December 7, 1849. The first season proved highly successful. The second season opened with J. H. Calder the lessee. The stock company then billed included among its members Fred N. Thayer, Ben DeBar and Mrs. Charlotte Howard. At that time French opera was being successfully produced, as were also good plays at the old St. Charles theater. The Academy of

Music had very little standing as a theater in those days. Fire destroyed the theater April 25, 1855, and when rebuilt was enlarged considerably. The name was changed to Crisp's Gaiety in 1856 and at the commencement of the Civil War the house was closed. It was reopened in 1863 and after one season Lawrence Barrett took charge. The house again burned December 1, 1870.

The association then decided to rebuild on Canal street, and at a cost of \$320,000, erected the present structure, known as the Grand Opera House. The souvenirs kept in the club room are interesting, as, included among them, is probably one of the finest collections of photographs of theatrical celebrities in the country. An oil painting by Joseph Jefferson is also one of the treasures there displayed. The rules of the club provide that non-residents may be admitted to the privileges of the club rooms without membership privileges in the theater except when introduced to the stockholders' seats on extra stock shares. The stockholders are and have been leading men of New Orleans.

FRENCH OPERA CLUB.

The French Opera Club is an organization of the stockholders of the French Opera, which was formed during the season of 1868-69. At the time of organization, Mr. Frellsen was elected president of the club and Louis Burthe, secretary. Since then there have been several gentlemen who have held the office of president, but Secretary Burthe has served in the capacity of his office since the day of his election. Judge G. H. Theard is now the president. The club has its rooms in the French Opera House, and during the performances the members are entitled to seats in the club box. The membership numbers about 120.

YOUNG MEN'S GYMNASTIC CLUB.

The Young Men's Gymnastic Club is the oldest organization of its kind in the South and to-day is one of the best equipped institutions in the country. The club was organized September 2, 1872, under the name of The Independent Gymnastic Club, and had at the beginning a limited membership of 14, made up as follows: J. C. Aleix, A. Rehage, J. A. Rehage, C. G. Collins, F. J. Aleix, C. Weinburger, J. Roca, F. Kunz, L. A. Nicaud, C. Burkhardt, J. Burkhardt, A. D. Hofeline, F. Claiborne and Wm. Frederichs. At the first meeting J. C. Aleix was elected president. Among the members who have since served in this capacity are Val. Merz, William Frederichs, James Flynn, Ed J. Gueringer, A. M. Delavallade, W. A. Briant, James J. McCann, George G. Bohne and James J. Woulfe. The name of

the club was changed a short while after organization was effected and on September 12, 1883, it was incorporated under its present title. In 1888 the organization was reincorporated.

From the beginning the object of the club has been to foster and promote work in the gymnasium. The quarters now occupied by the club are at No. 224 North Rampart street. The buildings and furnishings are in keeping with the prosperous condition of the institution. Besides the gymnastic department, which is the principal feature, there is every convenience of the modern social club—reading rooms, billiard and pool rooms, café and all accessories. In connection with the gymnasium is a salt-water bath, which is supplied from an artesian well sunk to a depth of 1,350 feet. The bath-rooms are equipped with every convenience and there is a large swimming pool, in which the water is kept at the proper temperature at all seasons. The club is incorporated as a stock company, and to become a member it is necessary to hold one share of stock. The present officers are: James J. Woulfe, President; Vic. LeBeau, Vice President; William H. Heyl, Secretary, and Hyp. Garrot, Treasurer. The affairs of the club are managed by a board of directors, who have full control.

SOUTHERN ATHLETIC CLUB.

Almost since the day of its organization the Southern Athletic Club has been a leader among the organizations of its kind in the South and it has established records both on the field and in the arena which stand ahead of any similar club records south of Louisville. The S. A. C. was formed under the name of the Crescent City Athletic Association and incorporated June 19, 1888. The first President elected was S. P. Walmsley, with J. C. Campbell, Vice President; G. S. Smith, Treasurer; W. L. McGary, Financial Secretary; W. H. Churchill, Recording Secretary, and Joseph Schlesinger, Corresponding Secretary. The founders and first members on the club rolls were: L. E. Bowman, O. S. Smith, G. S. Smith, H. D. Higanbotham, P. S. Campbell, T. J. Kohl, Theo. Holland, C. Janin, W. H. Churchill, D. H. Hoffman, W. J. Henderson, John J. Thomas, C. B. Churchill, P. A. Cooney, P. J. Kennedy, B. Chew, L. T. Tarleton, M. S. Waterman, Maurice McGraw, J. B. Waterman, J. Schlesinger, James C. Campbell, Abe Kottwitz and H. P. Smith.

The formation of the club took place in what was then known as the "skating rink" on the corner of Prytania street and Washington avenue, but in December the building, which had been erected by the club across the street, was completed

and taken possession of. It was at this time that the name of the organization was changed to the Southern Athletic Club. President Walmsley was elected to serve a second term in 1889, and was succeeded by W. S. Parkerson the next year.

About this time the S. A. C. Battalion, which afterward became the Fourth Battalion, was formed. President Walmsley was elected Major of this branch of the organization. President Parkerson succeeded himself to the office at the next election, as did James C. Campbell, who was elected in 1892. During President Parkerson's term of office, the club was reorganized into a stock company and about the same time the spring games, in which the S. A. C. has always distinguished itself, were inaugurated.

During the next two years the club made many improvements and J. P. Baldwin and John Clegg served as presidents. In 1896 T. L. Bayne was elected and served two terms. In 1898 James C. Campbell was again elected, and 1899 John R. Conniff, the present chief officer of the club, succeeded him. The other officers are: John F. Brent, Vice President; C. H. Charlton, Jr., Financial Secretary; Edward Rightor, Recording Secretary; T. J. Connell, Corresponding Secretary; Dr. J. Moore Soniat, Captain, and E. W. Alleyn, Lieutenant. These officers, together with the following gentlemen, compose the Board of Directors: D. R. Buchanan, Chas. F. Stott, B. P. Sullivan, Geo. Fuchs, E. S. Lamphier, Pierre Crabites, H. C. McEnery and A. H. Dumas.

The equipment of the S. A. C. quarters is second to none of its kind in the South, and the club is represented on every football, baseball or other sport field in which the other clubs of the Amateur Athletic Union appear, and has in nearly every meet retired as victors.

AMERICAN ATHLETIC CLUB.

The American Athletic Club, at one time the strongest organization of its kind in the South, was formed in the early spring of 1890 and flourished until 1898, when it was disbanded. Among the organizers were: S. Odenheimer, E. H. Rosenfeldt, Charles F. Alba, Henry Zeller, J. U. Landry, Thos. L. Ross and J. O. Reinecke. M. T. Elfert was the first president and served two terms. He was succeeded by Mr. S. Odenheimer, who served until the election of T. C. Loret, Sr.; and it was during the latter's term of office that the organization disbanded. For several years after the club was organized it was in a very prosperous condition and at one time had a membership of 1,300. Ground was purchased on the corner of Napoleon avenue and Constance street, and a club-house erected. The

quarters were furnished completely for athletic and social purposes and were considered equal to any in the South. During its life the American Athletic Club was a staunch member of the Southern Amateur Athletic Union.

SOUTHERN YACHT CLUB.

The Southern Yacht Club is the second oldest yachting organization of this country. It was formed by the members of what was known as the Stingaree Club, an exclusive social organization of New Orleans, in 1849. It was the custom of this club to take cruising trips along the southern coasts, and after one of these excursions along the coast of Mississippi it was decided to place the surplus money in the treasury in new boats, and the result was the organization of the Southern Yachting Club, July 21, 1849. The first commodore elected was Harry Rareshide. The annual yachting season opened in May, and until the Civil War great interest was taken in the events. During the war the club was practically disbanded, but afterward the sport was revived, and regattas have been held each season since. In 1878 the club-house on Lake Pontchartrain was erected and E. J. O'Brien, a wealthy cotton broker, was elected commodore of the club. He served until 1882, when Arthur Ambrose Maginnis succeeded him to the office. Mr. Maginnis served until 1884, when Commodore O'Brien was re-elected and held the office until the election of Commodore R. S. Day, who served from 1887 until 1891. During the next year the office was held by Commodore W. A. Gordon, and he was succeeded by Thomas Sully, who served as commodore until 1894. Commodore Lawrence O'Donnell was then elected and held the office until the spring of 1897, and Walton Glennly was elected for the two succeeding terms. In 1899, the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the club, Commodore Albert Baldwin was elected. During this year it was decided to build a new club-house at West End, on Lake Pontchartrain, as a lasting memorial of the semi-centennial anniversary of the S. Y. C. The building is a model of modern club-house architecture, and was formally opened at the spring regatta in May, 1900.

Among the prominent racing boats which have been associated with the Southern Yacht Club, have been Charles P. Richardson's 40-foot sloop "Nepenthe," which defeated the "Wasp" of the New York Yacht Club, in a 40-mile cruising race in New York harbor. Vice-Commodore Alex. Brewster's open 25-foot sloop "Mephisto" is another of the old boats which has established records. She has engaged in over thirty races and has each time been victorious.

Of the new boats owned by members of the club, there are several very fine

steam yachts. Among these are the "Semper Idem," owned by Commodore Baldwin and Ed. Schleider. She was designed and built here and her engines are of New Orleans manufacture. The "Semper Idem" is the largest boat of her kind ever built in the South. The steam yacht "Oneida," recently sold to the Mexican government, was formerly attached to the club's fleet. The sloop "Florence," now in commission in these waters, was designed by Commodore O'Donnell, after Hereschoff's creation, the "Gloriana," but was afterwards remodeled with spoon bow and modern stern after the style of the cup-racer "Defender."

There have been many interesting races given under the auspices of the S. Y. C. in past seasons. In 1888 the "Silence," afterward known as the "Brown," came from the New York waters to sail against the "Lady Emma," and was defeated by the latter. The race was a match for \$2,500 a side.

Commodore O'Brien's flag-ship, the "Zoe," was one of the best sloops of her day. She is a 25-foot boat with cabin and is still in commission, and has been every season for the past twenty-five years.

The Southern Yacht Club rules are accepted as authority in all regattas in Eastern Gulf waters. The club has a membership of 500 and there are 75 boats of all descriptions in the fleet—steam yachts, motor launches and sailing boats.

During the summer months regattas are in progress on the Southern circuit, under the auspices and rules of the S. Y. C. The clubs which take part are the Mandeville Club, Mandeville, La.; the Pass Christian Club, of Pass Christian, Miss.; the Biloxi Regatta Association, Biloxi, Miss.; the Pascagoula Yacht Club, of Scranton, Miss.; the Bay-Waveland Yacht Club, of Bay St. Louis, Miss.; and the Point Clear Yacht Club.

SOUTHERN AMATEUR ROWING ASSOCIATION.

Prior to 1893, the amateur rowing clubs of New Orleans and vicinity were banded together and known as the Pontchartrain Rowing Association, but in the spring of that year the association was disbanded. Two of the clubs which had been members of the association—the St. John Rowing Club and the Louisiana Boat Club—founded what is to-day known as The Southern Amateur Rowing Association, and all of the local clubs which were formerly members of the Pontchartrain Association have, at different times since, applied for membership and have been admitted into the new organization. The association now includes the St. John Rowing Club, the Louisiana Boat Club, the West End Rowing Club, the Tulane Rowing Club, and the Young Men's Gymnastic Rowing Club, all of New Orleans; and the Southern Racing Club, of Pensacola, Florida.

After the reorganization in 1893, the first officers elected were: Commodore, George Maspero, of the Louisiana Boat Club; Vice Commodore, T. R. Richardson, of the St. John's Rowing Club; Secretary, A. C. Norcross, of the same club; and Treasurer, Jules M. Wogan, of the Louisiana Club.

Afterwards Gus Eitzen, of the Pensacola Club, was elected Commodore; J. J. Woulfe, of the Y. M. G. C., First Vice Commodore; W. B. Vail, of the West End Rowing Club, Second Vice Commodore; O. Lagman, of the Tulane Rowing Club, Treasurer; and Ed Rodd, of the St. John's Club, Secretary. A constitution was drawn up and adopted and every season regattas are held under the auspices of the association. Since the reorganization of the amateur oarsmen in New Orleans, the races have been held on Lake Pontchartrain, with the exception of those of 1898, which were rowed at Pensacola, Fla. The races have attracted much attention and the prizes have been sufficient to cause sharp competition among the local oarsmen and some records have been established.

The rules of the association governing the races are very explicit and are accepted by the oarsmen of this part of the country. It is a distinctly amateur association, an amateur oarsman being defined as follows, and no person who does not come under these requirements is allowed to compete in any of the events:

"We define an amateur oarsman to be one who does not enter in an open competition; or for either a stake, admission money or entrance fee; or compete with or against a professional for any prize; who has never taught, pursued, or assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercise as a means of livelihood; whose membership of any rowing or other athletic club was not brought about, or does not continue, because of any mutual agreement or understanding, expressed or implied, whereby his becoming or continuing a member of such club would be of any pecuniary benefit to him whatever, direct or indirect, and who has never been employed in any occupation involving the use of oar or paddle; and who shall otherwise conform to the rules and regulations of this association."

LOUISIANA BOAT CLUB.

The Louisiana Boat Club was organized August 29, 1879, and is one of the oldest corporations of its kind in the city. The first officers elected after organization were: E. B. Musgrove, President; J. H. Lafaye, Vice President; George Maspero, Secretary; J. A. Boze, Treasurer; E. J. Soniat, Captain; F. M. Boze, First Trustee; S. F. Lewis, Second Trustee; R. Coutourie, Third Trustee. The club had an active membership of 67 at this time, with two honorary members on the rolls.

On May 11, 1883, the organization was incorporated under a charter for twenty-five years, and since that time has figured prominently in all the regattas of the Southern Amateur Rowing Association. In 1894, the season following the organization of the association of amateur oarsmen, the members of the Louisiana Boat Club won thirteen of the sixteen medals offered. At this regatta the champion four were W. G. Ellis, George Maspero, C. M. Wogan and Alfred Archinard. James C. Harris, of this club, won the medals for both the junior and senior single sculls in the regatta of '95.

The officers last elected were: J. A. Boze, President; H. J. Lafaye, Vice President; H. Tremoulet, Treasurer; M. C. Monroe, Secretary; H. B. Daborel, Captain; and Hugo Fernandez, Lieutenant. The club has grown in membership, and, while not the oldest, is one of the strongest amateur rowing clubs in the city.

WEST END ROWING CLUB.

The West End Rowing Club was formed after the old organization known as the Orleans Rowing Club had disbanded in 1880, and the membership at the start comprised many of those who had belonged to the old club. The new organization was incorporated May 9, 1890, and has among its members amateur oarsmen who are among the more prominent contestants at the annual regattas of the Southern Amateur Rowing Association. This club won the pennants for 1896, '97 and '98. The officers are Thad. G. Stehle, President; Dan Edwards, Vice President; D. J. Manson, Treasurer; John Bigler, Jr., Financial Secretary; John C. Weber, Recording Secretary; and A. J. Hamilton, R. L. McCormack and Albert Ducombs, Trustees.

YOUNG MEN'S GYMNASTIC CLUB'S ROWING CLUB.

This organization was known as the Crescent Rowing Club prior to the regatta of 1898, which was held at Pensacola, Fla. Several months before this event it was decided to organize a new club known as the Young Men's Gymnastic Club's Rowing Club, being a branch of the Y. M. G. C. of New Orleans. The club-house is on Bayou St. John, where many of the local rowing clubs have been formed. Members of this club have made good records at the annual meetings and won the pennant for 1899. The officers of the club, who were elected when it was organized and have served since, are: John B. Cefalu, President; F. O. Reinecke, Vice President; E. J. Reiss, Treasurer; Paul Landry, Financial Secretary; Nat. Dreyfus, Recording Secretary; John Wells, Captain; and W. Demoruelle, Lieutenant.

WASHINGTON ARTILLERY.

The Washington Artillery was organized in 1839, through the influence of General Persifer F. Smith, as a battalion under the command of C. F. Hoxey, with J. B. Walton as adjutant. February 22, 1840, it was reorganized as the right-flank company of the Washington regiment, Colonel Persifer F. Smith, this regiment being the only military organization in the American quarter of the city. In 1844 J. B. Walton was Lieutenant Colonel of this regiment, and in 1846, when it entered the service of the United States, Lieutenant Colonel Walton was in command of the regiment. After serving under General Taylor on the Rio Grande and returning to New Orleans, Colonel Walton was elected Captain of the artillery battalion, so remaining until 1861, at which time the command was increased to four companies or batteries, and moved immediately to the seat of war in Virginia. However, a reserve force of twenty men in charge of Lieutenant W. I. Hodgson, of the fourth company, was left at home to recruit a fifth company, which company was mustered into the service of the Confederate States, March 6, 1862, and on the 8th of the same month left for the seat of war. Having served through the war the organization returned to New Orleans, leaving 139 of its members on the various battle-fields, who had been killed or who had died in the service, and here it was practically disbanded. In 1875 it was reorganized, with Colonel Walton in command, he serving until 1877. The full list of the colonels in command of this military organization is as follows: J. B. Walton, May 26, 1861, to July 8, 1864; B. F. Eshleman, July 8, 1864, to April 9, 1865; J. B. Walton, July 22, 1875, to May 17, 1877; W. M. Owen, May 17, 1877, to February 22, 1880; and John B. Richardson, from that date to the present time.

The battalion has erected in Metairie cemetery a large and handsome tomb and monument, above which stands at ease a Confederate artilleryman in uniform, and upon the four sides of which is a roll of the dead of its members. The arsenal originally owned by the command, located on Girod street, was confiscated and sold during the war, and in 1880 Colonel Richardson purchased its present large and commodious three-story brick building on St. Charles street, between Girod and Julia streets, and extending through to Carondelet. The command has its own cannon, rifles, sabers, equipment, uniform and ammunition, and also a shooting range in the building. The walls of the building are ornamented with a fine painting by Julio, "The Last Meeting of Generals Lee and Jackson," at Chancellorsville, and a large number of other pictures and relics of the Civil War.

The command was incorporated under the laws of the State March 15, 1878,

and on June 26 following decided to enter the Louisiana State National Guard. The battalion is composed of some of the best known men of the city, is open-hearted and open-handed to all old soldiers of the Civil War, whether of the Confederate or Federal side, and has extended courtesies to numerous military organizations from all parts of the United States.

UNITED CONFEDERATE VETERANS' ASSOCIATION.

The United Confederate Veterans' Association of Louisiana is composed of sixty camps, located in various sections of the State, five of the principal camps being in New Orleans. These five are the Benevolent Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, Camp No. 1; the Association of the Army of Tennessee, Camp No. 2; the Confederate States Cavalry Association, Camp No. 9; the Washington Artillery Veterans' Association, Camp No. 15; and the Henry St. Paul Battalion, Camp No. 16.

These camps were organized soon after the close of the war, as benevolent associations, for the purpose of caring for unfortunate comrades, who were sick, wounded or destitute and burdened with debt. Several of them have built tasteful tombs in the new Metairie cemetery for the interment of their deceased members, among which are the beautiful vault of the Army of Northern Virginia at the lower end of the cemetery, surmounted by a tall granite shaft, upon whose summit stands a statue of General Stonewall Jackson; and an attractive tomb of the Army of Tennessee, located at the right side of the entrance to the cemetery, surmounted by a magnificent equestrian statue of General A. S. Johnston, and the tomb of the Washington artillery, which presents an imposing appearance in the center of the grounds.

Through the instrumentality of these city camps a soldiers' home was established in the year 1882, and is located on the banks of the historic Bayou St. John, known as Camp Nicholls, in honor of the warrior statesman, governor, now supreme judge, Francis T. Nicholls. This home has been a grand boon to the crippled and otherwise unfortunate among the Confederate veterans, as it has comfortably housed and fed thousands since its establishment. Until 1899 it was managed by officers of the Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of Tennessee; but inasmuch as the State of Louisiana has regularly made appropriations to sustain the institution it is now managed conjointly by the officers of the camps of veterans in New Orleans and a number of appointees by the governor of the State. The building has a capacity for 150 inmates, and the board of directors,

in addition to improving the grounds, have built in one of the cemeteries a substantial stone tomb for the interment of the dead. On the 6th of April each year, when memorial exercises are held at the Confederate monument, the veterans' associations form a line and visit each of the tombs named above, fire a military salute and listen to addresses appropriate to the occasion.

The Ladies' Confederate Memorial Association, the oldest association of the kind in the South, was organized immediately after the war for the purpose of collecting the remains of the fallen heroes of the Southern cause and securing their interment in a spot over which now stands the first Confederate monument ever built, and known as the Confederate monument, in Metairie cemetery. It is of marble and supports a tall shaft upon the top of which stands a private soldier at parade rest. On four sides of its base are likenesses of four of the principal leaders of the Southern armies, viz.: General Robert E. Lee, General Stonewall Jackson, General Albert Sidney Johnston and General Leonidas Polk. Mrs. Sarah Polk Blake, daughter of General Polk, has for many years been the President of the association, Mrs. J. Y. Gilmore being the Recording Secretary and Miss Daisy Hodgson the Corresponding Secretary.

The Daughters of the Confederacy have within the last two years effected an organization in Louisiana with Mrs. J. Pinckney Smith, President of the Louisiana Division, U. D. C., and Miss Cora Richardson, Secretary. The New Orleans Chapter is presided over by Mrs. W. H. Hickson.

The United Sons of Confederate Veterans have also effected an organization throughout the State, this taking place during the year 1899, with W. H. McClelland commander of the Louisiana Division, the camp in New Orleans being named Beauregard.

These several organizations co-operate with the Louisiana Division of the United Confederate Veterans, which division at its last convention, held at Baton Rouge, July 3 and 4, 1899, elected J. Y. Gilmore, Major-General, for the ensuing year, and he appointed Colonel Lewis Guion Adjutant-General and chief of staff. This division is in the department of the Army of the Tennessee, of which General Stephen D. Lee is the Commander, and is under General John B. Gordon as Grand Commander, who has been at the head of the organization since the formation of the Confederate camps of the South into one grand association at a convention of such bodies of organized Confederate veterans, held at New Orleans in 1889. Commanders of the Louisiana Division, beginning with 1892, of the United Confederate Veterans have been as follows: W. J. Behan, 1892; John Glyn, Jr.,

1893; J. O. Watts, 1894; B. F. Eshleman, 1895; W. G. Vincent, 1896; John McGrath, 1897; C. H. Lombard, 1898; W. H. Tunnard, 1899; and J. Y. Gilmore, 1900.

For more than twenty years, in the exercises of the Confederate Veterans, the organizations of Federal Veterans in New Orleans have participated, reciprocating a similar courtesy shown them on their Decoration day by the Confederate Veterans, thus doing on both sides what they can to assuage the once bitter feeling of the war.

GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

The Grand Army of the Republic was first organized in Louisiana in 1867, with H. C. Warmoth, department commander; but as little attention was given to reports at that period the records furnish but meager information as to the number and strength of posts. Then, too, the unsettled condition of affairs in the State hastened a general breaking up of the organization.

A reorganization of the Grand Army was effected in the State in 1872, Joseph A. Mower Post, No. 1, being chartered April 10, that year. As this was the only organized post in the State for a number of years it performed a good deal of work among the Federal soldiers who had settled in Louisiana and adjoining States, and the friendly association of its members with similar organizations among the Confederate soldiers aided largely in allaying the bitter feelings that had been engendered by the war.

The first encampment of the Gulf was held in New Orleans, May 15, 1884, with William Roy commander. By general orders dated June 13, 1884, the title was changed to the Department of Louisiana and Mississippi. Early in 1890 nine posts were chartered by Commander Gray, whose motives in thus suddenly bringing into existence these new posts, composed, as they were, largely of colored members, were seriously questioned, and in the department encampments of 1890 and 1892 these newly created posts were allowed no representation. The case being brought on appeal before the national encampment, the principle was clearly enunciated, by two national encampments, that the colored ex-soldier was entitled to all the privileges and benefits enjoyed by the white ex-soldiers, in the Grand Army of the Republic. Orders having been issued by Commander-in-Chief Palmer for the recognition of these new posts by the department, a special department encampment was convened in March, 1892, and the department organization was dissolved and the charter forwarded to national headquarters, while five of the eight white posts also surrendered their charters. Past Department Commander A. S.

Badger was appointed commander, and the charter returned to him, with instructions to reorganize the department. A temporary organization was effected and a department encampment held in August, 1892, at which encampment the department was again regularly organized with twelve posts and a full complement of officers. Charles W. Keeting was elected department commander at the annual encampment held in March, 1894, and has been annually re-elected to the same office ever since. The department now has forty-nine posts, with an aggregate of 1,000 members.

Following are the names of the posts located in New Orleans: Joseph A. Mower Post, No. 1; Andre Cailloux Post, No. 9; C. J. Barnett, No. 10; U. S. Grant, No. 11; John H. Crowder, No. 12; Oscar Orillion, No. 14; Ellsworth, No. 15; R. G. Shaw, No. 18; Farragut, No. 21,—the average membership being somewhat more than thirty.

MISCELLANEOUS.

L'Athenee Louisianais was incorporated January 12, 1876, at which time a constitution was adopted and officers elected. The founders of this society were: Dr. Labin Martin, General G. T. Beauregard, Dr. Armand Mercier, Dr. Just Tonatre, Dr. Alfred Mercier, Colonel Leon Queyrouze, Dr. Charles Turpin, James Auguste, Oliver Carriere, Paul Fourchy, Dr. Jean G. Hava and Judge Arthur Saucier. The objects of this society were to cultivate the study of the French language, to disseminate the results of literary research and to encourage local talent. The latter two objects were accomplished by the establishment and publication of a periodical called the *Comptes Rendus de l'Athenee Louisianais*. As the members of this society were and are men of education and ripe scholarship, they have, for the years during which the society has been in existence, prepared and published many papers on a great variety of subjects, valuable in a local and general way, but too numerous to present even a list of them in this work.

L'Union Francaise, or the French Union, was organized in 1872, and incorporated October 5, of that year. Its object was to aid such natives of Alsace and Lorraine as might desire to leave their native land rather than live under the German government, those two provinces having been taken from France by Germany after the war of 1870-71. However, it resulted that there were fewer of such people seeking Louisiana as a home than had been expected, and the Union turned its attention to the succoring of those needing aid because of the yellow fever epidemic of 1878, the society caring for 845 persons, of whom only 58 died, and spending in its benevolent work \$16,807.65.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CARNIVAL OF NEW ORLEANS.

BY HENRY RIGHTOR.

THE Carnival of New Orleans is holiday in spirit and practical in fact; and right here is the charm and the strangeness of the thing. It is a heritage from the Latin Old World to its most faithful children of the New World. It can not be imitated nor reproduced elsewhere, nor can the blue skies which swing above the glare and brass of its masks and revels. The inspiration lies deep in the genius of the people. Life is held sweet in New Orleans. Money is for life, not life for money. The Carnival is not a commercial expedient. If it were, it would not escape the fate that befalls whatever is insincere. It is the expression of a genuine emotion. It is the embodiment of care thrown to the winds. It is no more a hypocrisy than the glance of a maiden's brown eye or the blush which mantles her cheek. Yet it sets in motion powerful commercial activities. If it did harm it might not endure. It not only does no harm, but on the contrary is productive of much good; so it is supported heartily, not only by those who are impelled by the carnival spirit, but as well by those who, from motives of philanthropy or public spirit, perceive in its perpetuation a benefit to the city and its people.

There is no measure of the advantages of the Carnival to be found in the immediate results to tavern-keepers, street cars and tradesmen. The effects are cumulative—establishment of new conditions, new wants created, opportunities discerned, mistakes rectified. It is a crucible from which emanate strange crystals. That is a narrow view which insists upon putting the finger upon results. The Carnival to be good must be genuine, and to be genuine it must be taken with the simple faith of those worthy roysterers who started it here in their joyous way this century ago. There are enemies of this Carnival; not those chill-hearted, shrivel-skins who frown it down as a device of the devil; not the clergy, nor any overt opposition. It is the innovators who are to be feared, they who do not understand the carnival spirit, and seek to have it new. This striving to have the people point and cheer will some time kill the Carnival. Once let it get into the hands

of the Philistines and it is gone. It is a Latin institution. The genius of the Carnival is a madcap whose face is smeared with the lees of wine. It is gay and mad and rollicking, and over it all broods the ghost of the grotesque. It wots nothing of the prim and formal. It is not beautiful. Its elements are contrast, not harmony. It is laughter and youth and forgetfulness and humanity. It is, in fine, the Carnival, and as such should escape the clumsy, dispiriting, despoiling, profaning hands of vandals and innovators.

In its earlier days the New Orleans Carnival was formless and inchoate. It represented merely the hey-day spirit of the time, a gorging for the fast. The streets were filled with a pleasing tumult and the imaginations of the people ran riot in the search for grotesque and unusual disguises. While there has never been in New Orleans entirely the license which characterized the primitive revelries of the Greeks and Romans, nor even as great a degree of abandonment to pleasure as prevailed in the Italian Carnival before the Church laid its refining and compromising finger upon the ceremonies, the people have ever, even to this day, thrown themselves into the pleasures and immunities of the time with an enthusiasm and genuineness, impossible to any save those of Latin blood. The evolution of the Carnival has been natural and normal. Its continuance has accentuated and refined the qualities of mind and temperament which gave it birth. The ardent and uncultivated imagination which, at the dawn of the century, manifested itself in the creation of a mere motley of color and diversity of form, has developed, by gradual stages, into an aestheticism which, consulting the lore of all the ages and exploring the treasures of every art, spreads before the wondering gaze of the multitude, a series of gorgeous and symmetrical spectacles, inspired by imagination, directed by art, and embodying within themselves fidelity to history, mythology and all the harmonies. Where before was the flash of color, the hoot, the shout and the cheer of the undiscerning rabble, to-day is found the well-considered pageant passing in orderly review before observant and informed cosmopolitan audiences, quick and critical as the auditors in a theatre. And all this peopling of the streets with good and evil genii, with tales of enchantment and figures stalking out of the silent and mysterious solitudes of the past, has exerted upon the already nimble and expansive imaginations of the people, an influence rendering them sprightly, charming and different from any other people of the continent, while at the same time preparing them for the production of works of art and literature which shall some day come to surprise the world with their fertility of fancy and singular originality.

It is not to be understood that the old mad spirit of the Carnival has entirely passed away. It has been refined, etherealized and more or less systematized as to the masses; yet lurking in odd corners and among quaint peoples, the old Carnival is still to be found. And, oddly enough, it is the negroes who preserve in its truest essence the primitive spirit of the Carnival. In the vicinities of the St. Bernard and Tremé markets, in Frenchman street and elsewhere in the densely populated neighborhoods of the Old Quarter, the Carnival runs as mad and rollicking in the season as it did when the old Orleans Theatre was the focus and culmination of its revelries a half century ago. The favorite disguise with the negroes is that of the Indian warrior, doubtless from the facility with which it lends itself to a complete transformation of the personality without the use of the encumbering and embarrassing mask; and in war paint and feathers, bearing the tomahawk and bow, they may be seen on Mardi Gras running along the streets in bands of from six to twenty and upwards, whooping, leaping, brandishing their weapons, and, anon, stopping in the middle of a street to go through the movements of a mimic war-dance, chanting the while in rhythmic cadence an outlandish jargon of no sensible import to any save themselves. With undiminished spirit and energy, and with the utmost good humor, these negro maskers continue their pranks and capers till night falls, when they repair to the hall they have selected for their ball, where they are joined by their women, and new accessions of maskers and dance away the hours till the Carnival spirit has died within them from sheer fatigue.

At such a ball the hall is usually decorated with garlands and festoons of colored tissue paper, which contribute a very animated appearance to the scene. Near the entrance is to be found a kind of bar, at which are dispensed liquid refreshments of various kinds—lemonade, beer and more ardent liquors. At the rear or on the floor below is located a primitive kind of café communicating with a little kitchen, in which enormous cauldrons of gumbo are boiling, platters of which with a liberal allowance of boiled rice, are served to the bucks and their wenches for a small sum.

On Mardi Gras night, fatigue, leagued with a proper regard for the Church's decree that Lent begins at midnight, usually brings these negro balls to a close in respect of the majority of the attendants, before the first hour of the morning of Ash Wednesday. But the negro mask balls usually begin at least a week before the day of Mardi Gras proper. The Saturday preceding Mardi Gras will find a dozen of them in progress at such halls as Hope Hall, on Tremé and Dumaine, and

Economy Hall, on Usurlines, near Vileéré. At these pre-Mardi Gras balls, the dancers being subject only to the casual fatigues of the work-a-day world, it is not uncommon to find them breaking up well into the glare of day.

There is another feature of the season, typical enough in its way, which may be considered representative of the more vicious tendencies of the Carnival. This consists in the balls given by the class corresponding to that of the gladiators and *hetaræ* of antiquity. These balls, usually two in number, one given on the Saturday night preceding Mardi Gras, the other on the night of Mardi Gras proper, have been celebrated for many years at the Odd Fellows' Hall, in Camp street. Here resort the courtesans of the town, as well as those whom opportunities for diversion and excitement attract to the city from distant places during this period of lavish expenditure and abandonment to pleasure. The women who attend these balls are most commonly masked, though some of the more brazen, garbed in silks and jewels which might well put to blush the handsomest toilettes seen at the balls of virtue and fashion, make the occasion one for the exhibition and advertisement of their charms. The balls are essentially democratic in respect of the personalities of those who attend, the test being only Caucasian blood and a reasonable degree of decorum; and, being under the eye of the police, they are characterized by far less ribaldry than is commonly supposed. It is a common thing for the *jeunesse doree*, who have spent the earlier hours of the night, in conformity with the proprieties, at some of the exclusive balls of the patrician class, to wind up the night at these easier affairs of the *demi monde*. It is considered a license of the period for bachelors to attend these balls and strangers of the sterner sex who do not at best get a glimpse of the floor consider that they have missed one of the sights of the Carnival. The men do not, as a rule, mask, although there are many exceptions who prowl round the room mysteriously garbed in black from head to heels, like hangmen. There were several striking figures upon the floor at one of these balls given during the Carnival of 1900. One of the most conspicuous was a very tall and shapely woman whose identity baffled all surmises. She represented Mephistopheles, and was garbed in flame-colored fleshings with a hideous mask and horns. Two little women, disguised as clowns, advertised a brand of champagne, and cut ridiculous capers. Another woman represented a toreador, while a tall man strutted round in the costume of a matador. There were also a Marguerite and a Faust, both women, an empress, a dozen flower girls, a Red Riding Hood, a Dolly Varden, a Pocahontas and innumerable princesses. The price of admission to these balls is usually several dollars, and wine, as well as other refreshments, are sold at extravagant figures. The balls usually endure until dawn.

To the great mass of the people, the Carnival means the street pageantries, and chiefly those of Rex and his satellites. All the other events of the Carnival are more or less class affairs, but these street processions are the common property of the well-to-do and the proletariat, and all the year round the children and working folk look forward to them as beautiful dreams that come once a year.

The evolution of the New Orleans Carnival has not yet reached a stage where definite limitations to the season have been fixed. Under one construction it is possible to assume the Carnival season beginning as early as the night of January the 6th, when the ball of the Twelfth Night Revelers is celebrated. This is upwards of a month earlier than Mardi Gras ever occurs, yet it is a carnival ball in this, that it is a masked ball, with all the customs prevailing which characterize the balls of the acknowledged Carnival season. On the other hand, the Carnival is a matter concerning the people in the widest and most democratic sense, and the ball of the Twelfth Night Revelers is essentially a class and patrician affair. It would therefore seem a distortion of the true meaning of the word, to have it that the Carnival begins at Twelfth Night, or that it begins, indeed, at any time anterior to the celebration of the first street parade. And as these street parades are not constant in their appearances year by year, with the exception of Rex, Comus and Proteus, no prescribed beginning of the Carnival has yet been fixed, nor is susceptible of being fixed, until a definite date, so many days before Mardi Gras, be set for the first pageant. In the year 1900 the Carnival season began with the electric street pageant of Nereus, which took place on the night of Wednesday, February 21st, six days before Mardi Gras. The balls of the Twelfth Night Revelers, Atlanteans, Con-sus and the Elves of Oberon had already been given, during the course of the previous fortnight, but these were exclusive affairs not open to strangers and the general public, excepting upon the warranty of personal cards of invitation, and were, therefore, not essential factors in the great popular celebration.

We are told that the Carnival in Louisiana harks back to a period as remote as Bienville's ascent of the Mississippi, and are given a picturesquely circumstantial account of those hardy discoverers mooring their boats to the reedy banks of the river and celebrating the Carnival with great spirit and abandon upon the virgin soil. But I take it that this is at best apocryphal and intended to accentuate the romanticism of our history and cast a certain glamour over the genesis of the Carnival. Records of the origin of the Carnival in New Orleans are meager, but the community having been from its inception Latin and Catholic, it is highly probable that desultory masking on feast days was not unusual so early as the time of the first influx of colonists or refugees from the Spanish possessions.

In the time of Louis Philippe, all Paris went mad with the Carnival. It was the height of the city's gayety and splendor. Louisiana at that time was prosperous and the sons of wealthy planters and merchants were sent to Paris to complete the educations begun in the parochial schools at home. In Paris these young men imbibed the spirit of the Carnival. The tang of the mad time was sweet to their Latin blood, and they brought the custom home. [We have accurate information that in 1827 a number of these young Creole gentlemen, fresh from their Parisian experiences, effected something like an organization of the wandering and nondescript maskers who peopled the balconies and sidewalks, and paraded—in very bad order and with worse discipline—the principal streets of the city. There appears to have been no further organization of maskers until 1837, when there were even more maskers in line than before.]

The Bee of Mardi Gras, 1839 (Feb. 13), published a call requesting all those who were to take part in the masquerade, to assemble at the Théâtre d'Orleans (on Orleans street, between Royal and Bourbon) not later than half past three o'clock of the afternoon. The order of march of this parade was as follows: From the Théâtre d'Orleans, Royal street, St. Charles, Julia, Camp, Chartres, Condé, Esplanade, Royal. The parade was of the most indiscriminate and democratic nature, wagons crowded with merry negroes following in the wake of coaches and fiacres in which sat slim, silk-garbed patricians, while hundreds of maskers, in the most diverse and grotesque make-ups, ran along on foot, shouting, cheering, imitating animals and throwing kisses and confetti at the sidewalks and galleries, or perhaps belaboring some unlucky onlooker who had pressed too near the ranks, with the resounding, but harmless, inflated goat-bladder. Having marched its appointed route, the parade broke up towards nightfall, and later such of the maskers as had subscribed to the affair, repaired to the fancy dress and masquerade ball given at the old Orleans Theatre. Another ball of the same character was given on the same night in the ballroom of the old St. Louis Hotel (now the Hotel Royal).

From 1840 to 1845 a number of parades similar to that described above were given year by year; then a period of comparative inactivity in respect of the celebration of the Carnival in the form of parades appears to have intervened and continued until 1852, when, as Norman Walker tells us, "A number of New Orleans' first young men determined to get up a procession that would equal in numbers, in order, variety, elegance and piquancy of costumes, any that the chronicles of Mardi Gras in this country could record. The announcement of this intention, through the press, excited universal curiosity, and when the memorable day came New Orleans boasted

of an accession to her population, in the shape of visitors from the North, West and South, that has not been surpassed since. The procession traversed the leading streets of the city, which were positively jammed with admiring throngs, and at night the old Orleans Theatre was the center of attraction for all that the Crescent City held of beauty and fashion. The maskers of the day there received their friends; and that bewildering ball was long remembered as the gem of many such jewels clustering in the diadem of the Queen of the South."

A custom which prevailed in the earlier days of the Carnival, but which police discretion has since seen fit to abolish, was that of the masker carrying, swung to his side, a bag of flour, handfuls of which it was considered right and entertaining to throw in the faces of luckless pedestrians whom the maskers might encounter as they went sweeping up the street. The abolition of this prank of flour-throwing was hastened by the fact that, whether through malignity or inability to get flour, some of the maskers were prompted to fill their bags with quick-lime, which naturally produced most disastrous results when thrown into the faces of citizens. By starts and spurts the Italian habit of throwing about the streets bits of paper or plaster, simulating sweetmeats (*confetti*) has prevailed in New Orleans, but the maskers have, as a rule, been more genuine in their favors, and whenever they saw fit to throw anything into the crowds, have used real candies. In the year 1900 a Westerner imported from Italy a number of barrels of confetti in the shape of little disks of various colored paper the diameter of a lead pencil. These were distributed among peddlers, who hawked them about the streets with such good effect that presently the air was all red and blue with the fluttering bits. The police at first put a stop to the sale and throwing of these confetti, but after an indignant article from the Times-Democrat newspaper, the Mayor removed the restriction.

The earliest formal Carnival organization of any consequence in the South belongs not to New Orleans, but to the neighboring city of Mobile. This was the Cowbellions, which originated the idea of presenting tableaux on vehicles moving through the streets. The Cowbellions gave its first parade in Mobile, New Year's Eve of the year 1831. The originator of Carnival pageantries in New Orleans was the Mistick Krewe of Comus, which first appeared upon the streets at 9 o'clock of the night of February 24, 1857. The subject of representation was Milton's Paradise Lost, and a newspaper of the day described the procession and ensuing ball in the following words:

"This Krewe, concerning whose identity and purposes there had been such

tortures of curiosity and speculation, made their *début* before the public in a very unique and attractive manner. They went through the streets at 9 o'clock, with torch-lights, in a guise as much resembling a deputation from the lower regions as the mind could possibly conceive. The masks displayed every fantastic idea of the fearful and horrible, their effect being, however, softened down by the richness and beauty of the costumes, and the evident decorum of the devils inside. After going through the principal streets, and calling upon Mayor Waterman, for the purpose, we suppose, of obtaining a license to 'raise the supernatural' in the Gaiety Theatre, they proceeded to that elegant establishment in order to entertain the hosts of guests they had summoned.

"The interior of the theatre was decorated with a profusion of hanging wreaths and festoons of flowers. In a short time after the doors were thrown open, all the space inside, apart from the floor and stage, was jammed with an audience composed of the *élite* of Louisiana and the adjacent States—none being in mask but the Krewe. In due time the Mistick Krewe appeared on the stage in the full glare of the lights. If we may so speak, they were beautiful in their ugliness—charming in their repulsiveness. There were upwards of a hundred of them, and no two alike, whilst all were grotesque to the last degree. They represented the different characters with which religion, mythology and poesy have peopled the Infernal Regions, and which Milton has aggregated in his "Paradise Lost." Four tableaux were given. The first represented Tartarus, the second the Expulsion, the third the Conference of Satan and Beelzebub, and the fourth and last the Pandemonium. At the conclusion of the tableaux the barriers were removed and the brilliant audience crowded upon the dancing floor. The Mistick Krewe having disbanded, dispersed among the crowd and joined in the dance in a manner which showed them to be very gentlemanly and agreeable devils."

On February 1, 1872, under Colonel Walter Merriam and Edward C. Hancock, arrangements were made for the reign of Rex, our gracious, benignant king, who favors us yearly with his jovial presence, to the delight of pleasure-lovers and particularly of children.

Rex, according to a quaint "Handbook of the Carnival," published in 1874, is the offspring of Old King Cole and the goddess Terpsichore, whom the former wooed in the shape of an Irish bull. The king was born some time in the eighth century on the shores of the Mediterranean. He ruled at one time over the whole of Southern Europe, which he had conquered, but gradually losing his power, became disgusted and adopted the Land of Freedom as his home. He now lives

in seclusion among our swamps and appears once a year to his loyal subjects. He has never married, being too young and gay to settle down, but is still sowing his wild oats, and chooses every year one of the fairest girls of the Crescent City to reign as queen with him.

Following is the "first autograph letter" of Rex (1872):

"His Royalovitch Highness of the King of the Carnival, Officia llywels, comest one worle aush isroy alcons with e mosts wiss ant Duke, Alexis Alexandrovitch, Romanoff, audri eth a ldaspe cuala uche wsef orh Isrecc ption atsue use ton Mardi Gras.

REX."

Among the guests at his first grand banquet were General H. S. McComb, General Beauregard, Colonel Sam Boyd, Norbert Trepagnier, P. O. Hébert, Samuel Smith, J. W. Burbridge, I. N. Marks, C. A. Whitmess, C. H. Slocomb. About forty young men composed the association which was to achieve such grand results.

Rex published eight edicts, one of which forbade the punishment of children during his reign. All quarrels and disagreements were likewise to be suspended. Mardi Gras is a legal holiday in New Orleans.

The first "turn out" of Rex consisted of the "Boeuf Gras," a beautiful white bull, representing the "meat" to which the city was saying farewell, and an immense crowd of maskers. Three silver keys (of the city) were turned over to Rex by the Mayor, and for a day pleasure reigned supreme. The Carnival was this year witnessed by the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia. Until 1877, however, no formal parade of floats was given.

The society of New Orleans is, in a sense, built around the Carnival balls. They are the events of the year and are awaited as eagerly by the debutantes lapped in luxury as are the parades by the little street Arabs. The season is opened, as a rule, by the Twelfth Night Revellers' ball. Very handsome invitations are issued by all the Carnival organizations. In Leap Year the ball of Les Mystérieuses, an organization composed of ladies exclusively, follows the Twelfth Night Revellers, and then in succession Mithras, Consus, Elves of Oberon, Atlanteans, Nereus, mark the flying weeks till the great events that crowd about Mardi Gras. The Momus ball is usually given the Thursday before Mardi Gras. Friday the Carnival German is danced. Monday afternoon the king comes in—Rex arrives—and parades with the city militia. It is a gay day on the river, and all the boats join in welcoming to the city, the King of Joy. Monday night the Proteus parade and ball take place; Tuesday about noon the Rex procession, and Tuesday night the Comus parade, and the Rex and Comus balls. The king and his court always attend, later at night, the ball of Comus. Wednesday morning finds an exhausted city.

Improvised seats are put up everywhere for reviewing the Carnival. Rex's colors (green, yellow and purple) are seen everywhere. At night the illuminations are magnificent, particularly at the various clubs, where large receptions are held. The air teems with light and color and resounds with the king's own anthem, "If Ever I Cease to Love." Immense crowds throng Canal street and St. Charles avenue up to Louisiana avenue, to which point the parades of latter years proceed. But few accidents occur, good nature prevails and the immense concourse of people is admirably managed by the authorities. The electric cars also play their part without a mistake, usually.

The processions are always headed by a title car and a chariot containing the special monarch of the occasion. The Rex parade is always headed by the *Boeuf Gras*, or fatted ox. Mules and negroes form a necessary part of the procession, and at night picturesque flambeaux are carried. Most of the work connected with the Carnival is now done in the city, and labor and materials do not have to be imported.

Nothing disagreeable occurs during the Carnival time. Maskers often toss presents of candy to friends whom they perceive in the crowd. In the year 1900 pretty spirals of colored papers were thrown in profusion.

To be queen at one of the balls is the greatest honor that can befall a New Orleans girl. But there are four or five maids of honor to each queen, so by the time the Carnival is over almost every popular debutante has had a Carnival honor. The queens and maids of various Carnivals are conspicuous for grace and beauty, and good taste in dress. Notes are sent by the maskers every year, "calling out" ladies for the maskers' dances,—the first five or six or seven on the programme. Ladies "called out" are given particular seats and enjoy the ball to the utmost. Handsome pins and souvenirs are given by the maskers to their partners in the dances, and besides many little trinkets that form part of the Carnival costumes.

In 1857 Comus presented "Paradise Lost," as has already been described.

In 1858 Comus' subject of illustration was "Mythology."

March 8th, 1859, witnessed a particularly magnificent pageant of Comus, representing "Twelfth Night, or Lord of Misrule." It was followed, as in the preceding year, by four tableaux, and a ball at the Varieties Theatre. At twelve o'clock the maskers disappeared.

February 21st, 1860, fifteen cars, presenting American history from Columbus to Webster, formed the Comus pageant. The cars represented blocks of granite,

upon which groups of white statuary rested. The horses, also, were draped in white. The procession, as usual, stopped en route to pay its respects to the mayor of the city. At the ball that night ten tableaux were given.

"Scenes from Life" was presented by Comus February 13th, 1861. Infancy, with its cradle, boyhood with tops and kites, youth, manhood and old age with attendant vices, virtues and follies were followed by a car representing Death, and containing a skeleton.

For the next few years the Civil War was raging and all Mardi Gras festivities were suspended. But on the 13th of February, 1866, four cars passed through the streets representing "The Past," "The Present," "The Future," and "The Court of Comus." This was Comus' meager first parade after the war. The ball invitations represented those sad intervening years of trouble, 1862, '63, '64, '65.

March 5th, 1867, "Triumphs of Epicurus" was given by Comus.

February 25th, 1868, "The Senses"—"Smell, Touch, Taste," etc.

February 9th, 1869, "Lalla Rookh."

March 1st, 1870, Comus gave "History of Louisiana" (statuary). In this year the New Orleans Carnival was pronounced by a Boston journal to be "worth crossing a continent to see." In this year (1870), also, the second in age of the Carnival organizations, "The Twelfth Night Revellers," gave a procession in which Europe, Asia, Africa and America were represented. A ball ensued at the French Opera House. This, of course, was given January 3th, the night the Three Wise Men came to Bethlehem.

In 1871, Comus represented Spenser's "Faerie Queen" and the Revellers represented "Mother Goose."

The year 1872 formed a momentous epoch in Carnival history, for it was in this year that Rex first came upon the streets. In this year Comus gave "Dreams of Homer," and the Twelfth Night Revellers represented "Humor, Its Gods and Its Fathers." In this year Momus first came into being and presented "The Talisman," with a fine tableau and a crowd of maskers.

In 1873, in which year the city illuminations were very fine, Comus gave the "Darwinian Theory"; the Revellers, "Audubon and His Birds"; Momus, "Coming Races." The Darwinian theory was much discussed at this time. (The Momus parades from 1872 to 1876 were given on the 31st of December. In 1876 the time was changed to the Thursday preceding Mardi Gras. In 1873, Rex paraded with a number of maskers, and several new organizations helped to swell his numbers,—the "King's Own," "Oxonians," the "Pack" and "Lights of St. George." The pro-

cessions stopped at various places on its way, where toasts were drunk and speeches made.

In 1874 the Revellers presented "Dolliana," the parade being headed by an immense cake, borne in state. The Rex procession (February 17th) illustrated "The Glories of Persia"; Comus received "The Nations of the Earth," and led them through his favorite city.

There was no street carnival in 1875, but several balls took place (February 29th).

In 1876 Comus gave "Four Thousand Years of Sacred History." Momus gave "Louisiana and Her Products."

On February 13th, 1877, Rex gave, "War in Every Age," in his first series of mounted tableaux. Comus illustrated "Aryan Race," and Momus a "Dream of Hades."

In 1878 (March 5th) Rex gave a caricature of mythical personages; Comus, "Metamorphosis of Ovid"; Momus, "Scenes From the Realm of Fancy."

On February 25th, 1879, Rex as "Richard Coeur de Lion," presided over various scenes from the world's history.

In 1880 (February 10th), Rex illustrated the "Elements," and the "Phunny Phorty Phellows," an organization famous for mirth and burlesque, turned out for the third time with its body of merry maskers. Comus in this year gave the "Conquest of Mexico," and Momus "Dream of Fair Women."

In 1881 (March 1st), Rex presented "Arabian Nights," and a new organization, "The Independent Order of the Moon," followed with "Pictures from the Town." The Phunny Phorty Phellows gave the "Boss' Dream About Women"; Comus, "North-land Myths"; Momus, "Scenes from Popular Story Books."

The year 1882 (February 21st) saw in Rex's procession the pageant of "The King of Pleasure"; Independent Order of the Moon, "Mirth, Melody and Moonlight"—scenes from popular songs; Phunny Phorty Phellows, "Comical Illustrations of Days We Celebrate"; Comus, "World Worship." In this year first appeared (1882) "Proteus," an organization which now takes rank with Momus and Comus. The initial pageant of this order presented "Egyptian Myths." Momus in 1882 gave "Ramayana," the epic poem of the Hebrews.

In 1883 (February 6th), Rex gave "Atlantis," the Phunny Phorties a burlesque of the stage—comedy, tragedy, opera; the Independent Order of the Moon, "Familiar Rhymes," literally interpreted; Proteus, "History of France," and Momus, "Moors in Spain." Comus did not appear that year.

In 1844 (February 26th), Rex illustrated "Semitic Races"; the Mystic Merry Bellions, an organization of the same kind as Independent Order of the Moon, "Vanity Fair"; the Phunny Phorty Phellows, "Medley"; Momus, "The Passions"; Proteus, "The Aeneid"; and Comus "Ancient Ireland."

In 1885 (February 17), the Rex parade represented "Ivanhoe"; Momus, "Legendary Lore"; Proteus, "Chinese Myths"; there were this year only three parades in all.

In 1886 (March 9th), Rex gave "Aurelian's Triumph" and other historic scenes; Proteus, "Visions of Other Worlds," and the Independent Order of the Moon, "Twelve Months' Rations," each month in turn, with its holidays and peculiarities, being burlesqued.

In 1887 (February 22nd), Rex presented "Music and Popular Airs"; the Independent Order of the Moon, "The Yankee Nation"; and Proteus, "Anderson's Fairy Tales."

In 1888 (February 14th), Rex gave "The Realm of Flowers"; the Independent Order of the Moon, "Flights of Fancy"; Proteus, "Legends of the Middle Ages."

In 1889 (March 5th), Rex presented "Treasures of Earth." While Proteus, Momus and other mystic rulers of Carnival times conceal their identity, that of Rex is now publicly announced. The mimic kingship is an honor awarded some citizen for popularity and always reflects credit on the man chosen. In the year 1889 the name of the King appears to have been given out for the first time. In 1889 Rex was Mr. John G. Schriever, and he chose as queen, Miss Cora Richardson. Proteus gave, in 1889, "Hindoo Heavens," and at his ball chose Miss Edith Jennings for queen. Momus, in a series of beautiful tableaux at the Opera House, presented the "Culprit Fay."

On the 18th of February, 1890, Rex, in the person of Sylvester P. Walmsley, headed a number of handsome floats presenting "Rulers of Ancient Times." His queen was Miss Anita Shakespeare. This year saw a great revival in Carnival spirit. Proteus gave "Elfland," his queen being Miss Emma Joubert. Comus displayed the "Palingenesis of Comus," his queen being Miss Katie Buckner. Momus gave a large ball, of which Miss Nora Glennly was queen, and his tableaux had for subject "Paradise and the Peri." Mention might here be made of the Carnival German, a very exclusive society affair, given usually the Friday before Mardi Gras, as was the case in the year just referred to. The dancers do not mask at this ball.

In 1891, the Atlanteans first appeared. Their ball was given February 3d, thus opening the Mardi Gras season. Their tableaux represented the "Temple of

Poseidon and Coleito" and "Destruction of Atlantis." The ball was said to be magnificent, and its queen was Miss Adele Blanc.

On the 10th of February, 1891, Rex (Mr. James P. Richardson) gave "Visions of Rex." His queen was Miss Bessie Behan. The Momus ball was presided over by Palmer Cox's "Brownies." The queen was Miss Amelie Aldigé. The Proteus parade represented "Tales of the Genii," and the queen was Miss Susan Miles. Comus gave "Demonology," and chose as his queen Miss Cora Jennings.

In 1892 the tableaux of the Atlanteans represented "The Tempest," and the queen of the ball was Miss Lucia Miltenberger. Rex (March 1st), in a beautiful pageant, gave "The Colors." Mr. Robert S. Day was king of the Carnival, and Miss Carrie Spellman queen. The Comus parade chose for its subject "Nippon, the Land of Flowers," and the Comus queen was Miss Winnie Davis, "Daughter of the Confederacy." Proteus gave "The Vegetable Kingdom," and for queen chose Miss Valentine Cassard.

In 1893, the Atlanteans in their tableaux gave "Northern Allegories"; their queen was Miss Annie Payne. Mr. John Poitevant, as Rex, on the 14th of February, chose Miss Ella Sinnot for his queen. The subject of the Rex parade was "Fantasies." Comus gave "Salammbô," Flaubert's novel, in a series of handsome floats. His queen was the beautiful Miss Josephine Maginnis. Proteus' subject, in 1893, was "Kalevala, Myths of Finland," and his queen was Miss Virginia Nicholls. Momus in his tableaux prettily illustrated the "Four-Leaf Clover," and his queen was Miss Ella Barkley.

In 1894, the Twelfth Night Revellers gave a beautiful ball, of which Miss Fannie Eshelman was queen. According to old customs, a cake is cut at each Twelfth Night ball. Its slices are distributed to the débutantes present, and the piece containing a golden bean singles out as queen its fortunate possessor. In like manner, silver beans mark the maids of honor. The Atlanteans (1894) chose for the subject of their tableaux "Ballet of the Seasons at Fontainebleau," and as queen, Miss Evelyn Gasquet. Rex (B. A. Oxnard) presented "Illustrations from Literature." His queen was Miss Minnie Stewart. Mardi Gras this year fell on the fifth of February. The subject of Momus in his ball was "The Fairies and the Fiddler"; his queen, Miss Louise Dunbar. Proteus on this occasion presented "Persian Myths." His queen was Miss Alice Denis. Comus gave "Once Upon a Time," his queen being Miss Mathilde Levert.

In 1895 the Twelfth Night Revellers, with Miss Nora Glennly as queen, gave a tableaux representing old time merry-makers around a chateau. The Elves of

Oberon made their first appearance this year (1895) in a handsome ball, of which Miss Josie Craig was queen; the tableaux represented "A Midsummer Night's Dream." The Atlanteans presented "The Bride of the Ice King." Their queen was Miss Nellie Dwyer. Rex (February 27th) was impersonated by Mr. Frank T. Howard, whose queen was Miss Lydia Fairchild. The subject of his parade was "Fairylane Chronicles." Momus, in his annual ball, presented "The Wooing and Wedding of Nala and Darmayante." His queen was Miss Charlee Elliott. The Proteus parade gave "Norse Myths," and Miss Louise Wiltz was queen. Comus' subject was "Songs of Long Ago"; his queen, Miss Emily Poitevant.

The year 1896 saw the Carnival growing and prospering. The Twelfth Night Revellers, at their ball, gave an exquisite tableau of "Cloudland," and the golden bean fell to Miss Bertie Hayward, who reigned over the festivities. This year being leap year, a number of leading society women planned and gave a very handsome ball, of which Mrs. A. A. Brittin was president. They called themselves "Les Mystérieuses." Mr. Willie Stauffer was made king. In all respects the usual positions of men and women were reversed, the former being "called out" by the latter. On February 3rd (1896), a new organization made a very successful appearance. This was the Krewe of Nereus. His first ball presented in tableaux "Sea Views," and his queen was Miss May Van Benthuyzen. The Atlanteans, at their ball, presented "Loves of the Angels," Moore's poem, and their queen was Miss Penelope Chaffe. The Elves of Oberon gave "Visions in Marble," and their queen was Miss Virginia Logan. On the 18th of February (1896), Rex illustrated "Planets." Mr. Charles Janvier was king of the Carnival, Miss Arthemise Baldwin, queen. Momus, in his ball this year (1896), burlesqued the Carnival, a miniature parade being given on the stage, and his queen was Miss Alice Buckner. Proteus chose for the subject of his parade the "Animal Kingdom," and for queen, Miss Vira Boarman. Comus this year presented on his floats "The Seasons," and his queen was Miss Alma Kruttschnitt. The Phunny Phorties this year gave a ball, with a medley of grotesque and mirth-provoking maskers, and Miss Myrtle Gehl for queen. This organization, in 1878, gave "The Fire Department"; in 1879, "The Militia"; in 1880, "Brother Jonathan," and kindred societies, in 1881, "Woman's Rights."

In 1897, Miss Lydia Winship was queen of the Twelfth Night ball. The Mithras ball gave a handsome series of tableaux. The queen was Miss Louise Joubert. The Elves of Oberon, with Miss Edith Buckner as queen, presented "Rhineland Pictures." Nereus gave views of the sea-deeps, and his queen was Miss Alys Laroussini. The Atlanteans presented "The Elements." Miss Stella De-

moruelle was queen. This year a new organization, Consus, made its appearance, and in a very handsome ball depicted "Robin Hood, and His Merry Men." The queen was Miss Stella Demoruelle. The subject of the Rex parade was "Marine Pictures." Mr. A. B. Wheeler was king, and Miss Ethelyn Lallande queen. The subject of Comus was the "Odyssey"; his queen, Miss May Schmidt. Momus gave no tableaux. The queen of this ball was Miss Lydia Finlay. Proteus chose for his queen Miss Juanita Lallande, and for the subject of his parade, "Orlande Furioso."

In 1898, the Twelfth Night Revellers gave "Minstrels of Olden Times," Miss Julia Palfrey being queen. The Atlanteans illustrated in their tableaux, "Garden of Irem." Their queen was Miss Erskine Kock. Mithras presented the "Sun God." His queen was Miss May Wiltz. The Elves of Oberon depicted beautifully "The Rainbow." Miss Louise Denis was queen of the ball. Nereus gave "Pluto's Realm." His queen was Miss Annie Soria. Consus had a beautiful ball and tableaux. Rex (February 22nd) was Mr. Charles A. Farwell. His queen was Miss Noel Forsythe, and the subject of his parade, "Harvest Queens." Comus gave illustrations from Shakespeare, and his queen was Miss Isabelle Hardie. The Phunny Phortie Phellows, in 1898 (February 18th), gave their first night procession. This represented "Slang Phrases," and the queen of their ball was Miss Henrietta Kahn. Momus this year gave a ball, of which Miss Kittie Eustis was queen. Burlesque presentations were the subjects of the tableaux. Proteus gave "A Trip to Wonderland," and his queen was Miss Laure Lanaux.

In 1899 occurred the famous snow and sleet storm, of which some mention should be made, as the Carnival organizations deserve great credit for braving the weather and making a successful Mardi Gras despite all their disadvantages. Shrove Tuesday came in the very worst part of the miserable weather. This is the only really "bad" Mardi Gras on record.

In 1899, the Twelfth Night Revellers, with Miss Belinda Miles for queen, gave a representation of "Butterflies." The Atlanteans gave "Destruction of Atlantis." Miss Mary Matthews was queen. Consus represented the "Court of Louis XVI." His queen was Miss Adele Brittin. Mithras' subject was the Persian "Sun God," and his queen, Miss Corinne Braughn. Nereus represented the "North Pole," and his queen was Miss Ethel Miller. The Elves of Oberon gave pictures of the seventeenth century. Their queen was Miss Corinne Braughn. Rex (Walter Denegre) gave, February 14th, a handsome parade representing "Reveries of Rex." The queen was Miss Perrine Kilpatrick. Comus had as subject "Jewish History"; as queen, Miss Robbie Giffen. Proteus, who postponed his parade to the following Friday, gave "States of the Union." His queen was Miss Pauline Menge.

In 1900 the Twelfth Night Revellers presented "The Four Seasons." Miss Evelyn Penn was queen. Mithras gave "The House Boat on the Styx." The queen was Miss Sophia Rogers. The Elves of Oberon had as subject "Chance"; for queen, Miss Haydee Druillet. Consus, by some strange mischance, had the same subject as had Mithras—"The House Boat on the Styx." The queen was Miss Nannie Grant. The Atlanteans gave "Fall of the Incas." Their queen was Miss Nora Glenney. A new organization, "The Falstaffians," gave their initial ball—a beautiful affair, representing "Fallstaff's Dream in Windsor Forest." Miss Virginia Zell was queen. Nereus this year gave his first parade, which was on trolley cars instead of the old floats, and represented "The March of Civilization." The float representing "Electricity" was particularly fine. The queen of Nereus was Miss Maud Wilmot. Momus gave a very fine parade, illustrating the "Arthurian Legends," and his queen was Miss May Waters. The subject of Proteus was "Tales of Childhood." The queen was Miss Louise Ferrier. On Saturday before Mardi Gras a "Merchants" parade was held, chiefly for advertising purposes. Captain Thomas J. Woodward was Rex (February 27th), whose parade represented "Terpsichorean Revels." His queen was Miss Rosa Febiger. Consus gave "Stories of the Golden Age." His queen was Miss Marietta Laroussini. Les Mystérieuses gave another charming ball in 1900 (January 3rd), at which "Fair Women of Four Realms" were represented, and four kings chosen: John Tobin, Hunt Henderson, Felix Puig and Wm. F. Maginnis. The Happy Forty Friends First Carnival Association of Algiers gave a parade of nine floats on the evening of February 27th, 1900.

CHAPTER XXVI.

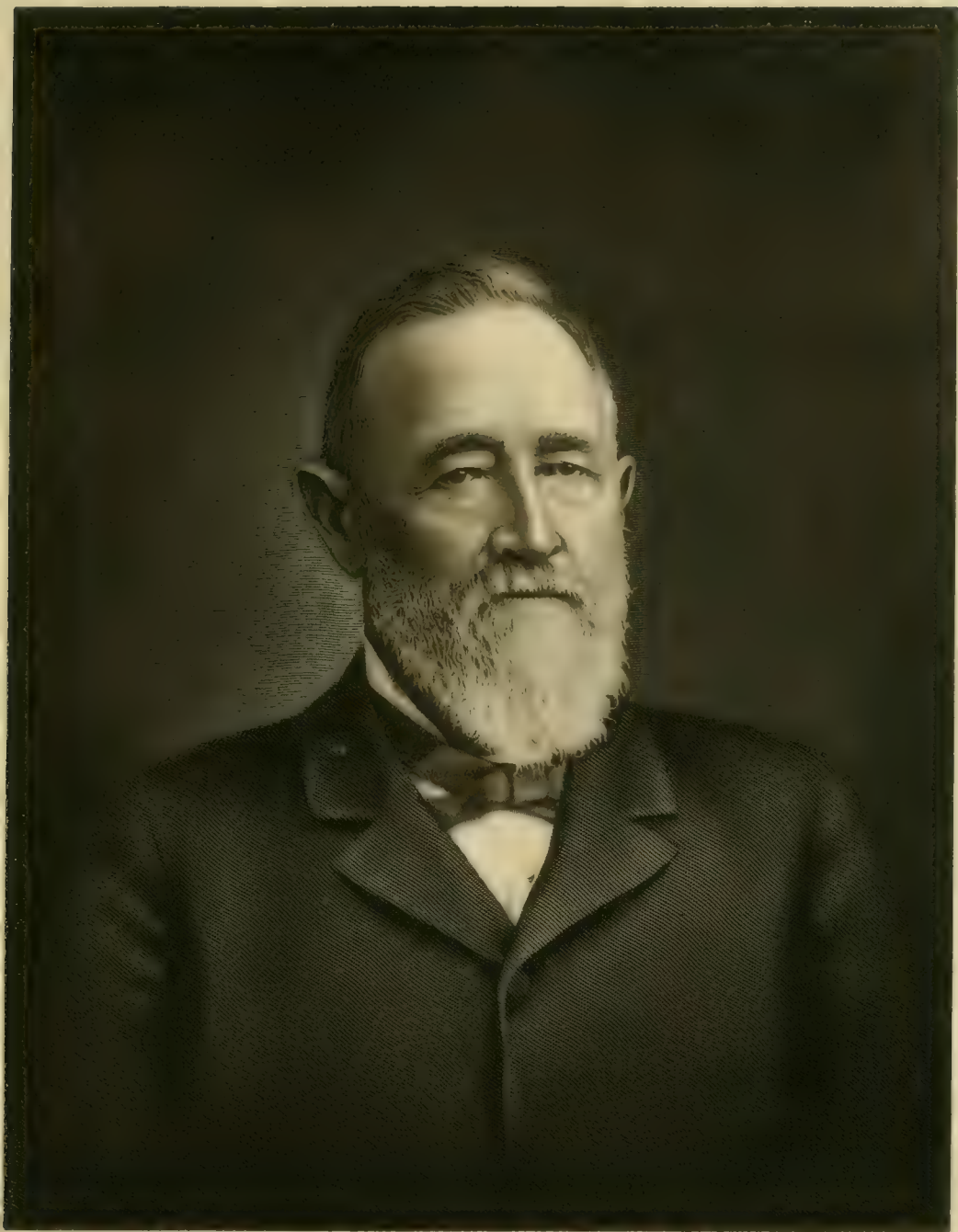
ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY OF LOUISIANA.

BY DR. W. C. STUBBS.

NO HISTORY of New Orleans would be complete without a chapter upon Louisiana's chief industry, an industry which has contributed so largely to the upbuilding of this great city. Starting with De Boré's first commercial crop in 1795, grown upon the grounds of the present Audubon Park, now well within the city limits, the sugar industry of Louisiana has expanded, despite the many serious obstacles it has encountered, until to-day it occupies nearly the entire area between Lake Ponchartrain on the east, Vermillion River on the west, Alexandria on the north, and the Gulf of Mexico on the south.

From De Boré's first crop of \$12,000, the annual output has grown in value well up into the millions. If the present prospects for the crop of 1900 be realized, and the present prices for sugar be maintained, thirty-five millions of dollars will probably be required this year to market the output of our sugar houses. De Boré's small sugar house, with its horse mill and iron kettles, has been supplanted by the modern central factory, with its ponderous mills or diffusion batteries, with improved clarifiers and vacuum effects, with immense vacuum pans and capacious centrifugals.

Once the horses and oxen propelling the mills were supported by the tops of the cane; to-day the great boilers which furnish the steam to turn the mighty rolls, and to evaporate the tons of water from the extracted juice, are fed mainly with the refuse of the cane (bagasse), which their own force has created. So great has been the change from the original sugar house, to one of our modern central factories, that De Boré himself, could he again revisit his much-loved State, would not recognize in the latter the least resemblance to the former. Even an ante-bellum planter would be strangely out of place in a modern, up-to-date sugar house. The agriculture of sugar cane has kept an even pace with its manufacture. The wooden mould board plow, and home-made harrow, have been succeeded long since by the improved turn plow and revolving harrow, and these in turn supplanted by the disc plow and harrow. Improved labor-saving cultivators have largely displaced ex-



Henry J. Sanders

pensive hoe gangs, and the cane harvester, now being evolved from the brain of genius, is everywhere awaited as the last contribution of the nineteenth century to the great sugar-cane industry of the world. Drainage is justly esteemed as the prerequisite of large production, and irrigation is discussed by all and practiced by a few as an essential aid to uniformly good crops.

The alluvial lands of the Mississippi River and its outlying bayous were once regarded as possessing inexhaustible fertility, and any effort to increase artificially the supply of fertilizing ingredients therein, would have been looked upon as the act of the madman or the dream of a visionary; yet the closing years of the nineteenth century find nearly every planter buying enormous quantities of tankage, cotton-seed meal, acid phosphate, etc., for application to these very soils, and to aid in the growth and development of larger crops of cane. Science has shown that properly selected fertilizers judiciously applied will enhance the acre yields even on our richest soils.

This wonderful development has been evolved from numerous and serious difficulties which have attended this industry from the beginning. Floods have repeatedly inundated whole sections and destroyed thousands of acres of cane. Pestilence, "that walketh in darkness," has several times smitten the sugar districts. The Civil War completely prostrated the industry, leaving so little vitality that fully fifteen years were required for partial recuperation. Low prices and unreliable labor have sometimes shorn the industry of all its profits. Unfriendly legislation has frequently brought the coolie-raised or bounty-fed sugars of other countries into direct competition with that grown in Louisiana. And lastly, perhaps the most potent obstacle of all, is the want of permanency in our national legislation, a defect inherent in our form of government, which gives the people the opportunity of overturning "the powers that be" every four years,

All of these have militated against the progress of our sugar industry, and yet it has been developed to such a degree of excellence that Louisiana is to-day justly esteemed as the leader of the sugar cane world, and is sending words of intelligence and experience to every tropical sugar country.

This progress, wonderful as it has been in the aggregate, has been achieved through much suffering, large expenditures of money and unceasing activity; at times moving with almost imperceptible gradations, at others with leaps and bounds. It may be truly said, that nearly every dollar made by the sugar planters of this State since the war has been expended in the improvement of their estates and the enlargement of their sugar houses, until to-day they, together, represent an investment exceeding 100,000,000 of dollars.

EFFECT ON THE CITY.

While the development of this great industry was going on in the country, New Orleans, the emporium of trade in the Mississippi Valley, was receiving and distributing its products, erecting immense sheds and warehouses, furnishing factors and brokers, returning supplies and moneys. It became, and continues, the headquarters of the sugar planter, where every want of field and factory could be supplied, and where the products of his toil could be exchanged for every luxury or necessity. Foundries and machine shops, capable of turning out the largest and best equipments of a complete sugar house, have found permanent locations in New Orleans and give employment to thousands of skilled mechanics. Cooper shops, of enormous capacity, for the manufacture of hogsheads, and sugar and molasses barrels, are found in almost every ward of the city. Enormous sugar refineries, located within the heart of the city, hard by the sugar sheds, stand ready to buy the raw sugars and transform them quickly into snowy crystals.

The Sugar Exchange furnishes a market place for all sugars and molasses, and by its rules so regulates trade as to insure honest weights, prompt payment and quick sales.

The implement men, the mule dealers, the coal sellers, the fertilizer agents, "et id omne genus," have all concentrated in New Orleans, and from their offices either by personal interviews or correspondence, effect sales with the planters.

Hence, New Orleans, the pride and boast of every sugar planter, is inseparably connected with Louisiana's greatest industry.

HISTORY OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

It is said that Iberville, "coming to the deserted village of the Quinipissas, made a plantation of sugar cane there from seed he had brought from St. Domingo, but the seed, being already yellow and sour, came to naught."

Whether the above statement be true or not, does not affect the well-established fact that the Jesuits brought into the colony in 1751 sugar cane and planted it on the plantation of the reverend fathers, which was immediately above Canal street. It is recorded that two French ships, conveying troops to Louisiana, stopped for a short while at Port au Prince, St. Domingo. While there, the Jesuits of that island obtained permission to put on board some sugar cane and a few negroes who were acquainted with the cultivation of this plant. Both sugar canes and negroes reached Louisiana in safety, and in accordance with instructions the latter planted the former in the gardens of the above mentioned plantation. The Jesuits' Church, on Baronne street, marks the location of this plantation.

The cane introduced was the Malabar or Bengal variety, subsequently known all over the world as Creole cane.

This experiment gave no immediate results, but it served to introduce sugar cane into the colony which has been grown ever since, albeit the manufacture of sugar therefrom was delayed for nearly fifty years thereafter. It was grown for "chewing" purposes, and found a ready sale in the markets of the town.

Gayarré says: "The colonists, however, were striving to increase their resources and to ameliorate their condition by engaging with more perseverance, zeal and skill in agricultural pursuits. Dubreuil, one of the richest men of the colony, whose means enabled him to make experiments and who owned that tract of land where now is Esplanade street, seeing that canes introduced by the Jesuits in 1751 had grown to maturity and had ever since been cultivated with success, as an article of luxury which was retailed in the New Orleans market, built (1759) a sugar mill and attempted to make sugar. But the attempt proved to be a complete failure." The Chevalier de Mazan, who lived on the right bank of the river near the city, also undertook to manufacture sugar in 1764, but failed. Again, in 1765, several planters, among them Destrehan, then treasurer of the King of France in the colony, put up works similar to those of Dubreuil, below the city on the left bank of the river. The small quantity of bad sugar made by them and consumed in the country "looked like marmalade or guava jelly." In the same year a vessel which sailed to France took out a number of barrels of the article to complete her cargo, but it was so inferior that it all leaked out before reaching port.

Up to this time neither the judicious use of lime, nor the proper point of concentration for striking, were known—two essential factors for successful sugar-manufacture.

These failures, the cession of Louisiana by France to Spain, and doubtless other causes, seemed to have checked further efforts at making sugar, but many farmers continued to grow the canes to supply the markets of the city and to manufacture "tafia."

It is certainly true that considerable quantities of cane were, prior to this time (1764), used for the manufacture of a rum called tafia, since on the 7th of June, 1764, D'Abbadie, in his official report to his government, mentions the immoralities of his people and says, "The immoderate use of tafia has stupefied the whole population." Gayarré says: "The manufacture of sugar has been abandoned since 1766 as being unsuited to the climate, and only a few individuals continued

to plant canes in the neighborhood of New Orleans to be sold in the market of that town. It is true that two Spaniards, Mendez and Solis, had lately given more extension to the planting of that reed, but they had never succeeded in manufacturing sugar. One of them boiled its juice into syrup and the other distilled it into a spirituous liquor of a very indifferent quality, called tafia,"

But the descendants of Mendez in this city indignantly deny that Mendez failed to manufacture sugar, and offer in evidence the following from their family records: "Don Antonio Mendez (b. 1750, d. 1829), Procureur du Roi of Spanish government in Louisiana, married Donna Feliciana Ducros, and lived in St. Bernard Parish. In 1791 he bought out Solis, a refugee from St. Domingo, who had striven in vain to make sugar from sugar cane, and then having secured the services of a sugar maker from Cuba, by name of Morin, made sugar for the first time in Louisiana in 1791, and continued to make it afterwards." In an old copy of Louisiana Sentinelle de Thibodeaux, a correspondent signing himself J. B. A. (J. B. Avequin, of whom we will have more to say later), says: "In 1790, a Spaniard named Solis, in Terre aux Boeufs, nine or ten miles below New Orleans, was perhaps the only one who cultivated cane, but with the purpose of converting the juice into tafia or rum. The numerous experiments in sugar manufacture which had been made in this section had been unsuccessful. The lands owned by Solis are now a part of the Olivier plantation.

"In 1791, Antonio Mendez, of New Orleans, bought from Solis his distilling outfit, the land and the canes, with the firm resolution of devoting himself to sugar manufacture and to conquer all difficulties. For this purpose Mendez employed Morin, who has passed many years in St. Domingo, for the purpose of studying cane culture and sugar manufacture. But whether it was that Mendez did not have the means of installing a sugar factory like those of St. Domingo, or whether he still doubted of complete success, he made but a few small barrels of sugar, and it is certain that he experimented also in refining them, for in 1792 Mendez presented to Don Rendon, who was then Intendant of Louisiana for Spain, some small loaves of sugar refined by him. It required one of these little loaves to sweeten two cups of coffee. In a grand dinner he gave that year to the authorities of the city of New Orleans, Intendant Rendon called the attention of his guests to this sugar during the dessert, presenting it to them as a Louisiana product made by Antonio Mendez. Up to this time, it is thus seen, Mendez and Morin had manufactured but a very small quantity of sugar, since it was still presented as an object of curiosity."

The above, as well as other authorities which space prevents us from quoting, substantiate the claim that Mendez made the first sugar in Louisiana, and was also the first to refine it, but evidence is wanting that he ever made it in large and paying quantities.

The first crop of sugar large enough to influence the future of Louisiana and profitable enough to justify others to embark in the enterprise, was made by Etienne De Boré in 1794-95-96, near the present site of the Sugar Experiment Station on Audubon Park.

Mr. Gayarré, the historian, the grandson of De Boré, gives a graphic description of the situation at that time in Louisiana, and the circumstances which drove Mr. De Boré to his bold adventure. He purchased a "quantity of canes from Mendez and Solis, and began to plant them in 1794 and make all other preparations for manufacture, and in 1795 he made a crop of sugar which sold for twelve thousand dollars—a good price at that time."

Mr. Gayarré describes the excitement prevailing in the community and the intense interest manifested by the planters, during the preparation and trial of this bold adventure. An immense crowd waited with eager impatience the concentration of the juice to the granulating point, and stood with breathless silence to catch the first announcement, "It granulates." When announced, "the wonderful tidings flowed from mouth to mouth and went dying in the distance as if a hundred glad echoes were telling it to one another."

De Boré was "overwhelmed with congratulations," and was called the "Saviour of Louisiana." The sugar maker who watched the cooking of the juice up to the moment of granulation was Mr. Antoine Morin, according to the evidence of Mr. Charles Le Breton (a descendant of Boré's, who has recently died in New Orleans), the same one associated with Mendez in his trials.

It may be mentioned here, that Mr. De Boré from this time on redoubled his energy and greatly increased his wealth, which at his death exceeded \$300,000, all made in sugar.

It may not be out of place here to state that Etienne De Boré was born in 1740, in Kaskaskia, the Illinois district of Louisiana, and married the daughter of Destrehan, the ex-treasurer of Louisiana, and settled on his wife's plantation, then six miles above New Orleans (now Audubon Park). Many of his descendants still live in and around New Orleans, prominent among them being Judge Emile Rost, the distinguished president of the Sugar Planters' Association, and the owner and manager of his ancestral plantation known still as "Destrehan." Other descendants have already been mentioned.

It may also be apropos here to mention the fitting centennial celebration of the above event a few years since by the Audubon Sugar School, with the graduation of its first class. Hon. John Dymond, a leader among the sugar planters, presided, and Hon. Theodore S. Wilkinson, a distinguished scion of famous ancestry, himself a large and successful planter, delivered the centennial address. The meeting was largely attended, and fully described at the time by the New Orleans dailies and sugar journals.

The successful results of De Boré's adventures stimulated scores of planters to follow his example. Among the first were the Piseros, the Caverets, the Riggios and the MacCarthys (names no longer on our roll of sugar planters). Each succeeding year added new names to the list of sugar planters and all of them rapidly accumulated wealth.

VARIETIES OF CANE IN LOUISIANA.

The Malabar, Bengal or Creole variety has already been mentioned. It was from this variety that De Boré made his first crop of sugar. It was this variety, now deemed unworthy of cultivation, that gave origin to that mighty industry which has occupied the lower valley of the Mississippi, "planted the highest civilization in Louisiana and laid broad the foundations of a commonwealth, at once the most picturesque and most steadfast in its elements, to be found in America."

The Tahiti variety was introduced about 1797, but by whom has not been recorded in any history available to the writer. With the Creole, it furnished the cane for the planters up to the introduction of the striped and purple varieties by Mr. John J. Coiron, in 1817 and 1825. The introduction of these varieties gave an additional impulse to the sugar industry of Louisiana. They soon supplanted everywhere in field culture the Creole and Tahiti canes, and are to-day the chief varieties found throughout the sugar belt. They are natives of Java and are known there as the Batavian Striped and Black Java. They were first introduced about the middle of the last century into the Island of St. Eustatius by the Dutch. In 1814, a vessel brought some packages of these canes from St. Eustatius to Savannah, Georgia, and they were planted by Mr. King on the Island of St. Simon. They grew well, and Mr. King manufactured sugar from them.

Mr. Coiron, who had formerly resided in Savannah, but now a planter of Louisiana, secured some of these canes and planted them in his garden, in 1817, at St. Sophie plantation. Pleased with their growth, he later, in 1825, brought a schooner load of them and planted them on his plantation. From this plantation they have scattered over the entire State and gave a new ardor to sugar culture.

Its ability to withstand greater cold enabled planters to open new plantations further north, and thus greatly enlarge the area of cane growing in Louisiana.

Mr. Coiron died ignorant of the immense benefit he had conferred upon the State of his adoption, and the planters owe to his memory the erection of some statue or monument to commemorate their grateful appreciation of his invaluable services. Miss Emile Coiron, a daughter of Louisiana's benefactor, is still living in New Orleans, and Mr. Charles Janvier, president of Sun Insurance Company, is his grandson.

Georgia was thus an early contributor to Louisiana's prosperity. She was then a rival in the sugar industry, with Savannah as its center. Recently Louisiana has reciprocated by the cordial reception and generous courtesies extended to the delegation of Georgians, headed by that large-hearted, public-spirited citizen of Savannah, Captain D. G. Purse, which was seeking information by which the large syrup industry of that State might be more profitably converted into sugar. It is hoped that Louisiana may be able to confer on Georgia a benefaction equal to that received years ago.

SUGAR CANE EXPEDITIONS.

In 1856, Congress appropriated \$10,000 for the purpose of obtaining cuttings of sugar cane of such varieties best suited to the climate of the Southern States. On account of the partial failure for several years of the Louisiana crop of cane, it was currently believed that the varieties cultivated in Louisiana had "run out," and should be renewed. It was in response to this general belief that this appropriation was made. The Commissioner of Patents was authorized to superintend the expeditions which were to procure the seed cane, and the Secretary of the Navy was directed to furnish the ships. One expedition went to the Straits Settlements and brought back the Salangore variety, which was so badly rotted on arrival that no results were obtained. A rather full account is given of the other expedition, which also was without known results. The United States brig "Release," under the command of Captain Simms, was detailed for the expedition. Mr. Townsend Glover, the entomologist, was detailed to accompany the expedition and make the proper selection of the canes. The following instructions were given Mr. Glover by Mr. Brown: "As arrangements have been made by the Commissioner of Patents for you to go to South America in the United States brig 'Release,' now waiting for sailing orders at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of cuttings of sugar cane, I am directed to confer with you as to the best means of procuring said cuttings, the varieties suited to the

climate of our Southern States, and as to the best modes of packing them in order to insure their successful growth after they arrive.

"The points determined upon for obtaining said cuttings are near the river Demerara, in British Guiana, and on the high lands near Caracas, in Venezuela. At the former place there are no less than eighteen varieties of the sugar cane; but I would particularly call your attention to the kind known under the name of Labba. The reddish, purplish and violet colored sorts would probably suit our climate best. Therefore it would be advisable to confine your selections principally to them. There are at least three varieties near Caracas. Those of Japanese origin, with deep purple joints, are the kinds you should procure. The cuttings should be taken from the middle portions of the cane towards their top, cut about three feet in length, including a portion of the leaves. The plants from which they are taken should be healthy, vigorous and not over-ripe, and free from injury from borers, other insects or "the blast." They may be packed in boxes in alternate layers, with cane leaves and common, finely-sifted earth taken from the fields in which they grow, or the cane plants may be pulled up by the roots, their tops doubled down or pinched off, and done up in bundles containing twelve or thirteen stalks in each, enveloping them entirely with small ropes, made by twisting together the leaves of cane. If the roots of these bundles could in any way be surrounded with moist earth taken from the fields, the vitality of the plants would be longer maintained."

With these specific instructions, Mr. Glover, having placed aboard "one thousand and eight boxes," each about three feet in length, in which to put the canes, and other necessary material for the voyage, the brig Release sailed from the Brooklyn Navy Yard early in September, 1856. The expedition returned to New Orleans in the early part of 1857. Mr. J. Holt, Commissioner of Patents, in his annual report for 1857, says: "The cuttings of the sugar cane imported from Demerara by the government for the planters of the South, promise to attain a large size, and should they prove sufficiently hardy to withstand the climate of the regions where they are intended to grow, it is believed that they will amply compensate in the end for the trouble of introducing them."

In De Boré's Review, May, 1857, we find a severe arraignment of the parties engaged in the introduction of these canes. The following is quoted from the New Orleans Delta:

"The boxes were filled with miserable, trashy stuff, completely spoiled. . . . The heat in the hold of the vessel, it is said, was by the thermometer 120 deg.

F., or upwards. . . . If this was the case why make the planters pay freight, when prices are so high, too, for a handful of West India pebbles?

"A plain, unpretending overseer from this State would have saved the government much expense and have done something more, probably, for the planters than help to extract the few dimes from their pockets (in the shape of freights on trash), which they saved from the wreck of the last crop, to say nothing of the preceding ones." In another place in the same issue of the Review, is a letter from one of the largest planters, which handles the "officials" "without gloves." He says: "There never was such a failure. What a misfortune that Uncle Sam did not send a practical planter. . . . Not a sound bud, from the stalks either in the hold or on deck."

The evidence here seems contradictory, but if any canes were grown from this importation it is not generally known to the sugar planters of this State.

A word here in explanation of this appropriation. In 1853-54, prices of sugar fell in New Orleans, under the enormous home supply (449,384 hogsheads), added to the large crop of Cuba, to two, and three and a half cents per pound, and for the next few years the crop of Louisiana but little more than paid the expenses of the different plantations." This created dissatisfaction at home and a loud cry against the sugar industry of Louisiana in Congress. It was thought by some that the seed cane of Louisiana had "run out" and should be renewed, and hence an effort on the part of Congress to import fresh seed cane. But the year the cane was introduced Louisiana had another large and profitable crop, from Louisiana cane. Hence the absurd notion that the previous failures were due to degeneracy of the seed, was no longer tenable either at home or in Congress. The Hon. Miles Taylor, of Louisiana, in a speech before Congress in defense of the local sugar industry, in 1857, declared that "the crop of this year would be the largest ever made in the State. . . . This declaration will excite surprise in the minds of those who infer from the appropriation made last year for the procuring of sugar cane for renewing the seed in Louisiana, that the plant had deteriorated then. . . . The cane has not deteriorated. The cane crop for the present year is planted with Louisiana cane, and the crop exceeds any ever before planted there. This appropriation, in consequence of which some of the declared enemies of the sugar culture have taken advantage to decry that culture as a forced one and altogether precarious in its results, was, I will not say a Buncombe affair, but it was one which was occasioned by newspaper representation coming from the inexperienced, grew out of a desire to concentrate public sentiment and was, in my

view, of doubtful expediency, and was more than doubtful in principle. I say it was of doubtful expediency because the cane which has been cultivated for many years in Louisiana, in my opinion, is better fitted for the production of certain and large crops of sugar than any which will be likely to be introduced." This last opinion expressed by the speaker has been fully sustained by subsequent experiments. In spite of an introduction and thorough trial of over one hundred foreign varieties, the purple and striped varieties are still occupying nearly all of our cane fields, and will doubtless remain unless superseded by some of the seedlings (mentioned below) now so full of promise.

Mr. P. M. La Pice, on his return from Java in 1872, brought back with him the white cane known by his name, and called in Java "Light Java" or *Canne Panacheé*. This cane is extensively cultivated and yields well both in quantity and quality of sugar and molasses.

Mr. Du Champ imported the Purple Elephant cane in 1875, and Mr. Palfrey, of St. Mary Parish, introduced about the same time the Bourbon variety, which has locally been styled the "Palfrey."

During Mr. Le Duc's incumbency of the Commissioner of Agriculture at Washington (1877), he had imported a peculiar variety of cane from Japan, called "Zwinga," or Japanese cane. It was a very hardy variety, but of no value to the planters of Louisiana.

In 1886, the Sugar Experiment Station, through the kind offices of Commissioner Coleman, began the importation of foreign canes and now has growing on its grounds over seventy-five varieties.

But the efforts to increase our sugar yields by the selection and acclimation of foreign varieties has been entirely superseded by the discovery of the ability of the cane seed (heretofore thought to be infertile) to germinate and produce "seedlings."

Accordingly, every sugar country is now at work producing "seedlings" and selecting therefrom those promising the largest tonnage with the highest sugar content.

The Sugar Experiment Station, of Audubon Park, has been experimenting with seedlings, and has already distributed large quantities of two of the most promising varieties, Nos. 74 and 95, to the planters of the State. It is expected that these seedlings will greatly increase the output of our sugar houses when universally cultivated.

SUGAR OUTPUT OF LOUISIANA.

The success of Etienne De Boré's trials gave a powerful stimulus to the sugar industry of Louisiana. Slaves were imported in great numbers, plantations were

rapidly seeded in cane and sugar houses were erected. So great was the increase that New Orleans in 1802 received over 200,000 gallons of rum, 250,000 gallons of molasses and 5,000,000 pounds of sugar. In 1818 the yield of sugar had grown to 25,000 hogsheads.

In 1822 another impetus was given the industry by the introduction of steam power for the crushing of canes. Thenceforward the industry grew gradually until 1844, when the crop was doubled. It is true that various causes, local and national, influenced a great fluctuation in yields during this time. Freezes, overflows and variations in the price of cotton and sugar, were some of the local disturbances; while national legislation then, as now, had a profound effect upon the industry.

In 1828 there were 308 estates, with an invested capital of \$34,000,000. Of these estates 82 used steam power, and the rest horse. These estates were cultivated by 21,000 slaves. Mention has been made of the occasional interference of the cotton crop with the sugar industry. Growing side by side with sugar in the upper sugar parishes, it has invaded or retreated from the sugar area, just as the prices of the two fluctuated. If cotton was high and sugar low, cotton was cultivated, and if the reverse sugar was grown. In 1835 sugar fell to six cents per pound, a price then regarded as too low for the profitable cultivation of this crop, and many sugar planters turned their attention to cotton, assisting in increasing this crop in Louisiana for 1836 to 225,000 bales. This condition of affairs prevailed until the price of sugar, stimulated by the tariff of 1842, had again risen, and cotton, from overproduction, had declined. Thereupon numerous planters again deserted cotton and resumed the cultivation of cane. We therefore find in 1843 and 1844, 762 sugar estates (of which 408 were using steam power) with a capital of \$60,000,000, and cultivated by 51,000 slaves. The following table, taken from the Patent Office report of 1844, will show the parishes, with yields in that year:

	Hogsheads.		Hogsheads.
St. Mary	15,311	Jefferson ...	5,453
Ascension	10,633	West Baton Rouge	3,087
Iberville	9,644	St. Martin	2,621
St. James	9,350	East Baton Rouge	2,334
La Fourche	6,732	St. Bernard	2,026
Plaquemines	6,641	Lafayette	908
Terrebonne	6,366	Orleans	778
Assumption	6,256	St. Landry	395
St. Charles	5,822	Pointe Coupee	246
St. John the Baptist	5,743		
		Total	100,346

The industry had then covered very nearly the same territory now occupied by it.

The industry made rapid strides in the early forties, both local and national, conditions being propitious for large crops with remunerative prices. In 1845 there were 737 old sugar houses and 367 new ones, or a total of 1,104. Most of the new houses were erected on former cotton plantations, and it is recorded that many small cotton planters became cane growers, and not having the means to erect sugar houses on their own places had the cane ground at the mills of their neighbors. During this year (1845) seventy-two engines were added to the sugar houses of the State.

During these years many of the former cotton plantations of East and West Feliciana, Pointe Coupée, Avoyelles and Rapides, were converted into sugar estates, and it was found that the abandoned cotton lands of the Felicianas, which had been in cultivation for thirty years, and were too badly worn to be further profitable in cotton culture, would grow luxuriant crops of cane. The *Daily Delta* records the cane as the equal to any found in the rich alluvium of the Mississippi, "a fact which comes as near raising the dead as anything we have ever witnessed." The first successful experiment of converting a cotton plantation into a sugar estate was made by the Messrs. Perkins, and was soon followed by scores of the leading planters of East and West Feliciana parishes. This successful extension of the sugar industry into the cotton fields alarmed the planters of the coast, who positively asserted that in the near future their most formidable competitor in the production of sugar would be found in the entire cotton region of the State, and would cause a radical change of views of the planters as to the necessity of a tariff on sugar. Some even asserted that the tariff of 1842 would impel the whole cotton region of Louisiana into the cultivation of cane. In 1849, in spite of crevasses on the Mississippi and its outlying bayous, and the destructive overflow of the Red River, there were made 269,769 hogsheads in 1,455 sugar houses; 113 new plantations were brought under cane for the first time, "62 of which will make sugar in 1850 and 19 in 1851." This estimate did not include six new cane plantations in the parish of Concordia, Louisiana, and the county of Wilkinson, Mississippi. Texas, too, was increasing her areas in cane, and this year had 35 estates yielding 10,000 hogsheads of sugar. There were 355 new sugar mills and engines introduced in Louisiana between 1846 and 1849.

In 1850 crevasses in Pointe Coupée and West Baton Rouge parishes and the Bonnet Carré of St. John, did great damage to the sugar crop. These, with early fall freezes, including the "severest remembered" on 7th December "destroying all standing and greatly injuring the windrowed canes" materially shortened the crop

of this year, notwithstanding the increased culture on old plantations and the opening of many new ones, 1,490 sugar houses making only 211,201 hogsheads.

At the end of this year the improvement in the price of cotton deterred many from entering into the sugar industry and caused some planters on the "border" to return to cotton. Very few new engines and mills were bought.

In 1851 only 1,474 sugar houses were in operation and the output was 235,547 hogsheads. The cane was very green, 70 gallons of molasses being obtained to every 1,000 pounds of sugar. There were crevasses on the Mississippi and one each on Bayous Plaquemine and La Fourche. In 1852 the crop was fair and sugar content large, the juice everywhere weighing 9 deg., to 10½ deg. Baumé, 1,481 sugar houses yielding 321,934 hogsheads. Only two small crevasses reported.

In 1853 prices of sugar were very low, wood and coal very high, former \$5.50 per cord, and the latter \$2.00 per barrel. Much sickness among the negroes. The crop was, nevertheless, very large, 1,437 sugar houses turning out 449,322 hogsheads.

The low price of sugar drove planters back to cotton, so that in 1854 there were only 1,324 sugar houses, with an output of 346,635 hogsheads. In 1855 a frost on October 23d was very destructive and reduced the sugar yield in 1,299 houses to 231,427 hogsheads. But the climax of low yields was reached in 1856. The freeze of the previous October had destroyed stubbles and injured seed cane, and the severe storm of August which inundated "Last Island" with destruction of many lives, aided by the cane-borer which had been introduced into Louisiana only a few years before, all combined to reduce the crop of sugar to 73,296 hogsheads made in 931 houses, "over 400 houses doing nothing." This was a year of disaster and gloom to the sugar planters of Louisiana. It occasioned the National appropriation for the renewal of seed cane described elsewhere.

Hon. Judge P. A. Rost, father of our present president of the Sugar Planters' Association, in a letter to the Louisiana State Agricultural Society, in January, 1857, strives to picture better prospects for the future, and recites the destruction of the cane-borer by the severe cold of 1855, the excellent quality and unusual quantity of seed cane for 1857, the liberal aid afforded by general government in procuring new varieties from abroad, and closes by asserting that the cane crop was as certain as any other that could be grown and would continue to increase in the future as in the past.

His prophecy was fully verified, for in 1857, despite a frost on April 2nd, "which cut the young canes to the ground" and the severe frost of 19th and 20th of November, 1,294 sugar houses turned out 279,697 hogsheads.

In 1858 the Bell and LaBranche crevasses, with frost in the upper parishes early in November, reduced acreage and yield, yet 1,298 sugar-houses yielded 362,296 hogsheads.

The crops of 1859-60 were again small, but the crop of 1861, made after the outbreak of the war, was unprecedented in Louisiana's history, 459,410 hogsheads.

With the war came destruction, complete and effective. The slaves were freed, sugar houses destroyed, many of the owners killed, or died during the war. Land values were greatly reduced, labor disorganized and credit absolutely destroyed. The industry was thrown back where it was in 1795 directly after De Boré's success, with this difference, then (1795) labor was organized and abundant, lands plentiful and planters ready and eager, and financially able, to embark in the sugar industry.

In 1865-66 the lands, and the willingness of the planters to re-establish the sugar industry, were the only potent factors. Labor and capital were wanting, and both had greatly to be coaxed ere a beginning could be made. But "human fortitude is equal to human calamity," and many a brave heart and strong arm undertook to recuperate his lost fortune and restore the sugar industry of Louisiana. But the changed relations of proprietor and laborer, of the merchant and planter, caused many a failure and hence a rapid transfer of estates from old to new owners. Nowhere in the South was there presented a sadder spectacle than that enacted in Louisiana soon after the close of the war, by the forced abandonment of so many ancestral homes by Creoles of the highest type of gentility and blood. During and after the war up to 1870, the sugar industry was very precarious, at no time did the yield reach 100,000 hogsheads. In 1870, notwithstanding late planting, and frosts in November, 1,105 sugar houses yielded 144,881 hogsheads. Fifty-two of these sugar houses had vacuum pans or other improved methods of evaporating. Throughout the seventies, the sugar crop fluctuated between 89,498 hogsheads in 1873, and 213,221 hogsheads in 1878. In 1873 there were large crevasses, and in 1874 there were destroyed 25,000 acres of cane by overflows. In 1875 many planters went into rice culture. There were 91,761 acres of cane ground in the mills this year, which were increased over twenty per cent in 1876.

The year 1877 was marked by a storm in September and a freeze in November. The Sugar Planters' Association was organized on 27th of November of this year, with Hon. Duncan F. Kenner as president. The year 1878 was notable for its large cane crop and for the extensive epidemic of yellow fever throughout the South. In 1879 twenty-two new vacuum pans were erected. In 1880 syrups were sent in considerable quantities for the first time to the refineries to be worked into grained sugar.

The crop of 1881 was small and gathered from a decreased acreage, but the year is memorable in the history of the sugar industry by the creation by national legislation of the Mississippi River Commission, with an appropriation of \$5,000,000 with which to improve the navigation of the Mississippi and works connected therewith. This action promised great assistance (which has been fully realized) in the construction and maintenance of our levees, and sent thrills of joy to every planter's heart, that had so often suffered from the disastrous floods.

In 1882, notwithstanding the "great" overflow which destroyed about 47,000 acres of cane, there was harvested the largest sugar crop then made since the war; 1883 followed with nearly as large a crop. The crevasses and floods reduced the crop of 1884 very materially. In 1885 a fair average crop was made. This year is memorable for the International Exposition held in New Orleans, and for the establishment by the planters of the State of "The Sugar Experiment Station," now domiciled at Audubon Park, New Orleans.

The crop of 1886 was materially injured by the very severe freeze of January, the thermometer falling as low as 15 deg. F. at New Orleans. Since that year the sugar industry has gradually grown in acreage planted, in improvements in fertilizing and cultivating the cane, and in the efficiency and capacity of the sugar houses.

The drouth of 1889 greatly reduced the crop and caused much discussion as to the efficacy of irrigation, which has since been permanently adopted on several plantations.

The heavy and continuous rains of the fall and early winter in 1898 gave a very "green" crop, which was harvested at great expense.

The unprecedented freeze of February, 1899, the thermometer going down to 6 deg. F., at New Orleans, destroyed the stubble and injured the seed cane, cutting the crop short fully two-thirds. The number of sugar houses in this State are gradually diminishing, but the aggregate capacity is steadily increasing. In October, 1891, under the operations of the bounty, there were about 700 sugar houses in this State, now (1900) there are not more than 350 in actual operation. The prospects for the present crop (1900) are very flattering, and with favorable seasons the largest crop in our history may be expected.

The following table from Bouchereau shows the quantity of sugar raised in Louisiana for the years 1823 to 1899, inclusive of both years, in tons of 2,240 pounds each:

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1823.....	15,401	1843.....	51,347	1863.....	39,690	1883.....	128,318
1824.....	11,807	1844.....	102,678	1864.....	5,331	1884.....	94,372
1825.....	15,401	1845.....	142,723	1865.....	9,289	1885.....	127,958
1826.....	23,101	1846.....	70,995	1866.....	21,074	1886.....	80,858
1827.....	36,450	1847.....	123,214	1867.....	19,289	1887.....	157,970
1828.....	45,178	1848.....	112,964	1868.....	42,617	1888.....	144,878
1829.....	24,642	1849.....	120,465	1869.....	44,382	1889.....	128,343
1830.....	.....	1850.....	103,111	1870.....	75,369	1890.....	215,843
1831.....	.....	1851.....	115,197	1871.....	65,635	1891.....	160,937
1832.....	35,931	1852.....	164,312	1872.....	55,891	1892.....	201,816
1833.....	37,482	1853.....	224,188	1873.....	46,078	1893.....	265,836
1834.....	51,339	1854.....	177,349	1874.....	60,100	1894.....	317,306
1835.....	15,401	1855.....	113,664	1875.....	72,958	1895.....	237,720
1836.....	35,937	1856.....	36,813	1876.....	85,102	1896.....	282,009
1837.....	28,925	1857.....	137,542	1877.....	65,835	1897.....	310,447
1838.....	35,927	1858.....	185,206	1878.....	106,909	1898.....	245,511
1839.....	59,049	1859.....	113,410	1879.....	88,836	1899.....	Not known.
1840.....	44,065	1860.....	117,431	1880.....	121,886		
1841.....	46,257	1861.....	235,856	1881.....	71,304		
1842.....	71,878	1862.....	.....	1882.....	136,167		

OBSTACLES TO SUGAR CULTURE.

are many and varied, and a recital of the trials endured and successes fully mastered by the sugar planters from the day of De Boré to the present time would fill more space than allotted us. Many of these obstacles are such as are encountered in the cultivation of any one crop. Drouths and excessive rainfalls are injurious to crops everywhere, while severe cold frequently destroys the wheat crop of the North. From a climatic standpoint, therefore, the culture of sugar cane presents no more obstacles than accompanies the cultivation of other crops. Year in and year out it is about as certain as our cotton or wheat crops, and no one has ever yet assigned a failure in either of these crops to their being exotic and unadaptable to our climate.

LEVEES.

The most serious obstacle our planters have encountered in the past has been the occasional crevasses and overflows, destroying the growing crop of cane. A plantation cannot be renewed in cane as quickly as with cotton. Frequently our cotton planter follows the receding flood waters, sowing cotton seed, and sometimes our largest and best cotton crops are made from sowings thus made, following an

overflow. But not so with sugar cane, where the stalks are planted. It requires from two to six tons of canes to plant an acre, and when an entire plantation of growing cane is destroyed, several years will be required to grow seed enough to replant it and re-establish the prevailing rotation. Hence crevasses and overflows, serious even to cotton growers, are almost fatal to sugar planters. In the past our levees have been temporary, and broke in almost every high water. The great floods of 1874, 1882 and 1884 remain as horrid nightmares in the memories of our planters.

Fortunately, the national government, after years of neglect and indifference, recognized its obligation to the riparian dwellers of the Mississippi in the creation of the Mississippi River Commission in 1881, whose duty it is to improve the navigation of the river and works connected therewith. It therefore includes the construction and maintenance of the levees. This action on the part of the national government was promptly seconded and supplemented in Louisiana by the creation of Levee Districts in various portions of the State, each to be governed by a Levee Board, with power to issue bonds, collect specific taxes and erect and maintain efficient levees. From the issue of bonds and the proceeds of levee taxes, supplemented with appropriations from the Mississippi River Commission, the levees of the State have been rebuilt, strengthened and raised three feet above the highest waters known. It has been clearly shown that dirt properly placed, and an abundance of money, can keep the Mississippi from our lands even in the highest floods. It is believed that the day of overflows is gone. It is true that caving banks, crayfish holes, etc., may even now occasionally produce a crevasse and temporarily overflow a restricted area of land, yet a general overflow, caused by extreme high water, is now believed to be impossible. There are several Levee Districts in the State. On the right bank of the Mississippi, running close to its mouth, is the "Buras." Above this, and extending up to the intersection of the La Fourche with the Mississippi River, is the La Fourche. Beyond the La Fourche and running up to the Atchafalaya River, is the "Atchafalaya." Beyond the Red River and extending up to the Arkansas Line, is the "Fifth Levee District." In the interior of North Louisiana, extending from the Bayou Macon on the East, to the Ouachita on the West, is a section of country which is flooded whenever the levees on the Mississippi in lower Arkansas are broken. This section is incorporated into the "Tensas Levee District," and uses its funds to protect the levees in Arkansas. Returning to the left bank of the Mississippi, the "Ponchartrain" District begins at Baton Rouge and extends to the upper limits of the city of New Orleans. The city of New Orleans is a separate Levee District. From the lower limits of the city southward to the gulf, is the "Lake Borgne" District.

In the neighborhood of Alexandria, is the "Red River, Bayou Boeuf and Atchafalaya" District, while around Shreveport, on the upper Red River, are the "Caddo" and the "Bossier" Levee Districts. These Levee Districts are controlled, each by a separate "Board," the members of which are appointed by the Governor of the State. With the assistance of the State Engineers, they build and maintain the levees of the State, utilizing the funds derived from taxes, self-imposed by the dwellers in each District, upon their own lands and products. They have succeeded, with the help of the national government, in erecting powerful levees everywhere, at a cost high up in the millions, and maintain them during flood periods. Such confidence is now reposed in Levees, that the dwellers on the Mississippi River in flood seasons feel almost as safe as those who occupy the bluff and hill lands of the State.

This great obstacle, if not the greatest, to the sugar industry of this State is now happily reduced to a minimum, if not entirely removed.

TARIFF ON SUGAR.

The first duty imposed on sugar by the national government was in 1789, of one cent per pound on brown and three cents upon loaf sugars. These duties were augmented in 1790, 1797 and 1800. In the last year the duty on brown sugar was raised to two and one-half cents, and that of loaf sugar to five cents per pound. During the war of 1812, the duty was raised to five cents, but was lowered to three cents in 1816. These duties were imposed at a time when there was not only no sugar made in the United States, but when there were no lands within its limits suitable for cane culture. They were levied for "revenue only," and continued up to 1832, when the "compromise act" was adopted. This act gave a gradually reducing tariff each year. Under its operation prices of sugar fluctuated greatly, more in consonance with demand and supply, than in response to the tariff; for it must be remembered that the world's demand for sugar at that time was exceedingly limited. A series of large crops both in Cuba and Louisiana, prior to 1842, had caused a serious depression in the prices of sugar. At the same time the compromise act had reached its height and afforded but little or no protection. Accordingly an universal demand arose for higher protection, which resulted in the tariff of 1842, giving two and one-half cents per pound on brown sugar. In this connection, it may be of interest to many readers to insert a "call" to attend a meeting of the sugar planters at Donaldsonville, La., on May 16th, 1842. The call states: "It is confidently hoped that all those who are of the opinion that nothing short of effective Federal Legislation can save the sugar planters from the absolute ruin brought upon them by the struggle



Henry W. Call

of the last seven or eight years between them and foreign labor, will not fail to attend." This call was dated April 28th, 1842, and was signed by R. D. Shepperd, Louis Labranche, Etienne Lauve, A. B. Roman, S. M. Roman, J. T. Roman, V. Aime, Charles A. Jacobs, P. Landreaux, Andry & Boudousquie, A. Hoa, G. L. Fusilier, Charles Grevenberg, G. Derbigny, E. Roman, L. Millaudon, J. B. Oliver, Duncan F. Kenner, W. B. Kenner, W. W. Montgomery, P. A. Rost, P. M. Lapice, H. Lavergne, C. Adams, Jr., Gabriel Villeré, Calliste Villeré, Jules Villeré, Felix Villeré, Andole Villeré, Widow A. Fusilier, Samuel Fagot, C. Zeringue, Silvestre Roman, J. Toutant, and S. R. Proctor.

Many a reader will recall perhaps an ancestor or a relative in the above list of planters.

The tariff of 1842 was supplanted by another in 1846, which continued in operation up to 1857. This tariff established a tax of 30 per cent ad valorem. This diminished tariff did not affect prices very materially for several years after its adoption, on account of the small crops in Cuba. However, when the crops of both Cuba and Louisiana increased yearly, culminating in Louisiana in 1853, in the unprecedented yield of 450,000 hogsheads, then prices fell to two and three and a half cents, and crops barely paid the expenses of making them. In 1855-56 short crops in both Cuba and Louisiana forced the prices up, which reached a maximum in 1856. In 1857 the tariff was lowered to 24 per cent, ad valorem, and so remained until the war. During the war it fluctuated from three-quarter cents to three cents per pound.

After the war, up to 1869, the rate of duty collected on brown sugar was three cents per pound. In the winter of that year a new schedule was adopted that reduced the average collected to about two cents per pound. This reduction was quite severe upon Louisiana, and the years immediately following its adoption witnessed the failures of many merchants and planters.

In 1873 the financial needs of the government led to the addition of 25 per cent to the above average, and made the amount collected about $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound. This protection gave a healthy advance to the sugar industry which has continued almost without interruption ever since. In 1890 all tariff on unrefined sugar was removed and a bounty of $1\frac{3}{4}$ and 2 cents per pound was paid to every producer of domestic sugar. This lasted through the administration of President Benj. Harrison. Soon after the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland, the laws were changed, the bounties abolished and an ad valorem of 40 per cent, with differentials of one-eighth and one-tenth of a cent per pound, was levied upon sugars. This change of laws, just at a

time when the world's markets were overstocked with sugar, and when a financial panic prevailed everywhere, bore very heavily upon our planters, many of whom had large contracts for improved machinery, and sent a few into involuntary bankruptcy. However, the industry was too firmly established to be destroyed, and the planters had too much money invested in improved sugar factories to discontinue the cultivation of cane. While a few planters made money under the Wilson tariff, the majority simply held their own.

Soon after the inauguration of President McKinley, the Dingley Bill was enacted, giving to sugar the following protection, viz:

SCHEDULE E.

Sugar, Molasses, and Manufacturers of:

209. Sugars not above number sixteen Dutch standard in color, tank bottoms, syrups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses testing by the polariscope not above seventy-five deg., ninety-five one-hundredths of one cent per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscopic test, thirty-five one-thousandths of one cent per pound additional, and fractions of a degree in proportion; and on sugar above number sixteen Dutch standard in color, and on all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, one cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of one cent per pound; molasses testing forty deg., and not above fifty-six deg., three cents per gallon; testing fifty-six deg., and above, six cents per gallon; sugar drainings and sugar sweepings shall be subject to duty as molasses or sugar, as the case may be according to polariscopic tests, provided that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to abrogate or in any manner impair or affect the provisions of the treaty of commercial reciprocity concluded between the United States and the King of the Hawaiian Islands on the 30th day of January, 1875, or the provisions of any act of Congress heretofore passed for the execution of the same.

210. Maple sugar and Maple syrup, four cents per pound; glucose or grape sugar, one and one-half cents per pound; sugar cane in its natural state or unmanufactured, twenty per centum ad valorem.

211. Saccharine, one dollar and fifty cents per pound and ten per centum ad valorem.

212. Sugar candy and all confectionery not specially provided for in this act, valued at fifteen cents per pound or less, and on sugars after being refined, when tintured, colored or in any way adulterated, four cents per pound and fifteen per

centum ad valorem; valued at more than fifteen cents per pound, fifty per centum ad valorem. The weight and the value of the immediate coverings, other than the outer packing case or other covering, shall be included in the dutiable weight and the value of the merchandise.

This bill is now in operation, and but for local conditions, which produced an unusually "green" crop in 1898 and a very small crop in 1899 (described elsewhere) would have been of valuable assistance to our planters in their earnest efforts to enlarge and improve their factories and to extend the area in cane. The crop of the present year will doubtless be a very large one, and if good prices of sugar prevail it will afford the means of accomplishing further improvements all along the lines of our sugar industry.

The following condensed table will show rates of duty on brown sugar since the establishment of the United States:

Act of	Cents per pound,
July 4, 1789.....	1c.
Aug. 10, 1790.....	1½c.
Mch. 3, 1797.....	2c.
May 13, 1800.....	2½c.
July 1, 1812.....	5c.
Apl. 27, 1816.....	3c.
July 14, 1832.....	2½c.
Aug. 30, 1842.....	2½c.
July 30, 1846.....	30 per c.
Mch. 3, 1857.....	24 per c.
Mch. 2, 1861.....	¾c.
Aug. 5, 1861.....	2c.
Dec. 24, 1861.....	2½c.
June 30, 1864.....	3c.
Dec. 22, 1870.....	1¾c. to 2¾c.
Mch. 3, 1883.....	1¾c. to 2¼c.
Mch. 3, 1890.....	Free; bounty given of 1¾c. and 2 cents.
Mch. 3, 1894.....	40 per cent and ¼ and 1-10th.
Mch. 3, 1898.....	1½c. to 1.95c.

From 1890 to 1893 is the only period in the history of the United States that brown sugar was admitted free. All other times it has had a duty averaging about two cents per pound. The tax on sugar was sometimes low, but this important

source of revenue was never entirely discarded save during the existence of the bounty. The highest rate ever imposed was five cents temporarily during the war of 1812. The Act of March, 1861, imposed the very low rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ cent per pound following the ad valorem of 24 per cent which had been in force for four years. War exigencies speedily brought about an increase, which in 1864 was placed at three cents.

PROGRESS OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

The first impulse to improvements in the sugar house was given by the introduction of the steam engine as a propelling power of the sugar mill, by Mr. John J. Coiron, in 1822. The first engines and mills were extravagant in price, costing \$12,000 and were *imported*, chiefly by Gordon and Forstall. This large cost deterred many planters from using them. Soon, however, foundries in this country began their manufacture and reduced the price to \$5,000—\$6,000 placing them within the reach of the less wealthy planters. The planters began to purchase freely and by 1828 there were 82 estates using steam power. The number gradually increased until to-day steam power is virtually used all over the State; only four horse mills are reported as making sugar, in Bouchereau's Sugar Report for 1898-99.

In 1845 there were 72 engines and mills introduced into Louisiana, coming from Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, New York, Philadelphia and Richmond. Mr. T. A. Morgan, of Orange Grove Plantation, of the lower coast, had the honor of first introducing the vacuum pan in 1830. Almost simultaneously Mr. Valcour Aime and Messrs. Gordon & Forstall followed Mr. Morgan's example. The results of the vacuum pan were watched with an interest scarcely less than that exhibited in De Boré's first attempt at sugar making. It was a success from the start. Mr. Valcour Aime, of St. James, and Messrs. Gordon & Forstall, along with the pan, imported other improved machinery and the best chemicals for refining purposes. Their experiments were wonderfully successful, producing a very high grade of refined sugar. Mr. V. Aime continued his refinery up to his retirement from active life in 1854, when he turned it over to his son-in-law, Mr. Fortier. His first mention of refining sugar was in November, 1834.

It is recorded that a shipment of refined sugar by Gordon & Forstall to New York at this time, attracted much attention, secured a gold medal for its excellence and changed the trend of opinion on the tariff in Congress. Messrs. Livingston & Johnson had recently, on the floor of the Senate, in response to interrogatories of Eastern men who were clamorous for the removal of tariff on refined sugar, confessed the inability of Louisiana producers to make refined sugar.

The arrival of this sugar on the market of New York controverted the above statement and induced Congress to continue the tariff with the hope and expectation that Louisiana would soon furnish all the sugar required by the United States.

Mr. Valcour Aime, in a review of McCulloh's Report in De Boré's Review, says: "I attempted without success some expensive experiments for making white sugar in 1830. I tried, in connection with a common set of kettles, in 1832, the bascule pan, and in 1833 the serpentine test, and ascertained that with good canes no definite advantage can be derived from either. In 1834 I bought moulds, procured the bag filters of Taylor, to filter my cane juice when boiled in the common kettles to 30 degrees Baumé, ordered from London one of Howard's vacuum pans, and began to refine." In 1840 his sugar maker "was sent to Europe for the filter Peyron," but "he returned with another on Dumont's plan." "In 1845 I procured Derosne's apparatus." "In 1846 Mr. Lapice put up one of Derosne's apparatus, made at 'Novelty Works, New York,' with tigers when I kept to my moulds."

It may here be remarked that Mr. V. Aimé records his first use of coal as a fuel in 1840, and his first centrifugal in 1852, and his first bagasse furnace in 1853.

He records the blossoming of sugar cane in 1803 and 1843 on his own plantation.

Mr. P. M. La Pice reports in 1846 that he had "a double pressure mill which extracts nearly all the juice from the cane and fits the bagasse in the best possible manner for manure, which is fit for immediate use."

In 1844 Mr. Norbert Riellieux, a native of Louisiana, but educated in France, invented what was known as the Riellieux apparatus, and now familiar to us under the "double," "triple" and "multiple" effects, and installed one on the Packwood plantation, now Myrtle Grove, below the city. In a letter to the Commissioner of Patents at Washington, Mr. Riellieux claims that this apparatus would make 12,000 to 18,000 pounds of sugar, with only 14 gallons of molasses to every 1,000 pounds of sugar; that with the bagasse from cane, only one cord of wood was necessary to make 1,000 pounds of sugar.

In 1846, a committee of the Agricultural and Mechanical Association of Louisiana, upon sugar, gave the prizes for best sugar as follows: First, to Packwood; second, to Packwood & Benjamin; third, to Verloin Degruys; first and second made by Riellieux's patent sugar boiling apparatus, and third by N. Riellieux's vacuum pan. The committee says that next year the following estates will use Riellieux's apparatus: Armant, of St. James; A. Lesseps, of Plaquemine; Verloin Degruy, of Jefferson, and Chauvin & Levois, of St. Charles."

In 1847 a Riellieux apparatus of the largest size was erected in connection with a refinery on the plantation of Mr. J. B. Armant, of St. James Parish, and Mr. P. M. Lapice, of the same parish, has erected a magnificent sugar house and refinery on the largest scale, with the apparatus of Derosne & Cail in its most improved form, and these experiences will decide the question of superiority in point of efficacy between the two systems. (J. P. Benjamin in De Boré's Review.)

Avequin first explained the action of lime as a defecating agent and discovered the presence of "cerosin" on the stalks of cane.

In 1849, Mons. Melsens, Professor State Veterinary and Agricultural College, Belgium, took out patents for the use of bisulphite of lime in clarifying cane juice. Soon after, the Melsens process was tried by many planters in Louisiana.

In 1854 Thompson's Bagasse Burner was introduced on Gossett & Johnson's plantation, at 19-Mile Point, on the right bank of the Mississippi River. It was claimed for this burner that the green bagasse from the mill, without the aid of wood or blowers, would furnish ample steam for running engine and other purposes.

In 1855, Mr. F. D. Richardson, of St. Mary Parish, patented a process for drawing the masse cuite from the kettles by means of a pipe rivetted to the bottom and penetrating the wall, enclosed by a stop valve, which is raised when the kettle is to be emptied.

The first steamboat that ever floated on the Mississippi entered the port of New Orleans in January, 1812, being the steamer New Orleans from Pittsburg. The growing sugar industry soon availed itself of this method of transportation and up to a few years since, steamers transported nearly all of the sugar and molasses of this State to market. Now the railroads transport by far the greater part.

Since the war, so many new inventions and devices have been tried that it would require more space than can be spared in this article to enumerate them.

Mr. John Dymond, of Belair, was the first planter to adopt the scales for weighing his cane. The Cora Plantation had erected the first nine-roller mill. Five or six rollers had been common before the erection of this mill. Crushers and shredders are now extensively used for preparing the canes for the mill. Various devices have been patented for transferring cane from carts to cars and from cars to the carrier. Filter-presses, both mud and juice, are now universally used. Crystallization in movement is practiced upon several plantations. Various constructed sulphur machines are to be found. Superheaters are used in many sugar houses.

Diffusion was first introduced in 1873, but was not successful; was again experimented with by the government in 1886, and since that time eleven batteries in Louisiana and Texas have been erected and are now in successful operation.

THE PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE

has been very marked in recent years. The first record of the use of guano as a fertilizer was in 1853. To-day thousands of tons of commercial fertilizers are used annually. The large turn and disc plows invert the soil with its cover of cow peas. Improved disc and other cultivators are used by nearly all of the planters. Stubble shavers and diggers supplant hoe labor in the stubble crops of cane. Fertilizer distributors deposit the fertilizers upon both sides of the row at once. Improved lister or double mould-board plows aid in reducing the cost of bedding land. Heavy double rollers compress the dirt on planted canes. Harrows of every kind are available in our markets.

The cane cutter or harvester has not yet materialized, although a standing prize of \$2,500, by the Sugar Planters' Association, awaits the successful inventor.

THE GROWING OF SUGAR CANE AND ITS MANUFACTURE INTO SYRUP, SUGAR AND MOLASSES, AS AT PRESENT PRACTICED IN LOUISIANA.

Sugar cane is a gigantic grass of the genus "*Saccharum*." All cultivated varieties are classified under one species, "*Saccharum officinarum*." Cane goes to seed in tropical countries, but the seed are small and often infertile, with much adhering pappus and are very difficult to germinate. They are never used for planting the crop, but are germinated in experimental work for originating new varieties (seedlings). The cane crop of the world is propagated by planting the stalks, as in Louisiana, or the tops of the stalks, as is practiced in many tropical countries.

The stalks are made of joints and at each joint is a bud or eye, which develops by planting into a stalk. Each stalk soon tillers until a bunch of stalks is produced.

PREPARATION AND CULTIVATION.

The ground is thoroughly broken with disc or mould board plows, drawn by four to eight mules; rows five to seven feet wide are thrown up with two-horse plows. An open furrow is made in the center of the row with a double mould board plow. Into this open furrow are deposited two to four continuous lines of canes. These are covered by a plow or cultivator, followed by hoes, and

the process of planting is completed. Two to six tons of cane are used to plant an acre. As soon as the cane begins to sprout, the rows are off-barred on each side with a two-horse plow and the dirt covering the cane partially removed in order to hasten the process of germination. When a good stand of cane has been secured the dirt is returned, the middles of the rows are opened and the process of cultivation begins. This is accomplished with plows, cultivators and hoes, and continued until the cane is large enough to shade its rows and prevent the growth of weeds and grass when it is laid by. The ditches are then well opened and the quarter-drains cleaned. This is the final act in cultivation. Cultivation is best accomplished by the use of cultivators, the disc to straddle the row of cane, and the "diamond toothed" to split out the middles.

Cane is planted at any time between September and April, that the conveniences of the planter and the weather and condition of the soil will permit. It is usually laid by in June or early in July. After "lay by" the cane grows rapidly, particularly if frequent showers at short intervals conspire with warm weather.

In Louisiana the general harvest begins in October, and lasts till January. On account of the severity of our winters, cane must be harvested in the fall and early winter, or be killed by the frost. It is therefore only about eight or nine months old when worked in the sugar house.

There are two processes of extracting the juice from the cane, by pressure and by diffusion.

PRESSURE.

The juice from the sugar cane is usually extracted by passing the canes through heavy iron rollers driven by powerful engines. A combination of from three to nine rollers constitutes a sugar mill. The more numerous the rollers, other conditions being the same, the greater the quantity of juice extracted. Many sugar houses have in front of their mills, crushers or shredders, which prepare the canes for the mill. Frequently after the canes have passed through the first set of rollers (usually three) they are saturated with water or steam and then passed through another set of rollers. By this process, known as "maceration," a larger extraction of juice is obtained, and it is universally practiced in large mill houses, giving extractions of 75 to 84 per cent of juice on the weight of the cane.

The second process is by

DIFFUSION.

Beets have always been treated by the diffusion process to extract the juice. Recently the same process has been used with sugar cane. The process, briefly

told, is as follows: The canes or beets are cut up into small pieces by specially designed knives and carried into large cast-iron cells, known as diffusors. There they are treated with hot water under pressure. Ten to sixteen cells constitute a battery. The juice is driven out by force from cell to cell over fresh chips, until it contains nearly as much sugar as the natural juice in the plant, when it is drawn off and sent to the juice tanks to await the treatment described further on. When water has passed over the chips a sufficient number of times to remove nearly all the sugar (a fact determined by chemical analysis), the cell is opened from its lower end and its contents dropped on a carrier, which conveys them away. When the cell is again closed below it is at once refilled with fresh chips from the top. In the continuous march of diffusion work, one cell is being emptied and one being filled all the time, the rest being filled with chips and closed, through which a constant flow of juice is circulating. To each cell is attached a heater or "calorisor," and through this the juice is made to flow in its passage from cell to cell, and while passing is heated by the steam circulating in the inner pipes.

CLARIFICATION.

The juice obtained by mills or diffusion is subjected to the following treatment: If white or yellow sugar be desired the juice is treated with the gas obtained by burning sulphur. This bleaches it. It is then drawn into large copper vessels, holding from 400 to 1,500 gallons, with steam coils at the bottom, called "clarifiers." Here it is treated with milk of lime until the acidity of the juice is neutralized and then heated to near the boiling point of water. This treatment brings to the surface a heavy blanket of impurities, which is brushed off into another receptacle and finally sent into a filter press, where the juice is expressed and the solid impurities remain imprisoned between the plates of the press. When the filter press is full of this solid substance, it is emptied and made ready for fresh work. Superheated-clarifiers are used also in many factories.

After cleaning the juice it is evaporated quickly to a syrup containing about 40 per cent of sugar. This evaporation is performed in open pans, or in closed vessels, in each of which a partial vacuum is maintained. Direct steam is used in the former, while exhaust steam from the engines, pumps, etc., serves the latter. These closed vessels are called "effects," single, double, triple or quadruple, according to the number used. The principle is this: Exhaust steam is made to boil the juice in the first vessel where 10 to 15 degrees of vacuum (20 to 15 degrees of pressure) are maintained; the vapors from the first vessel are made to heat the juice

in the second vessel where a vacuum of 25 to 28 degrees is held, etc. The vacuum in each vessel can be regulated at the pleasure of the operator, according to the number of vessels used. By this process the evaporation is performed at a minimum expense and at a temperature considerably below the boiling point of water, and thus escaping the danger of caramelizing sugar, which is frequently done in open vessels at high temperature.

By either of these processes a syrup is obtained, which is sent to the vacuum strike pan, where it is granulated. This pan consists of a closed vessel with three or more interior coils, situated one above the other, through which the steam may circulate. To this pan is attached a vacuum pump, which removes the air and vapor (as fast as formed) from the pan. The vapor is then condensed by a constant stream of water flowing through the pump. When the proper vacuum is obtained, usually 26 to 28 degrees, the syrup maker takes his first charge of syrup, turns heat into his lowest coil, and begins again the process of evaporation. By gradual charges enough syrup is concentrated to begin the formation of the grain. As the pan is filled, the different coils are opened and additional steam turned on. After concentrating the syrup to a sufficient density small grains begin to appear. These are examined at short intervals by removing a small quantity on a proof-stick, and when sufficiently numerous the process of building the grain begins. This is done by carefully feeding them with fresh syrup taken in, in small quantities, at short intervals. Finally the grain has grown to the proper size, the pan is full, and a strike must be made. Before the latter is performed full heat is turned in on all the coils, the grains are hardened and the entire mass cooked to the proper density. Then the bottom of the pan is opened and the stiff semi-fluid mixture of sugar and molasses, called "masse cuite," is emptied into a large mixer, where revolving paddles keep it from solidifying. From this mixer it is drawn into centrifugals which, revolving at the rate of 1,200 to 1,500 times per minute, throw out through the fine sieves the fluid molasses and retain the sugar.

The molasses is caught in the lower basket and directed to a large receiving tank. After the molasses has been removed the sugar is washed with more or less water, or pure sugar syrup, according to the quality of sugar desired. In this way brown, yellow clarified or white sugar may be obtained, at the option of the operator, and are called first sugars. Frequently, when yellow clarified sugar is desired, the wash water contains a small quantity of some salt of tin to give the sugar a desirable yellow tint.

The yellow clarified and white sugars thus made go at once into commerce. Sometimes the latter is granulated before offering it on the market. The instrument used is called a granulator and consists of a large, hollow revolving cylinder, so arranged that the sugar conveyed into it at one end is carried slowly through it, and during its passage is heated to expel the last trace of moisture. It emerges as granulated sugar and has the advantage of not caking, even in the dampest climate. The brown sugar made as above, formerly went into consumption as such, but now goes almost entirely to the refinery.

The molasses thrown off by the centrifugals, in the above operation, is drawn up again into the vacuum pan and cooked either to grain with fresh syrup and centrifugalled or to such a density that when a small portion of it is drawn between the thumb and finger it will string out into a fine thread before breaking. When this density is obtained the mass is emptied either into crystallizers with motion made from paddles, where it grains quickly, or into iron wagons and rolled into a hot room, where a constant temperature of 110 to 115 degrees F., aids the granulation of the contained sugar. This process is called cooking to "string" and its sugars "string sugars," in contradistinction to "grain" and "grained sugars." In a few days, the mass either in the crystallizers or in hot room, becomes charged with crystals and the latter are separated as before by centrifugals. It is almost impossible to obtain other than brown sugars by this process, and of course they go to the refineries. They are known as "second sugars," or seconds. The molasses from the second sugars is again subjected to the same treatment, and the sugars therefrom are called third sugars, or thirds. Sometimes fourths are made. The final molasses finds its way to the markets under the name of centrifugal molasses, either in barrels or in tank cars. It is black, thick and uninviting, containing but little sugar, and it has very little value.

"OPEN-KETTLE" FACTORIES.

Unfortunately not all of our factories are so advanced. The open-kettle sugar houses still exist, although their number is gradually diminishing. The methods of extraction of juice by mills is similar to that described above. It is evaporated differently. Four large iron kettles arranged in a line, encased in brick, with a continuous furnace under them, constitute the outfit. These kettles, descending in regular order in size, are known as the "Grande," the "Flambeau," the "Sirop," and the "Batterie." The juice, after being sulphured, is drawn into the "Grande," where it is limed, heated and the scums removed. It is then dipped into

the Flambeau, where it is brushed and cleaned, then passed to the Sirop, where it is further brushed, and finally into the Batterie, where it is concentrated to the granulating point—a density of about 45 degrees Baumé, and with a temperature of about 240 degrees Fahrenheit. At this point it is dipped out and run into long troughs, called coolers, placed in the purgery. In a few days this “masse cuite” becomes solid, and preparations are then made for “potting.” This process is as follows: In every open-kettle sugar house is a room called the “purgery.” The floor of this room is cemented and inclines from every direction toward a large cemented cavity known as the molasses cistern. In this room the potting is done. Empty hogsheads are brought in and three one-inch sugar holes are bored into each bottom. Into each hole is inserted a large stalk of cane with the end cut in the shape of a triangular prism and its sides beveled. After placing the hogsheads in position they are filled with the “masse cuite” from the coolers. By the aid of spades and shovels the “masse cuite” is dug up, lumps pulverized and transferred to the hogsheads. The molasses following the beveled edges of the canes percolates downward, and emerging through the auger holes in the bottom, flows over the cemented floor into the molasses cistern. In a few weeks the sugar is drained of its molasses. The hogshead of sugar is headed up and shipped off to market. Little or none of this sugar now reaches the consumer. It is sold to the refineries.

It is not so with the molasses. If the operations have been carefully performed the molasses is excellent and commands fairly remunerative prices. It is called “open-kettle molasses,” and is held in high esteem. Sometimes a small well is dug into the solid mass of the cooler. Into this well percolates the molasses which is dipped out as fast as it accumulates. This molasses is called “bleedings,” and is in large request at high prices. But little, however, is made.

Another product of the open-kettle sugar house is syrup or “sirop de batterie.” This is the well clarified juice concentrated to a syrup in the batterie or last kettle, in which ordinarily the strike sugar is made. It is highly esteemed and early in the season fetches extravagant prices.

Popular error exists as to the terms molasses and syrup. The former refers always to the drainings from the sugar, while the latter is the concentrated juice of the cane with all the sugar in it. The former will not easily ferment nor crystallize, and therefore can be kept for a long time. The latter, if too concentrated, will granulate, and if too thin will ferment. It therefore cannot be kept a very long time.

STEAM TRAINS.

Instead of evaporating the juice in kettles heated from underneath by an open fire, a series of pans are arranged, each with steam coils in the bottom. The juice is clarified and brushed in the first and concentrated in the remainder, the last one of which, the "strike pan," where a thermometer or hydrometer gives indication of the proper concentration of the juice to either syrup or *masse cuite*, as desired. The concentration is performed by steam drawn directly from the boiler. The *masse cuite* is sent to the purgery, where it granulates in coolers. After granulation it is either potted, as just described under the Open-Kettle Factory, or placed in the mixer, from which it is centrifugalled, as described under Vacuum Pan Factories. The latter is now practiced by several houses in this State.

The above constitute the usual products manufactured by the sugar houses directly from the raw material. These products are shipped to market and sold either for consumption or for refining. Nearly all of the open-kettle and the seconds and thirds centrifugal sugars go to the refiners, little or none going directly into the trade. On the other hand, nearly all of the "firsts" centrifugal sugars go directly into commerce, provided they have been properly washed, and are sold for consumption to our groceries. On the Sugar Exchange in New Orleans the following classifications have been adopted for plantation products: For centrifugal sugar, "plantation granulated," "off granulated," "choice white," "gray white," "fancy yellow," "choice yellows," "prime yellows," "off yellows," "seconds;" for open-kettle sugars, "choice," "strictly prime," "prime," "fully fair," "good fair," "fair," "good common," "common inferior;" for both open-kettle and centrifugal molasses, "fancy choice," "strict prime," "good prime," "prime," "good fair," "fair," "good common," "common," "inferior."

Color alone determined the above classification, and until recent years was the only factor which gave value to sugars, syrup or molasses. Now everything destined for the refineries is subjected to polariscopic tests and the percentage of sugar therein is the ruling factor. Open-kettle sugar rarely surpasses 90 degrees polariscopic tests and seldom falls below 80 degrees, while "firsts" centrifugal sugars rarely fall below 90 degrees and sometimes go over 99 degrees. Chemically pure sugar gives 100 degrees. Syrup, when bought by the refinery, and molasses when bought by the distillery, are both subjected to chemical analyses, which determine their values.

HOW PACKED.

All centrifugal sugars of every grade are packed in barrels holding about 350 pounds, while open-kettle potted sugars are shipped in hogsheads, holding from

1,000 to 1,500 pounds. Molasses and syrups are sent to the consumers in barrels holding about 50 gallons each. To dealers, molasses is often shipped in tanks located on a flat car. It is pumped into the tanks from the sugar houses, and pumped from the tanks into large cisterns when received at destination.

MIXING AND BLEACHING MOLASSES.

A large trade is carried on in mixing glucose syrup, made from corn, with Louisiana molasses. This mixture is sometimes branded "Louisiana Syrup" or "molasses." So great has become this industry that it is difficult to buy a brand of pure Louisiana molasses, except from first hands on the "levees."

Brightening dark molasses has also become quite a business in some quarters, and specially prepared chemicals are sold for this purpose. Much of the black centrifugal molasses is thus bleached and sent into the market at higher prices. This will continue despite laws against it, just so long as the trade buys its goods on color.

Thanks to the prevailing low prices, little or no adulteration can now be found in the sugars of commerce.

PERSONNEL OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

It is almost impossible to do justice to such a subject. A study of the sugar industry of this State brings in review such an army of active, intelligent and progressive leaders that a ponderous quarto would be needed to recite their achievements and record their trials.

Only a brief mention of the most prominent actors in the sugar drama can here be made. De Breuil, Mendez, Solis, De Boré and Coiron have already been noticed. Their names are indelibly stamped upon the pages of Louisiana's history.

Valcour Aimé has left us a valuable diary of his trials and successes, besides various other contributions to the literature of sugar of his day. He was the pioneer of every progressive enterprise looking to the development of the great industry to which he dedicated his life. "Rarely do we find a planter ready to go into such expensive trials for the welfare of the community." "A planter known to the entire State for his practical knowledge and who may be ranked amongst the most talented men of our community," are the words of eulogy pronounced upon Valcour Aimé by Judge P. A. Rost (himself an able and zealous devotee at the shrine of this industry), in 1846. "Primus inter pares" was that staunch old Roman, friend and neighbor of Valcour Aimé, who having spent his life in the prose-

cution of every means to develop the industry, is found as an octogenarian in 1881, sending a communication to the Sugar Planters' Association as to the great value of cane bagasse as a fuel, food for stock, and as paper stock, claiming an invention for its preparation for market. Besides equipping one of the finest refineries in the State, he peregrinated the world in search of a better variety of cane for Louisiana, and returned from Java with that excellent variety now bearing his name, and described elsewhere. Of course I refer to Mr. P. M. La Pice, of St. James.

Not far from these lived J. B. Armant, pronounced by Commissioner Miller, of the Agricultural and Mechanical Association of Louisiana, in 1846, "one of the oldest and most respectable planters of the State."

With such a trio, no wonder that "St. James Parish" at that day took a front rank in the sugar industry.

At that time Plaquemine Parish was noted, as it is now, for its progressive planters. T. W. Packard on Myrtle Grove, Thomas A. Morgan on Orange Grove, and Judah P. Benjamin on Bellechasse (as thorough in his studies of sugar as in the science of law and government), all resided in this parish, and were leaders and pioneers in the sugar industry.

The Fortiers, the de Labarres, the Mayronnes, the McCutchons, the La Branches, the Romans, the Minors, the Kenners, the Fusiliers, the McCalls, the Soniats, the Landrys, the Burgeres, the Welhams, the Godberrys, the Le Bourgeois, the Zeringues, the Waggamans, Millaudon, Sauve, the Villerés, the Wilkinsons, the McCollams, the Lesseps, the Pughs, and the Polks (including Bishop and General Leonidas Polk), Garcia, and a whole host of others too numerous to mention, were leaders in the sugar industry in other days and were men who would adorn any profession in any country.

In looking over the catalogue of sugar planters, in the forties and fifties, and comparing it with the roll of to-day, one is struck with the absence of so many names once famous in Louisiana. The war, with its disastrous results, the changed conditions attending sugar planting after the war, the financial panics, the overflows and freezes, have, all together, driven many a planter out of the business and introduced new actors upon the sugar stage. A few of the former names survive, the McCalls, the Soniats, the Kocks, Judge Emil Rost, the Garrs, Mr. Lapice, the Flowers, the Ventresses, the Polks, the Morgans, the Le Verts, the Le Febres, the Minors, the Jacobs, the Wilkinsons, and some few others are still prominent members of the sugar fraternity.

In passing over the notables of the sugar industry, a goodly space should be

given to J. B. Avequin, a learned druggist and chemist of New Orleans, "who has been worth more than his weight in gold, a dozen times over, to the planting interests, by the light which he has made science throw upon the culture of cane and the manufacture of its juices into sugar." He explained the use of lime as a defecating agent. He discovered "Cerosin;" analyzed Louisiana cane for the first time, and determined the nature of "cal." In fact, his name was known throughout the world in his day, as a successful investigator of Louisiana sugar cane.

Nor should the renowned character, "N. Rillieux," the inventor of the apparatus which gave to the world the economical evaporation now used everywhere, be forgotten. He died a few years ago in Paris, full of honors. Every "effect" in our sugar houses is but an application of the great principles which he first discovered and covered in his first patent. A few of the leaders in ante-bellum days, survived the war and greatly aided in the resuscitation of the sugar industry. In 1840, the business of sugar brokerage was started in New Orleans by Mr. Adolph Fontenette. Soon after, Mr. Robinson entered the business, followed quickly by Richard Milliken and John Flathers. The last two survived the war and died in recent years. Mr. Milliken has exercised a large influence upon the sugar industry of this State in his relations of broker, factor and planter. Born in Waterford, Ireland, in 1817, he came to America in 1830 and settled in New Orleans with his parents. He completed his education at Bardstown, Ky. During the Civil war he was first on Gen. Dick Taylor's staff, and afterwards in charge of the Confederate copper mines of Tennessee. He married, after the war, Miss Deborah Allen Farwell, sister of United States Senator Farwell (of Maine) and Chas. A. Farwell of New Orleans. She survives him. Starting as broker in 1840, he finally succeeded in handling one-third of the sugar crop of the State. In 1870 he became also a factor and has since handled one-fifth of the State's output. In 1872, he became a planter by the purchase of "Unity" plantation. Since then he has bought "Waterford," "Fairfield," "Killona," "Cedar Grove," "Smithfield," "Clarkland," "Staunton," "Point Clear," "Hope," "Scarsdale," and "Belchasse." These places employ several thousand men, and have a yearly product of sugar well up into the millions of pounds. Up to the day of his death, in 1896, he remained actively at work, in intimate connection with the foremost sugar planters of Louisiana, and always wielded a powerful influence in the development of this valuable industry. As factor and broker, he handled more sugar than any man in the South. Before his death he received Mr. Charles A. Farwell (his nephew) into full partnership with him in the factorage business, and turned over to Murphy & Farwell his brokerage business.

Mr. James C. Murphy (now President of the Sugar Exchange) and Harry B. Farwell (Mr. Milliken's nephew) were both clerks in Mr. Milliken's office, and received their initiation in the sale of sugars and molasses under his tutelage. The firm of Milliken & Farwell continues the business of factors and managers of the numerous plantations. Mr. Charles A. Farwell, the junior member, is president of the Sugar Cane Growers' Association, and was "Rex" of the Carnival in 1898. Mr. Milliken's widow, by her princely liberality, is perpetuating in enduring form the fame and name of "Milliken." "The Richard Milliken Memorial Hospital for Children," erected by this noble woman to the memory of her husband, in connection with the Charity Hospital of this city, will ever remain as a monument of the greatness of the one and the liberality and philanthropy of the other.

Another link connecting the sugar industry of the past with the present was Hon. Duncan Farrar Kenner, sugar planter, financier and statesman. His name is found issuing a call for the convention of sugar planters in Donaldsonville, in 1842, and again in 1877 prominent among those organizing the Sugar Planters' Association, of which body he was elected president, holding the position to his death in 1888. He was foremost among the organizers of the Sugar Experiment Station, and held the position as president up to his death. He was a large and successful planter, a man of strong judgment, high intelligence and rare social qualities. Born as a ruler, he was equally influential in political, financial and planting circles. His widow still lives in this city. One of his daughters married General Joseph L. Brent, the hero, the successful planter, the chivalrous gentleman, once an honored planter and citizen of this State, president of our State Agricultural Society, and member of State Legislature, but now a citizen of Baltimore, Maryland.

No history of the sugar industry since the war would be complete without mention of the brilliant services of the late Edward J. Gay, of St. Louis Plantation, Plaquemine, La. A member of the Sugar Planters' Association, president of the Sugar Exchange, member of Congress from the Third district of this State, and always a strong and able defender of the sugar industry. He was a man of large abilities, handling his immense estate with excellent judgment and rare success. His death was a great blow to the State and to the sugar industry. Fortunately his mantle fell upon able shoulders, his son, Andrew H. Gay, assuming control of his sugar interests, which he has managed with great success, and his son-in-law, Andrew Price, taking his seat in Congress. Both are worthy successors of a truly great man.

It would be a poor tribute to genuine worth to simply assert that Leon Godchaux was perhaps the leading sugar planter of his day. Starting in this country with no fortune but his strong will and unyielding persistency, he arose step by step to affluence and power. He amplified and organized three of the largest estates ever known in Louisiana and equipped them with up-to-date, capacious machinery. Elm Hall, Reserve and Raceland, each with a capacity of 15,000,000 pounds of sugar annually, will ever remain as monuments to the sagacity, the methodical habits, the untiring activity, the financial success of that truly wonderful man, Leon Godchaux. He died a few years since, regretted by the entire sugar world. His sons are managing his large estates with consummate ability.

Contemporaneous with him in life and death was another large sugar planter, General William Porcher Miles, the scholar, the statesman, the planter, the gentleman "*sans peur et sans reproche*." Coming late in life from congressional and collegiate halls to assume charge of enormous estates, he brought with him the business habits of the latter and the cordial suavity of the former, and concentrated them upon his wife's large inheritances, who was the daughter of Oliver Beirne, himself a progressive and prominent planter. Of course success attended him, and at his death a few years ago, all classes, from the obscure laborer to the millionaire, mingled their tears of sincere regret. "Earth never pillowed a nobler head and heaven never opened wide its gates to receive a purer soul."

The sugar world has recently been shrouded in grief at the death of perhaps the most progressive scientific planter in this or any other State. The name and fame of Daniel Thompson, of Calumet, is commensurate with the cane sugar industry everywhere. His early experiments with commercial fertilizers, his complete chemical control of his sugar house, his progress in every line of the sugar industry, long ago gave him a reputation which was quickly borne to foreign lands, and which created everywhere fresh enthusiasm among the workers of sugar. He was one of the executive committee of the Sugar Planters' Association, and of the Sugar Experiment Station. Mr. Thompson was a man of splendid abilities, methodical habits and genuine progress. He was ably assisted while living by his brilliant son, Wibray, upon whose shoulders his mantle has fallen.

In studying the sugar industry, one is forced to emphasize the great good accomplished by the various organizations working in its interests.

Before the war, the "Agricultural and Mechanical Association of Louisiana," which had for a time as its vice president the eminent jurist and planter, Judge P. A. Rost (father of our Judge Emil Rost, "a noble son of a noble sire"), held its

annual fairs, and "had its committee upon the sugar industry," which made its annual report. From these very full reports, one can easily discern the immense stimulus and assistance given the planters of the State by this organization.

But the organization which perhaps has accomplished the greatest good to the sugar industry was brought into existence in 1877, by a call from the leading planters of the State. It was named the "Sugar Planters' Association," of which Mr. Duncan F. Kenner was its first president, Hon. John Dymond its second, and Judge Emil Rost its present and third president. This association has held monthly meetings, discussing every phase of progress, and its publications have been productive of immense benefit to the planters of this and other lands. The present officers of the Sugar Planters' Association are as follows: President, Judge Emil Rost; First Vice President, Henry McCall; Second Vice President, L. M. Soniat; Third Vice President, G. G. Zenor; Treasurer, W. B. Schmidt; Secretary, R. Dykers; Executive Committee, Dr. W. C. Stubbs, W. B. Schmidt, John N. Pharr, John Dymond, W. J. Thompson.

Next in order of time was the "Sugar Exchange" of New Orleans, whose building adapted to the wants of a modern exchange, was completed and dedicated on June 3d, 1884. Mr. Edward J. Gay was its first president, and Mr. D. D. Colcock its first secretary. To this exchange has been transferred the business formerly transacted on the levee, and here the buyers and sellers meet daily for the purpose of trade in sugar, syrup and molasses.

The Exchange has had several presidents, but Mr. D. D. Colcock continues to be its secretary, and to his statistical information, rare intelligence and fearless action, much of the success of the Exchange is due. Mr. Colcock has also rendered invaluable service to the sugar industry by his able presentation of the tariff issues before the Congress of the United States. Mr. J. C. Murphy is at present president of the Sugar Exchange.

Under the influence and through the appointment of a committee by the Sugar Planters' Association, the "Louisiana Scientific and Agricultural Association" was formed in 1885, which started the Sugar Experiment Station. For four years it was located at Kenner, La. Ten years ago it was moved to its present location, Audubon Park, New Orleans, La. This station has experimented in the field, laboratory and sugar house, and has published its results in numerous bulletins. It has covered every question pertaining to the sugar industry and aided in every development. It has been recognized by the State, and it is now Station No. 1 of the Louisiana State University and A. & M. College. Dr. W. C.

Stubbs is and has been its director. He has a full corps of assistants. Mr. John Dymond is president of the Louisiana Scientific and Agricultural Association, which owns and controls the Sugar Experiment Station.

The same association started in 1891 the AUDUBON SUGAR SCHOOL, for the purpose of making experts in the sugar industry. It has been successfully conducted and its graduates are now found filling responsible positions in almost every sugar country. It has recently been adopted by the State and made a part of the Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge, where, in connection with Sugar Experiment Station at Audubon Park, a most thorough course of four years of scientific and practical instruction is given.

The Sugar Bowl, a journal devoted to the sugar interests of Louisiana, was started thirty years ago, and has since made weekly visits to the planters of the State. A few years ago its name was changed to "The Sugar Planters' Journal." It is edited by J. Y. Gilmore, and is published at 520 Poydras street, New Orleans.

Twelve years ago, to meet the growing demands of the planters, a company was formed for the purpose of starting a first-class scientific and practical weekly journal devoted to the growth of sugar cane and its manufacture into sugar. This paper was called "The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer," and has been ably edited by Mr. John Dymond, assisted by Dr. W. C. Stubbs, Mr. W. W. Pugh (the veteran sugar planter of Louisiana), and Mr. Wibray J. Thompson.

This journal is now the leader of sugar thought in the world and goes in large numbers weekly to every sugar country. Its success is due to its able editor, Mr. John Dymond, who is also president of the State Agricultural Society, president of the Louisiana Scientific and Agricultural Association, and State Senator in our Legislature. Mr. Dymond has perhaps done as much to advance the sugar and other agricultural interests as any man in the South.

A few years ago, "The Sugar Growers' Association" of this State was formed for the purpose of securing proper protection to sugar. Its membership includes nearly every planter in the State. Its president is Mr. Charles A. Farwell, of Milliken & Farwell, and its secretary is Mr. D. D. Colcock. It is doing yeoman service in properly protecting the sugar industry of this country at Washington.

There are numerous planters, factors and brokers that are to-day prominent in the sugar industry and who are deserving of special mention here, but neither time nor space will permit it. To them we make the following closing remarks:

The extent to which the production of sugar can be carried on in Louisiana is appreciated by but few of us, but we who reflect on the subject and feel such a



Jos E LeBlanc

deep interest in all that concerns the prosperity of this State, foresee with exultation the day not far distant when boundless tracts, now covered with marsh or primeval forests, shall teem with plenteous harvests of the cane, when central factories shall manufacture it into the purest sugars—yea, in a word, when the industry and enterprise of our people shall succeed in developing to their full extent the resources which a bounteous Providence has lavished on this favored State. Then, let us hope, some future historian will do justice to our lives and services.

CLOSING REMARKS.

Taking a retrospective view of the sugar industry of Louisiana for the last fifteen or twenty years, it can be said with truth that there is no industry in the world that has made such progress. The organization of the Sugar Planters' Association, in 1877, may be regarded as the starting point of the renaissance of the sugar industry. Since that time the Sugar Experiment Station has been established, whose teachings and experiments have illuminated the field and the factory. The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer has been started, whose weekly visit to the home of every planter, manager, overseer, sugarmaker, etc., carries with it information upon every subject pertaining to the agriculture of sugar cane and the chemistry and manufacture of sugar. The Sugar Exchange has been created in New Orleans, where the products of the plantation are quickly sold. Improved implements for breaking the soil and for the cultivation of cane, have been introduced and almost universally used. Improvement of soils and crops, both by scientific rotation of crops, involving the nitrogen gathering cow pea, and the extensive use of commercial fertilizers, whose purity and guarantee are sustained by chemical analysis made by official chemists, without cost, are everywhere in evidence. Tonnage has been increased, and the cost of growing cane materially reduced.

Small sugar houses are fast disappearing, and enormous factories with every modern labor and fuel saving apparatus, are to be found in every section. The output of sugar, both per acre and per ton of cane, has been greatly increased. New lands are being opened and old plantations better drained and cultivated. In fact, "expansion" in the cultivation of sugar cane in Louisiana and other Southern States, and sugar factories in the "expansion," is the only *kind* favored by the sugar planters of the South. Thousands of acres of land well adapted to the growth of sugar cane, are available in Louisiana, Texas and other Southern States. Capital alone is wanted to develop them and build the necessary factories. Every dollar made in the sugar industry since the war, has gone into sugar houses and the im-

provement of lands. Over \$100,000,000 have thus been invested. The acreage devoted to sugar cane is yearly increasing, the present year will doubtless witness the harvesting of cane from over 300,000 acres. The crop of 1897 brought about \$35,000,000, and gave employment directly and indirectly to nearly a half a million of people. Every dollar received was exchanged for labor, material, provisions and clothes. This large sum is paid out as fast as received, and a portion of it doubtless finds its way to every State in the Union, thus creating an inter-State commerce of nearly seventy millions of dollars.

Our machinery comes largely from Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Alabama, New York and Illinois, for which we pay \$6,000,000. To Mississippi and Louisiana we send, for lumber and bricks, \$600,000. Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Indiana draw on us annually, for mules and horses, over \$1,000,000. The coal and oil furnished us by Pennsylvania, Alabama and West Virginia, cost annually \$1,500,000. Minnesota, Missouri and Kansas give us our daily bread at an annual cost of \$3,000,000. Illinois, Missouri, Kansas and Iowa feed our stock, but charge yearly for the same another \$3,000,000. West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky give us our wagons, carriages and agricultural implements, at the modest sum of \$500,000. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Nebraska furnish us with meats, lard, etc., for \$3,000,000. Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana butter our bread and give us cheese for luncheon, but require in return \$500,000. Texas, Mississippi and Alabama, to say nothing of the refrigerator beef from the West, available only at our towns and cities, supply us with steaks, roasts and stews, and though at times they are quite inferior, cost the modest sum of \$500,000. Alabama has a monopoly on the supply of lime for our sugar houses and for building purposes, and accordingly draws on us annually for \$500,000. The cooperage for our sugar houses descends the great "Father of Waters" in flatboats, from Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and annually mulcts the planters of \$1,000,000.

It is a custom here to sow cow peas upon one-third of our lands yearly, using at the rate of two bushels per acre, requiring nearly a quarter of a million of bushels annually, for which we send to Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee and pay from \$1.25 to \$3.50 per bushel. Both our plant and stubble canes are fertilized regularly; therefore we send to Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska and Louisiana for phosphates, cotton seed meal and tankage, and credit them by cash paid, \$1,000,000.

Our boots and shoes are made in Boston, St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, etc., and our shoemakers charge us \$2,500,000 per year. We are clothed by New

York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and as we all wear good clothes, we pay over \$5,000,000 annually for them. If any money be left us we spend it in notions, fruits and sundries, which are gathered from Maine to California.

The above is not a mere guess, but is a calculation based, after careful investigation, upon facts which abundantly justify every enumeration made. With this wide distribution of the money coming from the sugar industry of Louisiana, is there a citizen of any section of this Union that does not enjoy some benefit from it, directly or indirectly?

SUGAR PLANTATIONS OF LOUISIANA, WITH STATISTICAL DATA OF THEIR PLANTATIONS.

BY J. P. SMITH.

In preparing this table we are indebted to J. Y. Gilmore, Esq., for the use of his Sugar Journal. The matter was originally compiled for the tabular form, but from the mechanical necessity required by the character of this work we are obliged to print it in the form here adopted. The items, as they occur in succession, are generally self-explanatory. First is the name of the owner, then that of the plantation, post-office address, acreage, style of apparatus, daily capacity in tons, annual output and variety of cane grown.

ASCENSION PARISH.

Ayraud, H. T. & F. C. Sleepy Hollow. Barton.

Babin, Leon. Donaldsonville.

Barton, W. I. Riverside. Donaldsonville. 1,000 acres, 900 cult. Modern, up to date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,800,000 pounds. Ribbon.

Barton, E. H. St. Emma. Barton. 1,300 acres. Modern. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of sugar-house, 2,500,000 pounds. Red.

Berthelot, V. & J. A. Chatham. Hohen Solms.

Brown & Gondran. Linwood. Belle Helene. 800 acres, 500 cult. Sells cane. Red.

Belle Helene Planting Co., Ltd. (G. B. Reuss, Pres.; J. C. Klos, Sec.) Ashland, Bowden and Texas. Belle Helene. 2,447½ acres. Modern, up to date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 5,000,000 pounds. Red.

Brown, C. C., widow. Eulalia. Hope Villa.

Bourgeois, F. Cottage Farm. Belle Helene.

Dixon, Elisha D. Willow Grove. Hope Villa.

Gramercy Sugar Factory Co. Mt. Houmas. Geismar.

Humphreys, J. B. Southwood and Riverside. Geismar.

Haydel, Joseph. Gem. Darrow.

Jacobs, Arthur & Bro. Stella. Donaldsonville. 1,300 acres, 900 cult. Diffusion process. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,500,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.

Landry, Abelard. Babin. Smoke Bend. 500 acres, all cult. Open train. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Red.

Landry, R. O. Delicia. Smoke Bend.

Duffel, Judge Henry L. Woodstock. Smoke Bend. 400 acres, all cult. Rents his plantation. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Red.

Lemann, B. & Bro. Souvenir, Palo Alto, Perseverance, Crescent and Pentavin. Donaldsonville. 7,941 acres, 5,487 cult. Modern. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 550 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 10,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 10,000,000 pounds. Red. (Data includes plantations in Assumption parish.)

McCall & Legendre. McManor. McCall. 1,100 acres, 850 cult. Modern. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds. Red.

McCall Bros. Planting & Manufacturing Co., Ltd. Evan Hall. McCall. 3,500 acres, 3,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 800 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 6,000,000 pounds. Red.

Hermitage Planting & Manufacturing Co. Hermitage. Darrow. 2,200 acres, 1,800 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 700 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,750,000 pounds. Red and Purple.

Marchand, Alex. Willow Grove. Darrow.

Morgan, U. E. Rearwood. Darrow.

Nolan, J. T. St. Elizabeth. Donaldsonville.

The Miles Planting & Manufacturing Co., Ltd. (Dr. W. P. Miles, Pres.; S. B. Miles, Vice Pres.; H. C. Eustis, Sec. & Treas.) Monroe, Conway, Orange Grove, Donaldson, Riverton, Rearwood and Clark. Burnside. 7,977 acres, 6,483 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,000 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 9,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 9,000,000 pounds. Red.

The Miles Planting & Manufacturing Co., Ltd. New Hope, Ascension. McCall. 1,506 acres cult. Modern, up-to-date. 500 tons daily capacity. 3,000,000 pounds average annual output of the plantation. 4,500,000 pounds average annual output of sugar-house. Red. Narrow-gauge railroad and electricity used for lighting.

Picard & Geismar. Waterloo. Geismar.

Raphael, Pierre. Susanna. Gonzales.

Reuss, G. B. Germania, Home, Elise. Hohen Solms. 2,500 acres, 2,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date; electricity used for lighting, and narrow-gauge railroad. 500 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds. Red.

St. Martin, Captain J. E. Arlington and Pelico. McCall.

Webster, Mrs. J. S. Point Houmas. Cofield. 950 acres, 829 cult. Steam train and vacuum pan. 400 tons daily capacity. 940,000 pounds average annual output of plantation. Red. Electricity for lighting.

IBERVILLE PARISH.

Adler, A. & Co. Rebecca. Plaquemine. 825 acres, 600 cult. Modern. 700 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 5,500,000 pounds. Purple. Electricity for lighting and narrow-gauge railroad.

Behan, W. J. Alhambra. White Castle. 1,300 acres. Modern, up-to-date. Electricity for lighting, and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds. Cuban.

Berthelot, V. & J. A. Claiborne, Old Hickory and Cannonburg. Hohen Solms.

Bethancourt & Sentilles. Forest Home. Bayou Goula.

Billou, O. D. Upper Eimer. Bayou Goula.

Barrow & Le Blanc. Star Pecan. Plaquemine. 700 acres, all cult. Steam train, open kettle. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 900,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,500,000 pounds. Red and White.

- Brown, I. D., heirs. Manchac. Sunshine. 1,362 acres, 900 cult. Steam train, open kettle. Daily capacity, 175 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 600,000. Striped.
- Brun, Mrs. F. Revenue. Island.
- Browne, H. S., widow. St. Gabriel. St. Gabriel.
- Brown & Hebert. Hermitage. Sunshine.
- Comeaux, R. G. Mayflower and York. Plaquemine. 540 acres, all cult. Steam train, open kettle. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,000,000. Red and White.
- Duval, C. Mespilus. Plaquemine.
- Damare, A. & G. Oakley. St. Gabriel. 1,400 acres, 700 cult. Steam train, vacuum pan. Daily capacity, 175 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000. Red.
- Folse, L. N. Texas. White Castle. 1,104 acres, 800 cult. Open kettle, steam train, with centrifugal. Electricity for lighting. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Red.
- Gueymard, H. Hard Times. Island.
- Guyton, J. T. The Oaks. Bayou Goula.
- Gay, E. J., Planting and Manufacturing Co., Ltd. St. Louis, Tennessee, True Hope, Centennial, Little California. Plaquemine. 5,000 acres, 4,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electricity for lighting, and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,000 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 5,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Gay, Andrew H. Union and Homestead. Plaquemine. 3,500 acres, 2,300 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electricity for lighting. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 4,500,000. Red and Striped.
- Gay, Andrew H. Augusta, Shady Grove, Live Oak and West Oak. Plaquemine. 3,500 acres, 1,200 cult. Open, steam train. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Hanlon, Maurice. Magnolia and Eureka. Bayou Goula. 1,300 acres, 900 cult. Modern. Electricity for lighting. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,250,000. Red.
- Humphrey, J. B. Rescue. Island.
- Holloway & Postell. Evergreen. Plaquemine.
- Iberville Planting & Manufacturing Co. Anandale and Cora. White Castle.

2,800 acres, 1,590 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds. Red.

Jollissaint, Joseph Jr. Greenback. Sunshine.

Jackson, Mitchell. Restalrig. Plaquemine.

Levert, Amedée. Golden Ridge. Soulouque.

Le Blanc, Simon. Monticello. St. Gabriel. 800 acres, 600 cult. Open kettle, centrifugal. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average annual output plantation, 600,000 pounds. Red.

Landry, Theo. Lucky. Sunshine.

Lorio, A. G. St. Elizabeth. Bayou Goula. 478 acres, 425 cult. Open kettle, steam train. Daily capacity, 110 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Landry & Dugas. Nottaway. Bayou Goula. 1,300 acres, 900 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,250,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.

Leeche, E. D. Dunboyne. Bayou Goula.

Labarre, Nelson. Euphroisine. White Castle. 140 acres, 130 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 225,000 pounds. Red.

Le Blanc & Danos. Milly. Plaquemine. 1,140 acres, 750 cult. Steam train, open kettle. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,335,000 pounds. Red, White and Striped.

Lozano, Louis. Reliance. Plaquemine. 500 acres, all cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 600,000 pounds. Red.

Murrell (Geo. M.) Planting & Manufacturing Co., Ltd. Tally Ho, St. Marie, Glenmore and Augusta. Bayou Goula. 7,700 acres, 3,500 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electricity for lighting, and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 800 tons. Ribbon and Purple.

Martin, L. J. Bayou Paul. Iberville.

Milliken, Mrs. D. A. Point Clear. Bayou Goula. 500 acres, all cult. Open pan. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 500,000 pounds. Red.

Marionneaux, Edwin. Belfort. Plaquemine.

Marionneaux, widow. Holly Farm, Plaquemine.

Manville & Robert. Irion. Plaquemine.

O'Neil, W. J. Margaret. St. Gabriel.

- Ourso, A. & J. H. Ella. Soulouque.
- Peterson, M. P. Long Point. Plaquemine.
- Plaisance, Alfred. Palo Alto. St. Gabriel.
- Richard, O. Golden Gate. Sunshine. 300 acres, all cult. Open kettle, steam train. Daily capacity, 100 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 335,000. Red.
- Roth & McWilliams. Medora. Plaquemine. 800 acres, all cult. Open kettle, steam train. Daily capacity, 125 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Red and White.
- Randolph. M. L. Blythewood. Bayou Goula.
- Robertson & Bros. Hunter Lodging. Plaquemine.
- Robertson, F. D. Homestead.
- Reuss, John, Planting Co., Ltd. Allemania. Greenfield, Retreat and Lower Eimer. Soulouque. 1,800 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,000,000. Red.
- Saunders, Gus & Co. Golden Ridge. Bayou Goula.
- Supple, J., Sons Planting Co., Ltd. Catherine, Richland and Kinsale. Bayou Goula. 2,580 acres, 2,100 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 550 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Soniat, L. M. Cedar Grove. Dorceyville. 2,500 acres, 2,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 700 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 5,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Tuttle, Mrs. J. S. Laurel Ridge. White Castle. 1,000 acres, 760 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Thiry, C. A., widow, 100-mile Point. St. Gabriel.
- Thibodeaux, O. Oliva. Plaquemine.
- Trahan & Daigle. Aloysia. Dorceyville. 600 acres, all cult. Modern. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,250,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.
- Ventress, W. W. & J. A. Magnolia. St. Gabriel. 400 acres, 350 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.
- Ventress Bros. & Locke. Grenada. Sunshine. 1,200 acres, 800 cult. Modern.

Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Red.

Ware, Hon. James A. Belle Grove. White Castle. 3,100 acres. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Creole.

Wilbert's (A.) Sons' Planting & Manufacturing Co. Myrtle Grove, Star, Enterprise, Crescent. Plaquemine. 5,600 acres, 2,500 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 4,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Magilliard, Dr. Unice. Donaldsonville. 800 acres, 400 cult. Open kettle. Daily capacity, 100 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Red.

Labarre & Magilliard. California. Donaldsonville. 1,000 acres, 500 cult.

ASSUMPTION PARISH.

Abraham & Prejean. Melrose. Labadieville.

Aucoin, Captain J. F. Eugenie. Plattenville. 350 acres, all cult. Open kettle. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 360,000 pounds. Ribbon.

Aleman, B., estate. Cosa Natural. Belle Rose.

Babin, Louis, & Son. Happy Jack. Donaldsonville.

Barton, Carroll. Magnolia, Belle Clos and Laurele. Paincourtville. 3,500 acres, 1,400 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,750,000 pounds. Red.

Boudreaux, Charles. Julia, Rosena, Belle Pointe and Henrietta. Napoleonville.

Blanchard & Morray. "H. D." Belle Rose.

Burbank, E. W. Avon. Belle Rose.

Barrileaux & Blanchard. Poverty Pointe. Bertie.

Barton, C. C. Little Texas. Albemarle. 2,400 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Ribbon and Red.

Bourg, C. St. Vincent. Napoleonville.

Beasley, J. W., estate. Wildwood. Napoleonville.

Blanchard, M. Paincourtville.

Blanchard, A. D. Bertha. Plattenville.

Clifton, C. C. Olive Branch. Paincourtville. 630 acres, 320 cult. Open kettle. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 300 hogs-heads. Red.

Cox, T. D. St. Philomene. Belle Rose.

Cancienne, Leo. Hard Times. Avoca. 775 acres, 400 cult. Open train. Daily capacity, 125 tons. 335,000 pounds average annual output of plantation. Striped.

Chauffe, T., widow. Rosedale. Bertie.

Dugas estate. Armelise. Paincourtville. 1,500 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 225,000 pounds. Red, Ribbon and White. Narrow-gauge railroad.

Dugas & Le Blanc. Whitmell and Westerfield. Paincourtville. 6,400 acres, 2,400 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 6,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 7,800,000 pounds. Red, Ribbon and White.

Dugas, Drauzin. St. Claire. Paincourtville.

Dugas, Dr. E. T. Guildive. Belle Rose. 625 acres, 300 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 600,000 pounds. Ribbon.

Durand, Mrs. P. E. Supple Place. Belle Rose.

Delaune, D. & Bro. St. Thomas. Albemarle.

Delaune, F. & Bro. Delaune. Albemarle. 300 acres, 210 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 225,000. Striped.

Frost & Folse. Cleveland. Labadieville. 520 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000. Red and White.

Ford, Dr. J. D., estate. Bellewood. Laura.

Foley, John B. Idlewild. Napoleonville.

Folse, A. O. & Co. Georgia. Tallieu.

Francioni, Paul. St. Claire. Labadieville.

Giriore & Blanchard. Claire. Paincourtville.

Guillot, Edward. St. Faustin. Plattenville.

Gross & Weber. Laurel Ridge. Labadieville.

Gauthreaux, Maurice. Gauthreaux. Labadieville.

Godchaux, Leon, estate. Elm Hall, Oceana, Foley and Maywood. Napoleonville.

9,006 acres, 2,340 cult. (Oceana has 250 acres; Foley, 930; and Maywood, 2,800.) Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad.

Daily capacity, 1,400 tons. Average annual output of plantations, 10,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Hidalgo & Truxillo. Long Branch. Belle Rose. 460 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 375,000 pounds. Red.

Himel, Drauzin. St. Martin. Labadieville. 300 acres, all cult. Open kettle. Daily capacity, 12 hogsheads. Average annual output of plantation, 500 hogsheads. Red.

Himel & Bourg. Vallance. Labadieville. 1,200 acres, 900 cult. Open steam train. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds. Red and White.

Himel & Boudreaux. St. Rose. Labadieville.

Himel, Oscar J. Himalaya. Tallieu.

Himel, T. P. Ida. Paincourtville.

Klotz, A. Klotzville and Star. Klotzville.

Kittredge, J. K. G. Ravenswood. Albemarle.

Kock, E. & J. Belle Alliance, Scatterry and Front. Belle Alliance. 4,500 acres, 3,500 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 900 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 6,000,000 pounds. Red and White.

Kessler Bros. Voiron. Belle Rose. 1,100 acres, 800 cult. Open evaporator. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,250,000 pounds. Red.

Lauve, Captain E. E. Soadia. Belle Rose.

Landry, Anatole. Creole. Belle Rose.

Landry, Thomas. Elmira. Plattenville.

LeBlanc, Mrs. E. M. Eureka. Klotzville.

LeBlanc, Emile E. Bellevue. Paincourtville.

Landry & Dugas. Sweet Home. Paincourtville. 1,100 acres, 500 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,500,000 pounds. Ribbon and White.

Lemann, B., & Bro. Belle Terre, Rodriguez and Dugas. Donaldsonville. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 650 tons. Red. (Data given in Ascension parish.)

Landry & Meyer. Cedar Grove. Labadieville. 1,000 acres, 600 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds. Red.

- Lallande, A. Nellie. Plattenville. 450 acres, all cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of sugar-house, 1,250,000 pounds. Striped.
- Maurin, Robert. Ville du Bois. Belle Alliance.
- Martin, R. C., Jr. Albemarle. Albemarle. 1,352 acres. Steam train and evaporators. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 800,000 pounds. Red and White.
- Montet, Mrs. D. Paterville. Plattenville.
- Monnot, E. L. Elmfield. Napoleonville. 500 acres, 250 cult. Open pan, centrifugal. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 400,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,000,000 pounds. White.
- Munson, E. P. Glenwood, St. Vincent and Julia. Napoleonville. 1,800 acres, 1,200 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Munson, H. A. Enola. Napoleonville. 2,100 acres, 600 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 1,125,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.
- Munson Bros. & Guion. Trinity. Napoleonville. 900 acres, 750 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Montet, D. & Co. Aurelie. Albemarle.
- Ory, L. Ingleside. Albemarle.
- Oakley Planting Co., Ltd. Oakley. Albemarle. 1,700 acres, 650 cult. Open train and vacuum pan. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 400 tons. 1,200,000 pounds average annual output of plantation; 2,500,000 pounds of sugar-house. Red.
- Painchaud, Dr. E. F. Etienza. Belle Rose.
- Pugh, R. L., estate. Mt. Lawrence. Albemarle.
- Prejean & Dehon. Lula. Belle Rose. 600 acres, all cult. Modern. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Prejean, S. Half Way, home place and Bull Head. Donaldsonville. 1,220 acres, 800 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Pugh, L. Madewood. Napoleonville.
- Pugh, Colonel W. W. Himalaya, Woodlawn and Texana. Bertie. 3,700 acres, 1,500 cult. Vacuum pan. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,250,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.

Rodrigue & Thiac. Georgie. Plattenville.

Roussel & Naquin. Sans Nom. Labadieville. 700 acres, 600 cult. Open steam train. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 600,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.

Rodigue, T. Belle Rose. Belle Rose.

Ratliff, W. B. Locust Grove. Napoleonville.

Roger, Ernest. Oakwood. Labadie. Thibodaux. 3,300 acres, 2,000 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped. Electric lighting.

Savoie, Sabin. Ella. Belle Rose.

Simoneaux, J. A. Angelina. Paincourtville.

Simoneaux, C. P., & Bros. Church. Plattenville.

Talbot, T., & Son. Cypress Grove. Napoleonville.

Talbot, Louis. Manassas. Napoleonville.

Templet & Landry. Leona. Plattenville.

Truxillo, Mrs. A. Amelia. Paincourtville.

Tete, Amedée, Jr. Magnolia Grove. Labadieville.

Vives, Numa. Cecilia and Delia. Paincourtville. 800 acres. Open kettle. Daily capacity, 125 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 850,000 pounds. Striped and White.

LAFOURCHE PARISH.

Abraham, Simon. Home place, Theresa and Pecan. Raceland.

Abbey & Highland Planting & Manufacturing Co. Abbey and Highland. Thibodaux.

Parker & LeBlanc. Clotilda. Lockport. 1,080 acres, 550 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,500,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Breaux, P. & L. Prosperity. Raceland.

Beattie, Judge Taylor. Dixie. Thibodaux.

Bourg, S. S. Ravenswood. Lockport.

Brand, Elles. Waterproof. Lockport.

Boudreaux, Adlard. Boudreaux. Lockport.

Badeaux, J. T. Edna, Norah, Valentine and Elisha. Norah.

Barker & Lepine. Laurel Valley and Melodia. Lafourche Crossing.

Claudet, C. A. Bouverans. Lockport. 1,060 acres, 210 cult. Open steam train.

Daily capacity, 100 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Striped.

Caillouet, Ed., & Co. St. James. Thibodaux. 3,250 acres, 650 cult. Open kettle, centrifugal. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Caillouet, T., & Sons. Orange Grove. Thibodaux. 1,850 acres, 800 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Coignet, Mrs. G. A. Octavia. Lafourche Crossing. 500 acres, 175 cult. Open pan. Daily capacity, 100 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 170,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Doherty, Hiers, Edward. Webster. Lafourche Crossing.

Delaune, M. Armantina and Delaune. Lockport.

Dionne, George. Enterprise. Thibodaux.

Foret, V., widow. Buckhorn. Lockport.

Foret, Mrs. Elles. Felicia. Lockport. 1,400 arpents, 400 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,500,000 pounds. Striped.

Foret, L., & Bros. Ludivine. Norah.

Foret, Traismond. Celina. Norah.

Gaiennie. Bivouac. Thibodaux.

Godcheaux, Leon, Co., Ltd. Raceland, Evangeline, Upper Ten, Mary and Utopia. Raceland. 19,000 acres, 4,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 9,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 12,000,000 pounds. Red.

Golden Ranch S. & C. Co. Golden Ranch. Gheens. 60,000 acres, 2,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Red.

Harang, D. Choctaw. Larose.

Howell, W. E. Waverly. Thibodaux. 2,000 acres, 1,050 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Lafourche Sugar Refining Co., Ltd. Thibodaux.

Levert & Morvant. Webre and Rienzi. Thibodaux. 3,500 acres, 1,500 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Red.

- LeBlanc, Joseph A., & Co. Reitas. Lockport.
- Ledet, Emile, & Bro. Anna. Raceland.
- LeBlanc, Ursin. White Rose. Raceland.
- Lagarde, Major C. McLeod. Lockport. 800 acres, 700 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; sugar-house, 1,250,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Lagarde, Major C. Leighton. Thibodaux.
- Libby & Blouin. Bush Grove. Lafourche Crossing.
- Mathews, C. S. Georgia and New Hope. Raceland. 5,000 acres, 3,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 7,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 9,000,000. Red and Ribbon.
- Mathews, C. S., lessee. Gayoso. Raceland. 800 acres, 700 cult. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.
- Nicholls & Henderson, Ringfield. Thibodaux.
- Naquin, Ozeme. St. Bernard. Thibodaux.
- Price, Andrew. Acadia. Thibodaux.
- Pittman, R. A. Oak Grove. Ariel.
- Roger & Robichaux. Coulon. Thibodaux. 1,396 acres, 1,200 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Roger, Thomas H. Home Cottage. Thibodaux. 260 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Roger, Ernest. Greenwood and Floriska. Thibodaux. 2,000 acres, 650 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Seignoret, J. E. Seignoret. Pugh.
- Seely, John S. Forest Grove and French. Thibodaux. 700 acres, all cult. Open kettle. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds. Red and White.
- Scally, David. Webster. Lafourche Crossing.
- Trosclair, Mrs. L. J. "L. T." Thibodaux.
- Tetrau, H. Artridge. Pugh.
- Toups, J. O., & Sons. Lake View. Lockport.
- Toups, Prosper. Ariel. Ariel. 800 acres, 450 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Red.
- Theriot, Alex. Seuddy and home place. Ariel.

Trosclair & Robichaux. Laurel Grove and Trial. Thibodaux. 1,450 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Average annual output of sugar-house, 5,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Trosclair, L. J. Brand. Thibodaux.

White, Judge E. D. Brousseau. Thibodaux.

Williams, C. C. Sunny Side. Lafourche Crossing. 600 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Red.

ST. JAMES PARISH.

Anderman, Ed. M. Cabanosee. St. James. 700 acres, 450 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 800,000 pounds. Red and White.

Brignac, F. Paulina. Convent. 150 acres, 95 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 83,000 pounds. Striped.

Barton & Himel. Buena Vista. Lauderdale. 2,000 acres, 1,200 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds. Red.

Barton, E. D., estate. St. Clair. Welcome.

Becnel, Joseph. Dupart. St. Patrick. 850 acres, 600 cult. Steam train, open kettle. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 525,000 pounds. Ribbon.

Bourgeois, E. Rapidan. Central. 350 acres, all cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,500,000 pounds. Red.

Bourgeois, J. O. Tippecanoe. Union.

Bourgeois, L. A. St. John. Union.

Bourgeois, Theo., Jr. Grand Vue. Hester.

Bourgeois, Vinzule. Sampson. Hester.

Clain, Eugene. St. Joseph. Paulina.

Charbonnier, E. Helvetia. Central.

Donaldson Bros. Good Hope. Convent.

Esidore, Mrs. M. Red Hot. Mt. Airy.

Ferchaud, J. B., estate. Elina. Lauderdale.

Gaskin & Rolling. Pike's Peak. St. James. 3,765 acres, 900 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.

- Gramercy, C. S. F., Co. Golden Grove, David and Hester. Gramercy.
- Graugnard Bros. Sidney and Bonse Cour. St. James. 1,610 acres, 850 cult.
Steam open train. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,200,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Grace, G. J. St. Alice. Welcome.
- Hymel, L. Crescent. St. Patrick. 1,300 acres, 400 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 600,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,500,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.
- Hymel, Mrs. G. D., Jr. Jefferson. Logan.
- Himel, Mrs. E. B. St. Emilie. Welcome. 300 acres, 260 cult. Open kettle. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 333,000 pounds. Red.
- Hymel & Schnexnaydre. St. Emma. St. James. 1,200 acres, 400 cult. Steam open train. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 650,000 pounds. Red.
- Hymel, Mrs. S., & Sons. St. James. St. James.
- Henderson, John, Jr. Bessie K. St. James.
- Jacobshagen, Mrs. M. Union. Union.
- Jacob, Jules J. Uncle Sam. Convent. 2,800 acres, 1,100 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 5,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Kahn, E. Belmont. Hester. 240 acres, all cult.
- Le Bourgeois, Joseph L. Mt. Airy. Mt. Airy. 3,900 acres, 900 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 1,350,000 pounds. Striped.
- La Pice, B. & E. B. Lauderdale. Lauderdale.
- Lebermuth & Israel Planting Co., Ltd. Saulsburg. Lauderdale. 1,970 acres, 900 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,000 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 8,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Laiche, L. G. St. Mary. Paulina.
- Lebermuth & Israel. Acadia. Lauderdale. 1,200 acres, 1,000 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Miles Planting & Manufacturing Co., Ltd. St. James Refinery and Armant. St. Patrick. Of St. James Refinery plantation there are 2,600 acres, with 1,100 in cult.; modern; daily capacity, 400 tons; average annual output of planta-

tion, 3,000,000 pounds. Red. Of the Armant plantation, there are 6,000 acres, of which 2,000 are in cult.; modern, up-to-date; daily capacity, 1,000 tons; average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds. Red. Both have electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroads.

Martin, Misses. Bellevue. Paulina.

Manuel, Albert. Lillie. Convent.

Nicolle Bros. Home place. Convent.

Ory, F. Celestine. Convent.

Oneida Manufacturing Co., Ltd. (B. H. Pring, Pres.) Oneida. Hester. 2,340 acres, 1,400 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds. Red.

Piper, M. A. Home place. Lagan.

Pugh, John H. St. Elmo. Hester.

Pugh, E. N. Wilton. Convent. 3,365 acres, 800 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,750,000 pounds. Red.

Poche, Joseph, & Co. Mayflower. Paulina.

Plaisance, A. Stanley. Convent.

Roussel, August. Welcome. Welcome.

Rodrigue, Robert. Mascot. Lauderdale.

Roussel, Octave. St. Cecile. St. James.

Ricaud, Charles. Dewey. Lauderdale.

Reulet, Mrs. B. Reulet. Vacherie.

Reine & Chapman. Cleveland. Lutchet.

Reynaud F. Longview. Convent. 370 acres, 175 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 120,000 pounds. Red.

Sobral & Tucker. Oak Alley. St. Patrick. 1,380 acres, 700 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,000,000 pounds. Red.

Simoneaud, Mrs. O. Faustina. Lauderdale.

Scannel, Edward. St. Mary. Union.

Torres, Felicien. Diamond. Vacherie.

Tessier, J., estate. M. B. Cantroll, Bourbon, home place and St. Joseph. St. James and Convent postoffices.

Tircuit, Eugene. St. Prisea. St. James.

Troxler, Mrs. A., & Co. St. Joseph. St. Patrick.

Vegas, A. B. Alta Vila. Central.

Vredenburg, W. H. St. Rose. Convent. 440 acres, all cult. Open pan. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 225,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Vegas, John. Rich Bend. Lagan. 2,600 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,000,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.

Webre, Steib & Co. Golden Ridge. Vacherie. 1,200 acres, 600 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,250,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Webre, Mrs. L. Anita. Vacherie.

Webre, Melford. Central P. O.

Webre, Eugene. Central P. O.

Waguespack, F. & F. Home place. St. Patrick. 1,550 acres, 700 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 450 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,200,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,250,000 pounds. Striped.

Waguespack, F. Sport. Mt. Airy. 1,813 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern. Electricity for lighting, and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 450 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,250,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,750,000 pounds. Red.

Waguespack, S., & Co. Felicite. St. Patrick.

Walsh, James N. Lucy. Central.

Waguespack, A. F. Succeed and Laura. St. Patrick. 550 acres, 475 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,500,000 pounds. Striped.

Grand Point Settlement. C. Roussel, manager. Grand Point. Convent. 250 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 600,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

ST. MARY PARISH.

Adeline Sugar Factory Co. Adeline. Adeline. 6,000 acres, all cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,000 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 8,000,000 pounds. Purple.

Alleman, L. S. Lelia. Centreville.

Alleman & Robicheaux. Next Land. Centreville.

Bradley Bros. Oakland. Berwick City.

- Berwick, O. D. Johnson. Foster. 1,450 acres, 450 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 800,000 pounds. Red and White.
- Boutle, T. P. Garden Spot. Centreville.
- Barnett, J. W. Shady Side. Centreville. 6,000 acres, 3,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and standard gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 5,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 10,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Baker, H. B. Arlington. Franklin. 1,200 acres, 700 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Ribbon.
- Burguières, J. M., estate. Cypremore, Florence and Inez. Louisa. 7,000 acres, 3,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and standard-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 7,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 10,000,000 pounds. Ribbon.
- Burguières, Mrs. E. D. Ivanhoe and Alice B. Louisa. 4,200 acres, 1,700 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 5,000,000 pounds. Ribbon.
- Burguières, Mrs. E. D. Crawford and Richland. Louisa. 3,000 acres, 1,500 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds. Ribbon.
- Bosworth, Millard. Matilda. Cypremore. 1,390 acres, 1,000 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Baldwin & Co. Total Wreck. Baldwin. 3,000 acres, 1,500 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 240 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Birg, Joseph. East Campdown, Katie and Grendelbruck. Baldwin. 2,000 acres, 1,600 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,250,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,250,000 pounds. Red.
- Bourdier & Bellesslin. Waveland. Patterson. 650 acres, all cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Birg & Sutcliff Camperdown Central Refinery. Baldwin. Refinery. Electric lighting. Average annual output of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds.
- Bonvillain, A. A. Home place and Coteati. Glencoe.
- Clarke, Lewis S. Lagonda. Patterson. 3,000 acres, 1,000 cult. Diffusion

- process. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,750,000 pounds. Red.
- Claussen, Mentz & Bell. Maryland. Foster. 1,300 acres, 600 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 800,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,250,000 pounds. Red.
- Caffery Central Refinery. Sterling. Franklin. Electric lighting.
- Caffery, D. Berthia. Franklin. 500 acres, 400 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Red.
- Caffery Bros. Chattsworth. Franklin. 400 acres, 300 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Red.
- Clarke & Lassus. Crescent. Patterson.
- Cocke, R.R. Garden City. Franklin. 2,200 acres, 750 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 1,125,000 pounds. Red.
- Davenport, John J. Locust Grove. Patterson.
- Delmas, Mrs. A. Hope. Patterson.
- Darrall, Dr. C. B. Avoca and Oakley. Morgan City.
- Dumesnil, Mrs. A. California. Baldwin.
- Darrogh, Mrs. J. L. Justine and Retreat. Centreville. 2,000 acres, all cult. Modern. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 5,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Delhaye, Hubert. Edna. Charenton.
- Davies, H. M. Glen Orange. Amelia.
- Druilhet, Ernest. West Side and Little Mound. Centreville. 500 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 900,000 pounds. Red.
- Druilhet & Budreaux. Live Oak. Centreville. 80 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 200,000 pounds. Red.
- Delgado & Co. Albania. Jeanerette.
- Franklin Sugar Manufacturing Co., Ltd. Franklin P. O. Modern refinery. Electric lighting. Average annual output of sugar-house, 6,500,000 pounds.
- Foster Bros. Shady Retreat. Franklin.
- Foster & Bentz. Alice C. Franklin. 2,100 acres, 950 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Hinckley, L. H., & Bro. Emma. Charenton.
- Habert, René. Central Park. Baldwin.

Hope & Alexandre. Amelia. Patterson.

Kemper, W. P., widow. Glencoe. Glencoe. 1,300 acres, 850 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. White and Ribbon.

Kemper, W. B. Choupique. Glencoe. 800 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Kramer, Louis, Francis and Susie. Franklin. 2,000 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,750,000 pounds. Red.

Lagerman, Mrs. J. Johanna. Franklin.

Larre, Pierre. Larra. Cyremont.

Lunny, James. Daisy. Foster. 1,600 acres, 220 cult. Open kettle. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 100 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 300 hogsheads. Red.

Levy, Lazan. Cote Blanche. Scally. 1,400 acres, all cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,750,000 pounds. Red.

McCardle, S. T. Oak Hill. Baldwin.

Marsh, Hebert & Trahan. Cherry Bank. Foster.

Noveret, Mrs. C. E. Azema. Glencoe.

Norman, William. Boncannier. Patterson.

Oaklawn Sugar Co., Ltd. Oak Lawn and Oxford. Irish Bend. 5,500 acres, 3,800 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 800 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 8,000,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.

O'Niell, Walter A. Linwood. Baldwin. 1,200 acres, 600 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,500,000 pounds. Red.

O'Niell, John A. Anastasia. Franklin. 560 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 600,000 pounds. Purple and Striped.

Provost, Vileor. Provost. Cyremont. 300 acres, all cult. Mule power, open kettle. Average annual output of plantation, 80 hogsheads. Red.

Patout, L. P. Vacherie and Elodie. Baldwin. 5,076 acres, 1,500 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds. Striped and White.

- Pharr, Captain J. N. Glenwild, Sorrel, Fairview, Alendale, Glen Orange and Lake View. Berwick City. 10,000 acres, 4,700 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,000 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 8,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Perret, F. P. Yokely Farm. Franklin.
- Prevost, Mrs. Alix. Alix. Baldwin. 800 acres, 700 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 225 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,250,000 pounds. Ribbon.
- Queen, B. F. Ella. Centreville.
- Robicheaux, E. & O. Light Land. Centreville.
- Robicheaux & Bros. West Bellevue. Franklin.
- Rodrigues, Edward. Rodrigue. Baldwin.
- Rose, H. C. Oak Bluff. Franklin. 1,100 acres, 500 cult. Semi-modern. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Seyburne. Idlewild. Patterson.
- Shaffer, T. J. Anna. Franklin.
- Swenson, S. M. North Bend, Midway, Lone Magnolia. Foster. 6,321 acres, 1,600 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Schwan, V. Germania. Centreville. 1,200 acres, 800 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.
- Sanders, Dr. H. J. Luckland. Patterson. 1,800 acres, 1,050 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 375 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,100,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.
- Tidal Wave Planting & Manufacturing Co., Ltd. Tidal Wave. Tidal Wave. 3,641 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Stansbury, L. Bertha. Foster.
- Southon, Walter J. Woodburn. Charenton.
- Todd, N. K. Garrett. Foster. 380 acres, all cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Red and White.

- Todd, John R. Ellerslie and South Bend. Foster. 5,632 acres, 1,400 cult. Modern. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Red and Purple.
- Thompson, Daniel. Calumet. Patterson. 6,000 acres, 2,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 5,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 5,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Trimble, Charles H. Rutledge. Franklin.
- Underwood, Short & Bell. Bellevue. Franklin. 5,000 acres, 1,700 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 800 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 5,000,000 pounds. Red and White.
- Walker, G. G. Buckeye. Centreville.
- Zenor, Oscar. Moro and Ingleside. Patterson. 587 acres, 400 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 787,500 pounds. Red.
- Zenor, George R. Riverside. Patterson, 3,500 acres, 1,450 cult. Modern. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 550 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 5,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Zenor, O. & W. Avalon. Patterson. 1,250 acres, 650 cult. Semi-modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Zenor, O'Brien & O'Brien. McKay. Patterson. 350 acres, 250 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 375,000 pounds. Red.

TERREBONNE PARISH.

- Buford, C. A. Forest Grove. Chacahoula.
- Boudreaux, Alfred estate. Front Lawn. Houma.
- Bocage, C. W. Belle Farm. Houma.
- Barrow & Duplantis. Myrtle Grove. Houma. 2,840 acres, 1,900 cult. Modern, up-to-date. 600 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Bush & Tete. Sarah. Houma.
- Babin & Bro., John. Indian Ridge. Houma.
- Bonvallain, Bannon. Boykin. Houma.
- Bonvallain Bros. Argyle, Ridgeland and Crescent. Houma P. O.
- Cantrelle & Son, E. J. Cedar Grove. Houma.

Cocke, R. W. Rebecca. Ellendale.

Cambon Bros. Half Way and Great Caillou. Du Lac.

Cook, Thomas W. High Ridge. Houma.

Cage, Harry. Ranch. Houma.

Caillouet & Maginnis. Ashland and Woodlawn. Houma. 11,000 acres, 2,500 cult.
Modern, up-to-date. 1,000 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of
plantation, 6,000,000. Striped and Purple. Narrow-gauge railroad and electric
lighting.

Casey, T. H. Oak Forest. Gibson.

Dupont & Jolet. Orange Grove. Montegut.

Ellender Bros. Hardscrabble and Hope Farm. Montegut.

Fields, Eugene. Angella. Montegut.

Foley & Foles. Flora. Houma.

Gueno Bros. Presquile. Houma. 500 acres cult. Modern, 300 tons daily capacity.
Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000. Red and Striped.

Gresham, Miss G. P. Lacache. Montegut.

Greenwood Planting & Manufacturing Co. Greenwood and Oak Grove. Houma.

Henry, Tresimond. Du Large. Houma.

Hatch, W. S. Goatfield. Houma.

Lottinger, F. Dulac. Dulac.

Liretto, Leo. Orange Grove. Montegut.

Levy, David. Isle of Cuba. Shriever.

Lirette, Volcar. Bayou Cane. Houma.

Lower Terrebonne Refining & Manufacturing Co. Central Factory, Montegut.
Incorporated, 1891. Charles B. Maginnis, President; Henry G. Bush, Vice
President and Manager; R. G. Bush, Secretary and Treasurer. Modern re-
finery. 1,100 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 10,-
000,000 pounds.

Marmande, B. estate. St. Eloi. Houma.

Martin & Breaux. Live Oak. Dulac.

Moore, John T. Planting Co., Ltd. Waubun, Julia and St. George. Shriever.
7,100 acres, 2,500 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electricity for lighting and
narrow-gauge railroad. 1,000 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of
plantation, 5,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

McBride, J. M. Belle Grove. Ellendale.

McCollam & Cocke. Cedar Grove, Bull Run and Poverty Flat. Ellendale.

- McCollam Bros. Ellendale. Ellendale. 1,400 acres, 700 cult. Modern. 400 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000. Red.
- Maginnis & Le Blanc. Arragon. Montegut.
- Minor, H. C. estate. Southdown. Houma.
- Minor, H. C. estate. Holly Wood. Houma.
- Minor, William. Concord. Houma.
- Minor, John D. Laurel Farm, Roseland and Waterproof. Houma.
- Robicheaux & Bro., Joseph A. Red Star. Montegut.
- Suthon, L. F. Honduras. Houma.
- Shaffer, William A. heirs. Crescent Farm. Ellendale. 3,500 acres, 1,400 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electricity for lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. 500 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 3,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Shaffer, J. J. Magnolia. Minerva. 1,000 acres. Modern. Electricity for lighting. 300 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Shaffer, J. D. Ardoyne and Eureka. Ellendale. 4,000 acres, 1,600 cult. Modern. 500 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Sanders, A. A. Magenta. Montegut.
- Sanders, Mrs. J. M. Live Oak. Montegut.
- Stoufflet, Alidore. Hard Front. Houma.
- Theriot, J. T. Sunrise. Houma.
- Theriot & Champagne. St. Michol. Houma.
- Viguerie, A. R. Point Farm and Evergreen. Shriever. 800 acres, 450 cult. Average annual output of plantation, 900,000 pounds. Red.
- Waguespack & Son, Louis. Cane Brake. Houma.

WEST BATON ROUGE PARISH.

- Bird, Mrs. A. F. Shelter. Markoa.
- Brown, Capt. J. J. estate. Kelson. Arbroth.
- Bernard, Mrs. William L. Mark.
- Brown & Sharp. Choctaw. Cinclare.
- Chamberlain, W. B. Camp. Devall. 1,500 acres, 400 cult. Open-kettle. 150 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 600,000 pounds. Red.

Chamberlain, Hugh. Batture. Devall.

Cronan, John. Bellevale. Lobdell.

Cazes, Bertrand. Gascon. Mark.

Comeaux, V. Cleanwood. Bur Land.

Devall, David. Orange Grove. Devall. 682 acres, 500 cult. Modern. 500 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Red.

Delahaye, Mrs. Alfred. Brusly Landing.

Guesnard, A. Belmont. Lobdell. 775 acres, all cult. Modern. 300 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds. Red.

Hogan, J. P. Cypress Hall. Devall.

Hebert, Alfred, Sr. St. Joseph. Brusly Landing.

Harris, Mrs. E. A. F. Poplar Grove. Port Allen. 1,100 acres, all cult. Modern. Electricity for lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. 500 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 2,250,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 4,000,000. Red.

Hill, John. Homestead. Port Allen. 1,400 acres, all cult. Modern, up-to-date. 400 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds. Red.

Hill, George. Catherine and Barronza. Lobdell. 1,900 acres, 1,500 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Narrow-gauge railroad. 500 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000. Red.

Kaufman, E. Lobdell.

Kahao, M. J. Allendale. Lobdell. 2,700 acres, 1,300 cult. Modern. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,250,000 pounds. Red.

Kahao & Co., John H. Westover. Lobdell. 2,700 acres, 1,265 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighted. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000. Red.

Laws, Harry L. Cinclare. Cinclare. Electric lighted and narrow-gauge railroad.

Levert, August. St. Delphine and St. Mary. Mark. 3,000 acres, 1,200 cult. Modern. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Ribbon.

Levert, August. Antonia. Mark. 1,200 acres, 600 cult. Open pan and centrifugals. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds. Red.

- Lefebvre, V. M. Australia. Manchac. 1,500 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. White and Red.
- Lefebvre, E. M. Eliza. Brusly Landing. 1,400 acres, all cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. White and Red.
- Landry, Emile. Mark.
- Landry, Alcee. Olivia. Mark.
- Milliken, Mrs. D. A. Smithfield. Devall. 2,100 acres, 1,550 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 700 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,750,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,250,000 pounds. Red.
- Martinez, A. J. Cinclare.
- Monticino, E. M. Viola. Lobdell. 450 acres, all cult. Open-kettle. Daily capacity, 125 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 675,000 pounds. Red.
- Pompaneaux, O. Henrietta. Brusly Landing.
- Sharp, A. J. Red Eye. Cinclare.
- Sharp, A. J. Chenango. Mark.
- Stafford, Mrs. Samuel. Bel Air. Port Allen. 500 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 375,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.
- Thuillier, V. St. Joseph. Brusly Landing.
- Vickniar, Ernest. Anchorage. 550 acres, all cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,250,000 pounds. Red.

EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH.

- Adler & Co., A. Ben Hur. Manchac. 2,770 acres, 1,800 cult. Narrow-gauge railroad. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds. Purple.
- Arbour, O. R. Pennyville. Baton Rouge.
- Baton Rouge Sugar Co. Incorporated 1894. Baton Rouge. Diffusion process. Electric lighted. Daily capacity, 700 tons. Average annual output of sugar-house, 650,000.
- Barrow, Prof. D. U. Istrouma. Baton Rouge. 530 acres, 300 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 720,000 pounds. Red.

- Barillier, Louis. Magnolia. Baton Rouge.
- Burris, George S. Oak Grove. Baton Rouge.
- Cooley & Zuber. Wilderness. Baton Rouge.
- Dixon, Vincent L. Hemstock. Baton Rouge.
- Dros & Thibodeaux. Butte a C'm'l. Baton Rouge.
- Dupree, Dr. J. W. Kenmore. Baton Rouge.
- Dougherty, Mrs. J. A. Estate. Highland. Baton Rouge. 3,600 acres, 1,600 cult.
Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 1,050,000. Red.
- Frieman, Z. T. Camp Harny. Baton Rouge.
- Gibbons, J. F. Elm Grove. Baton Rouge.
- Huguet, Dr. & Son. Hard Times. Baton Rouge.
- Hunstock, F. estate. Hope Villa.
- Loudon, A. Baton Rouge.
- Lefebvre, E. M. Longwood. Manchac. 1,800 acres, 1,150 cult. Modern. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,750,000 pounds. Red.
- Rhodes, L. P. Woodstock. Manchac.
- Sterling & Knox. Bellonia. Manchac.
- Shannon, D. H. Arlington. Baton Rouge.
- Sharp, Thomas M. Baton Rouge.
- Stokes, J. A. estate. Baton Rouge.
- Sharp, Mrs. S. Oak Hill. Baton Rouge.
- Stokes, W. D. Baton Rouge.
- Slaughter, W. S. & Bro. Port Hickory. Port Hudson.
- Staring, Joseph. Doolittle and Bellonia. Baton Rouge. 1,270 acres, 1,100 cult.
Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 325,000 pounds. Red.
- Womack, T. A. Chatsworth. Manchac. 2,100 acres, 1,100 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighted. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds. Red and White.
- Yorke, E. A. Estate. Moss Side. Baton Rouge.

RAPIDES PARISH.

- Burr, A. S. Corday. Lamourie Bridge. Open Pan.
- Blackman, Judge F. L. Wellswood. Loyd.
- Chambers, Josiah. Mooreland.
- Carnal, Louisa. Chickama. Lecompte. Open-kettles.

- Cannon, Clifton. Magnolia. Cheneyville.
- Flower, William P. Flowerton. Flowerton.
- Flower, D. S. Clarefield. Flowerton.
- Fitzpatrick, Joseph, agent. Lunenberg. Loyd. Steam train; open-kettles.
- Gilmore & Maginnis. May. Loyd.
- Harris, William. Willow Glen. Alexandria. Open pan.
- Hardy, Miss Ida. Euwanee. Lecompte. 2,250 acres, 550 cult. Sells cane.
- Mayer & Weinberg. Ashton. Lamourie Bridge. Vacuum pan and centrifugal.
- Mathews, J. E. Chaseland. Lecompte. Open-kettles.
- Meeker, Joseph H. estate. Home Place. Meeker. 5,500 acres, 2,000 cult.
 Vacuum pan. Electric lighted and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity,
 900 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,250,000 pounds; of sugar-
 house, 7,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Polk, Mrs. William. Elmfield. Mooreland. Open pan.
- Pickles, J. B. Sunny Side. Lamourie Bridge.
- Weems, E. V. Chetwood. Lecompte. Modern. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average
 annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Weill Bros. & Bauer. Clio. Weill. Open pan. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average
 annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds. Red.

ST. CHARLES PARISH.

- Boudreaux, P. E. New Hope. Sellers.
- Brou, A. & V. P. Providence. Killona. 1,250 acres, 400 cult. Open-kettle.
 Daily capacity, 175 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 700,000 pounds.
 Striped.
- Cambre, Mrs. L. Rose. St. Rose.
- Ellington Planting Co., Ltd. John Barkley, President; H. Barkley, Vice President;
 W. J. Barkley, Secretary and Treasurer. Ellington. Luling. 6,700 acres,
 2,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad.
 Daily capacity, 550 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,500,000
 pounds; of sugar-house, 4,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Godchaux Leon Co., Ltd. Diamond. New Orleans.
- Hymel, Joseph R. Hymelia. Killona.
- Haydel, U. E. Cane Land. Hahnville. 525 acres, 275 cult. Sells cane. Average
 annual output of plantation, 300,000 pounds. Ribbon.
- Keller, P. A. Home Place. Hahnville. 450 acres, 200 cult. Sells cane. Average
 annual output of plantation, 150,000 pounds. Ribbon.

- Keller Bros. Hahnville. Hahnville. 395 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 180,000 pounds. Ribbon.
- King, Flower & Co. Mosella. Boutte.
- Kugler, J. C. Hermitage. St. Rose.
- Laneaux, D. & Son. Pelican. Hahnville. 480 acres, 200 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 180,000 pounds. Red, Ribbon and White.
- Lorio, George. Star. Killona. 2,500 acres, 900 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,200,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,000,000 pounds. Purple, Ribbon and White.
- La Branche Planting Co., Ltd. La Branche. Luling. 2,240 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern. 300 tons daily capacity. Average annual output of plantation, 1,250,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,000,000 pounds. Ribbon and White.
- Legendre, Emile. Ashton. Luling. 2,500 acres, 1,300 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 4,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Lone Star Planting & Manufacturing Co. Lone Star. Luling. 1,100 acres, 450 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 900,000 pounds. Red.
- Mary Planting Co., Ltd. Danjean. O. B., manager and agent. Mary. Killona. 1,400 arpents, 960 cult. Open train, vacuum pan. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,250,000 pounds. Red.
- Murray, Hubert. Trinity. Killona. 1,600 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds. Red, Ribbon and White.
- Milliken & Farwell. Waterford. Killona. 4,000 acres, 1,300 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Standard-gauge railroad and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds. Red and Ribbon.
- Morgan, H. Gibbs. Fairview. Kenner.
- Poché, Edward. Holena. Killona.
- Rost, Judge Emile. Drestrehan. Sellers. 3,000 acres, 2,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,750,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Sarpy, Leon Estate. Prospect. Sellers.
- Soniat, E. L. Victoria. St. Rose.
- Landeché & Bros. Almedia. St. Rose.

- Vial, L. A. Fashion. Hahnville. 270 acres, 140 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 106,000 pounds. Ribbon.
- Keller & Co. Modoc. Hahnville. 600 acres, 260 cult. Sells cane.
- Picard, A. E. Killona. 40 acres, all cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 60,000 pounds. Red, Purple and White.

PLAQUEMINES PARISH.

- Brandt, A. La Renseite. Naomi.
- Belair Co., The. Belair and Fairview. Belair. 6,000 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Cousin, B. Oak Point. Jesuits Bend.
- Denley, T. P. Fanny. Belair.
- Flower & Mann. Stella. Dalcour.
- Grabert, G. Cedar Grove. Jesuits Bend.
- Garr Bros. St. Claire. English Turn.
- Gordon, Raphael. Monticello. St. Sophia.
- Hynson, W. R. Alliance. Myrtle Grove.
- Kearney, J. P. Belle Chasse. Benjamin.
- Kenilworth Sugar Factory. Orange Grove. Poydras.
- Kenilworth Sugar Estate. Promised Land. Poydras.
- Lothrop, E. L. Linwood. Dalcour.
- Lothrop, Irving S. Greenwood. Dalcour. 1,500 acres, 250 cult. Sells cane.
- Mathe, S. R. Mary. Dalcour.
- Milliken, Mrs. D. A. Scarsdale and Monplaisir. English Turn. 2,200 acres, 800 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 225 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Myrtle Grove Planting Co. Myrtle Grove, Deer Range, Star, Junior and St. Rosalie. Myrtle Grove.
- Martin, H. O. Burbridge. St. Sophie.
- Perez, R. Ollie. Jesuits Bend.
- Turcan, H. B. Maud Olive. Naomi.
- Warmoth, H. C. Magnolia, Goucession, Woodland and Sarah. New Orleans.
- Wilkinson, Dr. C. P. Live Oak Grove. Jesuits Bend.

IBERIA PARISH.

Avery, D. Prospect Hill. Avery.

Broussard, J. D. & Son. Marie Louise. Loreauville.

Lehman, Stern & Co., Ltd. Hope. Jeanerette. 2,800 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern.
Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds. Red.

Curtis, John C. Solitude. New Iberia.

Caffery Central Factory. Peebles. Franklin.

Daspit, A. P. Interlacken. Franklin.

Hall & Co., Gilbert L. Grand Cote. Grand Cote. 2,500 acres, 1,500 cult.
Modern. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.

Gonsoulin, Adrieu. Marie. Loreauville. 750 acres, all cult. Modern, up-to-date.
Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 800 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 8,000,000 pounds. Red.

Guidry & Co., E. D. Cherry Grove. Patoutville.

Hall Bros. Nelson. New Iberia.

Kemper, C. D. Pasture Farm. Franklin.

Landry, J. A. Elma. New Iberia. 743 acres, all cult. Modern. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.

Martin, J. F. Vida. New Iberia. 300 acres, all cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Red.

Monnot, A. L. Vanfrey and Providence. Jeanerette. 2,000 acres, all cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,750,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 6,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Newman, Charles. Linden. Jeanerette.

New Iberia Sugar Co., Ltd. Morbihan. New Iberia. 1,500 acres, all cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 800 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 7,000,000 pounds. Red.

Patout & Son, Mrs. M. A. Enterprise, Lydia and Little Valley. Patoutville. 7,000 acres, 3,400 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge

railroad. Daily capacity, 800 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 4,000,000 pounds. Red.

Patout, H. Laodiska. Patoutville.

Pharr, E. A. Pharr. Burke.

Pharr & Bussey. Loizel & Olive Branch. Olivier. 1,300 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting, narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 700 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 6,000,000 pounds. Red.

Provost, J. A. Right Way and Belle Grove. Olivier. 1,394 acres, 923 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,750,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.

Romero & Bayard. Daisy. Patoutville.

Romero, Oliver, widow. Buena Vista. New Iberia.

Sanders, H. Shelby. Bayside. Jeanerette. 4,360 acres, 2,564 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 5,000,000 pounds. Red.

Segura, C. S., Factory Co., organized 1896. New Iberia. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,000 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 10,000,000 pounds.

White, Mrs. S. J. Hulton. New Iberia.

Sandager, P. E. Rosedale. Jeanerette. 2,000 acres, 800 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST PARISH.

Bloomfield, W. B. Angelina. Mt. Airy.

Bougère, Mrs. A. D. San Francisco and Union. Lions. 3,500 acres, 1,200 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Striped.

Bougère, C. L. Gypsy. Laplace. 400 acres, 200 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 300,000 pounds. Striped.

Becnel, Mrs. Max. Maxie. Edgar.

Burch & Champagne. Glendale. Lucy. 800 acres, 700 cult. Open-kettle. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,000,000 pounds. Striped.

- Caire & Co., E. J. Church Place. Edgar. 350 acres, 175 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 335,000 pounds. Red.
- Caire, Graugnard & Co. Columbia and M. B. C. Edgar. 2,650 acres, 950 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Chauffe, V., widow. Emilie. Lions. 350 acres, 220 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 300,000 pounds. Red.
- Edrington, Maurice. Corn Land. Bonnet Carre. 642 acres, 400 cult. Open steam train. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 450,000 pounds. White.
- Dufresne, F. Molano. Lucy.
- Godechaux & Co., Ltd. Leon. Star, Belle Point, Reserve, Diamond, St. Peter and Le Blanche. Reserve. 13,000 acres, 5,600 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,650 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 9,333,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 14,000,000 pounds. Red.
- Gold Mine planting Co., Ltd. Gold Mine. Edgar.
- Granler, A. Aurelia. Wallace.
- Graugnard, Leon. Glencoe. Lions. 785 acres, 275 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 300,000 pounds. Red.
- Haydel, Felix. White Rose. Edgar.
- Haydel, J. B., widow. Cash. Lucy.
- Hotard, O. Bonsecour. Edgar.
- Johnson, Bradish, estate. Carroll. Wallace. 1,000 acres, cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Laplace B., widow. Laplace. Laplace. 3,833 acres, 1,600 cult. Modern. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 4,000,000 pounds. Red and White.
- Labiche, Ozemé. Hope. Lions. 1,000 acres, 880 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,250,000 pounds. Red.
- Le Brun, Joseph. St. Joseph. Laplace. 80 acres, 25 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 105,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Montegut, Albert. St. Anthony. Laplace. 400 acres, 200 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 375,000 pounds. Red.

Montegut, Fernand. Java. Laplace. 425 acres, 225 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 375,000 pounds. Java and Red.

Montegut, L., Jr., & Bros. New Era. Laplace. 600 acres, 450 cult. Open kettle. Daily capacity, 150 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 750,000 pounds. Red.

Ory & Co., J. L. Woodland. Laplace. 1,500 acres, 900 cult. Modern. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,000,000 pounds. Red.

Robert Frumence. Fruit. Edgar.

St. Martin & Perrot. Whitney. Wallace.

Songy & Loup. Evergreen. Wallace.

Webre, Frank. Fair Play. Wallace.

Webre Co., Ltd., Joseph. Golden Star. Vacherie. 3,000 acres, 600 cult. Steam train, open kettle. Daily capacity, 200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 600,000 pounds. White and Striped.

Webster, Mrs. J. S. Terre Haute. Lions. 1,100 acres, 755 cult. Modern. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,800,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,000,000 pounds. Red.

VERMILLION PARISH.

Buteaud, L. Abbeyville.

Bonvillain, Godfrey. Slater. Ramsey.

Becker, J. B. Rose Bush. Abbeyville.

Briggs, Lofty T. Perseverance. Abbeyville.

Bagley, M. & T. Lyons and Ramsey. Ramsey.

Cade, William. Cade. Ramsey.

Hebert, Remy. X. Y. Z. Abbeyville.

Nilson, O. M. Charity Place and Lilywood. Perry. 1,200 acres, 600 cult. Modern. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 2,000,000 pounds. Red.

Nunez, Adrieu. Live Oak. Abbeyville.

Rose Hill Planting & Refining Co. Rose Hill. Abbeyville. 1,088 acres, 520 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,500,000. Red.

Ramsey, Ambrose. Leona. Ramsey.

Sokoloski, Joseph. Hope Mill. Henry.
 Stauffer, C. Little Rapids. Henry.
 Stansbury, U. W. Big Woods. Abbeyville.
 Vanslyke, William L. Evelyn. Abbeyville.
 Winston, Mrs. Thomas S. Rose Bower. Abbeyville.
 Young, Dr. F. F. Emeline. Abbeyville.

ST. MARTIN PARISH.

Broussard, J. S. Anse St. Clair. Breaux Bridge.
 Cade & Smedes Bros. Oasis. Cade.
 Duchamps, E. A. Providence. St. Martinsville.
 Duchamps, E. D. Lamartinier. St. Martinsville.
 LeVert, J. B. St. John. New Orleans. 12,000 acres, 6,000 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 1,200 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 7,000,000 pounds. Red and White.
 Lobbe, Mrs. C., & Co. Andrew. Cade.
 Olivier, C. M. St. James. St. Martinsville.
 Pettebone, Payne, estate. John Peters, agent. Keystone. St. Martinsville. 3,000 acres, 1,000 cult. Modern. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,250,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,500,000 pounds. Red and Purple.
 Wilkins, R. B. Forest Home. Arnaudville.
 Martin, R., Sugar Co., Ltd. Ruth. Breaux Bridge. 2,000 acres, 1,400 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 2,250,000 pounds. Red.
 Rousseau, F. Lawrence and Babon. St. Martinsville. 1,200 acres, 700 cult. Sells cane. Average annual output of plantation, 120,000 pounds. Red.

ST. BERNARD PARISH.

Burton, Richard. Sebastopol. St. Bernard.
 Godecheaux, Leon, Co., Ltd. Contresas. St. Bernard. (Data given under Reserve Refinery.)
 Kenilworth Sugar estate. Kenilworth. Creedmoor, Olivier, Magnolia, St. Mary, Florissant and Reggio. St. Bernard P. O.
 Poydras Planting and Manufacturing Co. Poydras, Carnarvon and Millandon. Poydras.

POINTE COUPEE.

- Anchorage Planting Co. Kelson. Arbroth.
- Bourgeois, P. F. & Son. Stonewall. Pointe Coupee.
- Cazayoux, C. M. Our Home. Waterloo.
- Delage, J. O. St. Cloud. Waterloo.
- Glynn, Martin. Glynnwood and Arbroth. Arbroth. 2,100 acres, 1,600 cult.
Modern. Narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual
output of plantation, 700,000 pounds. Red.
- Lorio, T. R. St. Claire. Anchor.
- Lorio, G. & A. A. Vernelia. Lakeland.
- Malarcher, Charles L. Jita. Pointe Coupee.
- Major, Arcade. Ventress. Waterloo.
- N. Y. W. & Security Co. Ingledale. Lakeland.
- Pitcher, Mrs. C. C. Alma. Lakeland. 2,400 acres, 2,000 cult. Modern. Electric
lighting. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation,
2,000,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Phillips Bros. Oakland. Lakeland. 1,000 acres, 850 cult. Modern. Electric
lighting. Daily capacity, 400 tons. Average annual output of plantation,
1,250,000 pounds. Red and Striped.
- Rougon Bros. Maysville. Lakeland.
- Richy, Joseph. New Road.
- Robertson, Arthur V. Nina. Hermitage. 560 acres, all cult. Sells cane.
- Lieux, Francois O. Grand Bay. Hermitage. 420 acres, all cult. Modern.
Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 250 tons. Aver-
age annual output of plantation, 800,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,750,000
pounds. Red.
- Stoneaker, J. H. St. Maurice. Pointe Coupee.

JEFFERSON PARISH.

- Burbank, J. A. Avondale. Waggaman.
- Godecheaux, Leon, Co., Ltd. St. Peter. New Orleans. (Data group with Reserve
Factory.)
- Milliken & Farwell. Fairfield. New Orleans. 1,500 acres, 900 cult. Modern.
Electric lighting. Daily capacity, 350 tons. Average annual output of plan-
tation, 1,500,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
- Southside Planting Co. South Side. New Orleans.

St. Martin, E., widow. St. George. Carrollton.
Willswood Co., Ltd. Willswood. New Orleans.

AVOUELLES PARISH.

Allen, W. T. Booneville. Burkie.
Butler, P. W. Ashland. Burkie.
Ewell, John, estate. Evergreen and Experiment. Evergreen.
Foster, R. W. Fenner. Evergreen.
Gremillion, E. E. Haydel. Evergreen. Open kettles.
Snellings, John. Irion. Burkie. Open kettles.
Knoll, C. F. Ellen Kay. Burkie.
McCracken Bros. Powhontas. Eola. Modern. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
Pearce, Stephon. Home place. Evergreen. Open kettle.
Frith heirs. Hope. Evergreen.
Regard F. Martha. Cottonport.
Sentell, G. W. Leinster. Burkie. Modern. Daily capacity, 600 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,600,000 pounds. Red.

ORLEANS PARISH.

Levert & Herrell. Beka. New Orleans. 2,000 acres, 740 cult. Semi-modern. Daily capacity, 300 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
Milliken & Rutledge. Stanton, Devron and Delacroix. Algiers. 2,500 acres, 1,481 cult. Modern, up-to-date. Electric lighting and narrow-gauge railroad. Daily capacity, 550 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 3,000,000 pounds; of sugar-house, 3,500,000 pounds. Red.
Sugar Experiment Station. Audibon Park. New Orleans.
Trudeau, Mrs. Louise. Aurora. Algiers.

ST. LANDRY PARISH.

Augusta Sugar Co., Ltd. St. Peter. Barbreck. Modern. Daily capacity, 500 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 1,500,000 pounds. Red.
Boagni, Dr. V. Sackett, St. Mary, Oakland. Opelousas.
Butler, M. A., widow. Camp Hamilton. Opelousas.
Fisher, A. T. St. Lucy. Washington.

Gorden, William C. Delana. Elba. 1,611 acres, 600 cult. Open steam train, with centrifugals. Daily capacity, 125 tons. Average annual output of plantation, 350,000 pounds. Red.

Littell & Hebert. Magnolia Grove. Opelousas.

McBride & Devillier. St. Mary. Port Barre.

Payne, J. U. & Co. Barbreck. Barbreck.

Pickem, George P. Poplar Grove. Opelousas.

Raymond Bros. & Bailey. Nanjemoy. Washington.

St. Charles College. College Farm. Grand Coteau.

Qubedeau & Bernard. Live Oak. Armandville.

Young & Himel. Anchorage. Barbreck.

LAFAYETTE PARISH.

Breaux, Col. G. A. Oakburn. Lafayette.

Billaud, Martial. Home place. Broussardville.

Cayard, Andrew. Home. Lafayette.

Dupuis, E. V. Augusta. Carencro.

Gumbel, S., & Co. Carencro. Carencro.

Gerac Bros. Francisca. Lafayette.

Lafayette Sugar Manufacturing Co. Lafayette. Modern refinery. Daily capacity, 750 tons. Average annual output of sugar-house, 8,000,000 pounds.

Landry, R. C. Leona. Broussardville.

Landry, Rosemond. Irma.

ADDENDA TO THE ARTICLE ON SUGAR, BY J. P. SMITH.

(1.) J. W. Barnett was the first in the State to erect two "Deming" super-heat clarifiers and two 8 and 10 feet vacuum pans.

(2.) Captain J. N. Pharr was the first in the State to erect a "Deming" super-heat clarifier.

(3.) V. Provost still uses his old open kettle sugar house with mule power, which is said to be the oldest in operation in the State. Has been built 25 years, with no improvements. His cane is made mostly into molasses and is renowned for its extra quality.

(4.) Hon. Walter A. O'Niell was the first in the State to erect the "der-rick" for unloading cane carts.

(5.) "Total Wreck" plantation, owned by Baldwin & Co., was once the property

of M. Agricole Fuselier, and is mentioned by "Cable" in his "Strange True Stories of Louisiana."

(6.) "Georgia and New Hope" plantations, now owned by C. S. Mathews, forms a tract of land which was, in part, previously owned by Judge George Mathews and has ever since remained in the Mathews family. Judge George Mathews was very prominently identified with the development of the State, being the first chief justice of the Territory of Louisiana and chief justice of the State until his death.

(7.) J. F. Martin, of Iberia Parish, was the first man in the State to erect a central factory and depend entirely upon outside patronage for his cane.

(8.) "Australia" plantation, owned by V. M. Lefebvre, in W. Baton Rouge, is the highest point of land in the parish, and here was made the first settlement.

(9.) "St. Louis" plantation, in Iberville Parish, owned by E. J. Gay Planting and Manufacturing Company (Limited), has been in the Gay family since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the same may be said of "Bel-Air" plantation, now owned by Mrs. Samuel Stafford, in W. Baton Rouge Parish.

(10.) "Elm Hall" plantation, in Assumption Parish, now owned by the Leon Godechaux Company (Limited), was the first plantation in the State to have a vacuum-pan plant and make loaf sugar. It was then owned by Dr. Kittredge. The present owners were among the first in the State to adopt the Rilleux system of evaporating cane juice.

(11.) "Little Texas" plantation, in Assumption Parish, now owned and operated by C. C. Barton, lies within the old historic "League Square,"—a tract of land granted to a Catholic priest by the Spanish government for religious purposes. Titles of land within this square can be easily traced to the time of the Spanish grant, hence the question of their validity has never arisen. On this plantation exists a large Indian mound, which is used as a burial ground by the Pugh and Phillips families, its center being marked by a large live oak, entirely sheltering with its massive, outstretched limbs, the graves beneath.

(12.) Webre, Steib & Co. (Limited), in the Vacherie, own and have in their possession a "madstone," and claims it to be the only one in the South, which they use to cure the bites of snakes and dogs. Some phenomenal cures have been made. It has never been known to refuse affiliation with the venomous bites of snakes and dogs. This stone was found in the heart of a deer by a Natchitoches Indian and presented to Mr. Durio, a planter on the Mississippi River, who had, on a number of occasions befriended this Indian, and received this as his reward. Sylvester Webre pur-

chased the stone from Mr. Durio, and it has been handed down to the present generation.

(13.) "Evan Hall" plantation, in Ascension Parish, owned by McCall Bros. Planting & Manufacturing Company, has always remained within the family. They hold the original grants from the Spanish government.

(14.) Lower Terrebonne Refinery & Manufacturing Company and J. M. Burguières are the only two in the State who have 12-foot vacuum pans.

(15.) Capt. John T. Moore's plantations are located on the highest point in Terrebonne Parish, having an elevation of eight feet and giving natural drainage. This is the only instance of such note in the parish.

RICE MILLS OF LOUISIANA.

By J. P. SMITH.

The following is a list of the rice milling companies in the State of Louisiana in operation at the close of the year 1899:

- American Rice Milling Co., Ltd., Crowley, La.
 - Acadia Rice Milling Co., Ltd., Rayne, La.
 - Crowley Rice Milling Co., Ltd., Crowley, La.
 - Estherwood Rice Mill Co., Ltd., Estherwood, La.
 - Eagle Rice Mill Co., Crowley, La.
 - Gueydon Rice Mill Co., Ltd., Crowley, La.
 - Jennings Rice Milling Co., Jennings, La.
 - Lake Charles Rice Milling Co., Ltd., Lake Charles, La.
 - Marks Rice Milling Co., Ltd., Crowley, La.
 - New Iberia Rice Milling Co., Ltd., New Iberia, La.
 - People's Independent Rice Milling Co., Ltd., Crowley, La.
 - Pelican Rice Milling Co., Ltd., Mermentau, La.
 - Riverside Irrigation and Milling Co., Ltd., Riverside, La.
 - Welshe Rice Milling Co., Ltd., Welshe, La.
 - Wall Rice Milling Co., Ltd., Lake Charles, La.
- In New Orleans are as follows:
- Crescent City Rice Mill.

David Rice Mill.
Dixie Rice Mill.
Lanaux Rice Mill.
Levy Rice Mill.
National Rice Milling Co.
Orleans Rice Mill.
People's Rice Mill.
Planters' Rice Mill.
Rickert Rice Mill.
Socola Rice Mill.
Thompson Rice Mill.

Pickett Rice Milling Co., Ltd., the pioneer rice mill in what is now the tremendous rice-producing and milling section of Crowley and its environs, was organized December, 1893, and chartered February, 1894, with S. A. Pickett, P. S. Lovell, J. A. Williams, John Green, M. Abbott, Jack Frankel and John F. Shoemaker as stockholders. In October, 1895, it was reorganized into the present company, known as the Crowley Rice Milling Co., Ltd., and began operation December 3, 1895, with the following officers: Miron Abbott, president; J. F. Shoemaker, vice president; John Green, secretary and treasurer. The present officers are: Miron Abbott, president; J. Frankel, vice president, and John Green, secretary and treasurer.

The establishment of this mill gave a considerable impetus to the milling industry in this locality, and revolutionized old methods by beginning the milling of rice at home, the starting of competition and the protection of the rice farmers. This is the pioneer mill of Crowley, the great rice-growing center, and first to operate successfully and establish a home market. First year's milling was 4,000 sacks and the season of 1899-1900 exceeded 100,000 sacks. The very latest of machinery being used and the mill being lighted throughout by electricity.

People's Independent Rice Mill Co., Ltd., was organized in July, 1896, with the following officers: A. Kaplan, president; M. Abbott, vice president; John Green, secretary and treasurer. Present officers are: A. Kaplan, president; M. Abbott, vice president; C. J. Bier, secretary and treasurer. Modern, up-to-date machinery was installed and the mill well lighted by electricity. "Grinnel!" fire extinguishers and its own water-works throughout its buildings. Twelve hundred sacks daily capacity. Season output of 1899-1900, 160,000 sacks.

Gueydon Rice Mill Co., Ltd., was organized in July, 1899, and began operation in October, with the present officers, viz.: A. Kaplan, president; J. P. Gueydon, vice president, and C. J. Bier, secretary and treasurer. Eight hundred sacks daily capacity. Modern machinery and lighted by electricity.

The Eagle Rice Mill was built in 1894 and was then known as the Star mill. In 1896 Mr. J. E. Platt became sole owner and from that date the mill has been known as the Eagle Rice Mill. It is equipped with the latest machinery, lighted by electricity, 1,000 barrels daily capacity, and output of season for 1899-1900 was about 80,000 sacks.

American Rice Milling Co., Ltd., was organized August 15, 1899. The following are its officers: J. J. Thomas, president; J. W. Roller, vice president, and C. J. Freeland, secretary and treasurer. Modern machinery, with latest simplified improvements and lighted by electricity. Twelve hundred barrels daily capacity, and output of season for 1899-1900 was about 75,000 sacks. This was the first mill in Crowley to install a successful plant for burning hulls, utilizing them for fuel.

Marks Rice Milling Co., Ltd., was incorporated June 30, 1898, with the following officers: J. D. Marks, president; Judge J. M. Goggin, vice president, with \$20,000 capital stock. Present officers are: J. D. Marks, president; L. Sternberger, vice president; Jno. D. Belton, superintendent and manager, with \$40,000 capital stock. Very latest and most modern machinery; lighted throughout by electricity; 1,200 sacks daily capacity, and output for the season of 1899-1900 about 100,000 sacks. The Marks Rice Milling Co. are now successfully using hulls for fuel.

Estherwood Rice Mill Co., Ltd., was organized July 1, 1899, with William Miller as president, J. F. Morris, vice president, and F. A. Combes, secretary and treasurer. Modern, up-to-date machinery; lighted by electricity; 1,200 sacks daily capacity; 100,000 sacks output for season of 1899-1900.

Lake Charles Rice Milling Co. Incorporated 1892, with G. A. John as president and Howard Ackerman, secretary and treasurer. Its present officers are: Christian M. Meyer, president; J. Henry Dick, vice president; George G. Bauer, treasurer, B. Snyder, secretary. Modern, up-to-date machinery; lighted by electricity; 3,000 sacks daily capacity, with output for season of 1899-1900 estimated at 200,000 sacks.

Wall Rice Milling Co., Ltd., was incorporated July 26, 1898, with officers as follows: William B. Wall, president; Charles J. Wall, vice president, and W. C.

Wall secretary and treasurer. Modern, up-to-date machinery; lighted by electricity; 1,200 sacks daily capacity, and output of season of 1899-1900 about 75,000 sacks.

Acadia Rice Milling Co., Ltd., was incorporated June 19, 1889, with officers as follows: Hon. R. B. Howley, president; Ed Sampson, vice president, and E. Daboval, Jr. manager and treasurer. Seven hundred sacks daily capacity of their fine, modern mill, and an estimated output for the season of 1899-1900 of 40,000 sacks. This is the oldest mill in Southwest Louisiana.

New Iberia Rice Milling Co., Ltd., was incorporated in May, 1899, with the following officers, viz.: J. P. Suberbielle, president; Leon Dreyfus, vice president, and William L. Burke, secretary. The mill is equipped with the latest of machinery, and lighted by electricity. Three hundred sacks daily capacity, and output for season of 1899-1900 is estimated at 20,000 sacks.

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TO NAMES OF PERSONS REFERRED TO IN THIS VOLUME.

Authors merely cited are not indexed. French names having the preposition "de" will generally be found under those letters of the alphabet respectively commencing the final or surname. Many names have no initials, and they are indexed independently, although some of them may refer to the persons whose names are given in full elsewhere. Where a prominent name is once introduced it is likely to occur on following pages throughout that passage of history, and it is not necessary in such cases to enumerate every page where it occurs. Where a name occurs, therefore, several times on the same page, the page is indicated but once in the index.

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